Sederi 26

2016

Sederi 26 (2016)

Table of contents

Performance Reviews

Articles

Money makes the world go round: Shakespeare, commerce and community

ख

El dinero mueve el mundo: Shakespeare, comercio y comunidad

John Drakakis

University of Stirling, Great Britain

ABSTRACT

In early modern England money was of central importance to areas of social life that are in the modern world separate from the study of economics. The demand for liquid capital and the practical problems associated with the devising of a monetary system that was reliable exercised the minds of philosophers, social commentators, and dramatists. The template for discussion was laid down by Aristotle, who perceived financial activity as part of the larger community and its various modes of social interaction. Copernicus wrote a treatise on money, as had Nicholas of Oresme before him. But in the sixteenth century dramatists turned their attention to what we would call "economics" and its impact on social life. Writers such as Thomas Lupton, Christopher Marlowe, Ben Jonson, and Shakespeare all dealt with related issues of material greed, usury, hospitality and friendship and the ways in which they transformed, and were transformed by particular kinds of social and economic practice. These concerns fed into the investigation of different kinds of society, particularly turning their attention to their strengths and weaknesses, and in the case of dramatists providing imaginative accounts of the kinds of life that these innovations produced.

KEYWORDS: William Shakespeare; Thomas Lupton; Christopher Marlowe; Ben Jonson; Aristotle; Nicolaus Copernicus; Nicholas of Oresme; Michel de Montaigne; Jacques Derrida; Jean-Joseph Goux; Pierre Bourdieu; Karl Marx; Peter Laslett; Politics; Economics; Friendship; Hospitality; Usury.

RESUMEN

En la Inglaterra de principios de la Edad Moderna el dinero era de una importancia central en áreas de la vida social que en el mundo moderno no están incluidas dentro del estudio de la economía. La demanda de capital líquido y los problemas prácticos asociados con la creación de un sistema monetario fiable dieron mucho que pensar a filósofos, comentaristas sociales y dramaturgos. El modelo de discusión lo propuso Aristóteles, quien consideraba la actividad financiera como parte de la comunidad y de sus varios modos de interacción social. Copérnico escribió un tratado sobre el dinero, como ya había hecho Nicolás de Oresme antes que él. Pero en el siglo XVI los dramaturgos se fijaron en lo que hoy llamaríamos "economía" y en su impacto en la vida social. Escritores como Thomas Lupton, Christopher Marlowe, Ben Johnson y Shakespeare trataron asuntos relacionados con la avaricia, la usura, la hospitalidad y la amistad, y las maneras en las que estos elementos transformaron y fueron transformados por diferentes tipos de prácticas sociales y económicas. Estos intereses alimentaron la investigación de diferentes tipos de sociedad, centrándose en particular en sus fortalezas y debilidades, y en el caso de los dramaturgos aportando narraciones muy imaginativas de los tipos de vida que surgieron de estas innovaciones.

PALABRAS CLAVE: William Shakespeare; Thomas Lupton; Christopher Marlowe; Ben Jonson; Aristóteles; Nicolás Copérnico; Nicolás de Oresme, Michel de Montaigne; Jacques Derrida; Jean-Joseph Goux; Pierre Bourdieu; Karl Marx; Peter Laslett; Política; Economía; Amistad; Hospitalidad; Usura.

1. The importance of Money

In an anecdote that Peter Laslett recounts in his book *The World We Have Lost — Further Explored* (1983) he relays, second-hand, the story of a late seventeenth century weaver, Jean Cocu, his wife and three daughters living in Beauvais in the parish of St. Etienne in 1693. The woman and three children (the youngest 9 years old) were all employed in spinning yarn, and the family consumed some 70 pounds of bread per week. At 0.5 sol per pound the family lived well, but as manufacturing crises increased and the price of bread increased sevenfold, by March 1694 the weaver and two of his daughters had died and only the wife and one daughter remained alive (Laslett 1983,127–28). At the root of the problem was money and the family's failure to generate enough income to buy commodities. We live in a secular world, and many of our economic practices are based on assumptions about the circulation of money that even at the end of the early-modern period, would have horrified theologians and philosophers.

In Aristotle's *The Politics*, that was published in translation in 1598, some clear distinctions are made between the acquisition of commodities necessary to run a household, and what we would now simply call "profit," and he links the latter to the development of a currency, and the growth of trade. He notes that as exchange becomes more systematic

> men become more experienced at discovering where and how the greatest profits might be made out of the exchanges. That is why the technique of acquiring goods is held to be concerned primarily with coin, and to have the function of enabling one to see where a great deal of money may be procured (the technique does after all produce wealth *in the form of* money): and wealth is often regarded as being a large quantity of coin because coin is what the techniques of acquiring goods and trading are concerned with. (Aristotle 1992, 83)

Aristotle goes on to distinguish between a currency that is used to "procure the necessities of life," and one that is used simply to accumulate wealth, and he gives as an example, the tale of Midas (now translated in the twenty first century into an advertisement for the confectionary "Skittles"):

> And it will often happen that a man with wealth in the form of coined money will not have enough to eat: and what a ridiculous

kind of wealth is that which even in abundance will not save you from dying with hunger! It is like the story told of Midas: because of the inordinate greed of his prayer everything that was set before him was turned to gold. (Aristotle 1992, 83)

He distinguishes between two kinds of "acquisition of goods," the one part of "nature" and linked directly with "household management," and another kind "that is associated with trade, which is not productive of goods in the full sense but only through their exchange" (Aristotle 1992, 84).

In the very next section, Aristotle goes on to define what we might call the "politics" of "household management." Laslett's anecdote concerns a weaver who was preoccupied with the "natural" acquisition of wealth, by generating enough money to feed his family at a time of the significant and prolonged rising of the price of bread. But the other form of acquisition (which includes the profit to be made from "trade" and that "depends upon exchange"

is justly regarded with disapproval since it arises not from nature but from men's gaining from each other. Very much disliked also is the practice of charging interest; and the dislike is fully justified, for the gain arises out of currency itself. Not as a product of that for which currency was provided. Currency was intended to be a means of exchange, whereas interest represents an increase in the currency itself. Hence its name *Tokos* [offspring] for each animal produces its like, and interest is currency born of currency. And so of all types of business this is the most contrary to nature. (Aristotle 1992, 87)

Implicit in this form of "domestic economy" is movement, the making convenient of the traversing of space that is designed primarily to sustain life, and as Pierre Vilar observes, in historical terms "money proper appeared late in the day, and did so on the periphery of the trading system of the ancient world and not within great empires. Trade created money rather than money trade" (Vilar 1976, 27).

In a modern secular society, the movement of goods and commodities, and the "creation" of markets, along with the economic rhetoric of "growth," is associated with a politics of globalisation and its discontents, but even by the end of the sixteenth century by which time trade had become both international and volatile, physical movement, and the material means (money) by

which it was made possible, was still required to be seen within a larger metaphysical context. In this connection we may note the cases of two men: Nicholas Oresme (ca.1320–1382), a theologian who became canon of Rouen in November 1362, and dean in March 1364, and who, at the request of Charles V, translated Aristotle's *Ethics*, *Politics* and *Economics*, and who became Bishop of Lisieux in November 1377 (Oresme 1956, x). Oresme also formulated a theory of the earth's diurnal rotation and, according to A.C. Crombie, "in its treatment of the mixture of scientific, philosophical and theological issues involved it foreshadowed the controversial writings of Galileo" (Crombie 1969, 2.89). Oresme also wrote a treatise on money (*De Moneta* ca.1355). The second is Nicholas Copernicus (1473–1543), the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century theologian and astronomer, who in addition to writing on astronomy, also wrote a series of treatises on the subject of "money." Oresme's *De Moneta* shows the clear influence of Aristotle, including the history of money, emphasising both its "artificiality" *and* its instrumentality: "an instrument artificially invented for the easier exchange of natural riches," but also its utility in that it "is very useful to the civil community, and convenient, or rather, necessary, to the business of the state, as Aristotle proves in the fifth book of the *Ethics*" (Oresme 1956, 4–5). He then cites a couplet from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book 1 in which an historical context is provided for the evolution and acquisition of "gold":

> Not onely corne and other fruites, for sustenance and for store,
> Were now exacted of the Earth: but eft they gan to digge,
> And in the bowels of the ground unsaciably to rigge,
> For Riches coucht and hidden deepe, in places nere to Hell,
> The spurres and stirrers unto vice, and foes to doing well.
> Then hurtfull yron came abrode, then came forth yellow golde,
> More hurtfull then yron farre, then came forth battle bolde,
> That feights with bothe, and shakes his sword in cruell bloody
>   hand. (Ovid 1965, 7)

The context is also a moral context, and it was commonplace by the end of the sixteenth century to locate an ambivalence at the heart of "Nature" that we would now identify as the very beginning of the transition from commodity exchange to the evolution of "capital" (Marx 1981, 3.473–74ff.). In Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*, for example, Friar Lawrence observes that Nature's gifts are relative

rather than absolute, depending upon the human use to which they are put:

> O, mickle is the powerful grace that lies
> In plants, herbs, stones and their true qualities,
> For naught so vile that on the earth doth live
> But to the earth some special good doth give,
> Nor ought so good but, strained from that fair use,
> Revolts from true birth, stumbling on abuse.
> Virtue itself turns vice being misapplied,
> And vice sometimes by action dignified. (*Romeo and Juliet* 2.3.11–18)

Oresme goes on to discuss the "material" of money, and in particular the practical usefulness of "coins," their value, and who authorises them. He resists the use of "alloy" to make gold coins more robust, concluding that "nor can it honestly be done, nor has it been done *in any well-governed community*" (Oresme 1956, 8). Moreover, while rulers could authorise the coining of money as the protectors of states, money itself belonged "to the community and to individuals" (Oresme 1956, 11). The treatise goes on to cover questions of the intrinsic value of coins, the consequences of what we would now call "devaluation," "reflation" and "inflation," but all this within a clear moral economy in which, *pace* Aristotle, "natural" processes should be allowed to yield "interest," but "it is monstrous and unnatural that an unfruitful thing should bear, that a thing specifically sterile, such as money, should be fruit and multiply of itself" (Oresme 1956, 25). What we would now call mechanisms of the "exchange rate" and the profit such exchange might produce, in other words "capital," was regarded as "worse than usury" (Oresme 1956, 27). The point is that any alterations in currency and in economic practice could result in a number of ways in an undue impoverishment of the community through forms of alienation and exclusion. Oresme takes up Aristotle's abiding image of the state as a "body" when he says that:

> As, therefore, the body is disordered when the humours flow too freely into one member of it, so that the member is often thus inflamed and overgrown while the others are withered and shrunken and the body's due proportions are destroyed and its life shortened; so also in a commonwealth or kingdom when riches are unduly attracted by one part of it. For a commonwealth or kingdom whose princes, as compared, with their subjects, increase beyond measure in wealth, power and position, is as it were a monster, like

> a man whose head is so large and heavy that the rest of his body is
> too weak to support it. (Aristotle 1992, 44)

Copernicus begins his discussion of money by enumerating four "scourges" that "debilitate kingdoms, principalities, and republics," and they are: "dissention, mortality, barren soil, and debasement of the currency." He notes that the first three are obvious, but "the fourth, which concerns money, is taken into account by few persons and only the most perspicacious. For it undermines states. Not by a single attack all at once, but gradually and in a certain covert manner" (Copernicus 1985, 176). For Copernicus "money is, as it were, a common measure of values," but devaluation could occur as a result of debasing coinage, and that would lead to the ending both of "imports and foreign trade," and will prevent merchants from buying "foreign merchandise in foreign lands with the same money" (Copernicus 1985, 190–91). He argues that "sound money" benefits "not only the state but also themselves [merchants] and every class of people" (Copernicus 1985, 191). Copernicus's point is that the entire social order and interaction with the wider world through trade and commerce, rests upon "sound money." That soundness depended upon "intrinsic" value where "value" itself was fully represented in the coinage, and the substances from which coins were made. As Marc Shell has pointed out, what began as a direct correlation between "face value (intellectual currency) and substantial value (material currency)" gradually became eroded as the process of symbolisation accelerated (Shell 1982, 1). It would not be difficult to chart the shift from the "just price" of a commodity to the concept of "market value" that would move exchange further away from what was assumed to be a relation of equivalence. But Shell's argument offers a more subtle distinction that depends upon the very process of symbolisation that brought an instrument of exchange, money, *directly* into contact with the organisation of language itself:

> Money, which refers to a system of tropes, is also an "internal" participant in the logical or semiological organisation of language, which itself refers to a system of tropes. Whether or not a writer mentioned money or was aware of its potentially subversive role in his thinking, the new forms of metaphorization or exchanges of meaning that accompanied the new forms of economic symbolisation and production were changing the meaning of meaning. (Shell 1982, 3–4)

We would not need to look beyond the commercialisation of Higher Education in the Western world for a modern example of this process and its capacity to radically transform discourses, professional practices and lives.

2. From money to morality

In *The Ethics* Aristotle is clear about the link between money and "liberality." Under the headings of "Other Moral Virtues" and "Liberality: the right attitude towards money," he notes that it is "more the mark of the liberal man to give to the right people than to receive from the right people, or not to receive from the wrong people; because virtue consists more in doing good than in receiving it, and more in doing fine actions than in refraining from disgraceful ones." There is no denying the "usefulness" of money, but Aristotle notes that "things that have a use can be used both well and badly" (Aristotle 1977, 143). These will be crucial distinctions, and will extend to the notion of "friendship," whether in the Venice of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* and *Othello*, or in the Greece of *Timon of Athens*.

The combination of an Aristotelian account of money and human psychology augmented with the Christian parable of "Dives and Lazarus," (St. Luke 16: 19–31) is what informs Thomas Lupton's moral interlude *All for Money* (1577). The Prologue begins with the quasi-Aristotelian question: "What good gift of God but may be misused?" (Lupton 1969, 421). It proceeds from there to offer a dynamic genealogy of interactive abstractions. The trio of Theology, Science and Art set the scene, followed by a declension beginning with Money, and followed by Adulation, Pleasure, Mischievous Help, Sin, Damnation, and finally, Satan who is attended by the specific sins of Gluttony and Pride. Some of these categories are further subdivided into Learning-With Money, Learning-Without-Money and Neither-Money-Nor-Learning. At the root of all this activity is Money who is so busy coping with the acquisitive energy that he provokes, that he is forced to enlist the help of Sin:

> I was never so weary since the hour I was born!
> There is none at all but do crave me, even and morn.
> I never rest, night nor day.
> I am ever busy when everyone doth play.

> Few blind matters but I must be at their daying;
> If I speak the word it is done without praying.
> Since I was here last, I swear by this light,
> I have made many a crooked matter straight. (*All for Money* 810–17)

In his book *Symbolic Economies after Marx and Freud* (1990), Jean-Joseph Goux identifies some of these basic connections historically as features of what he calls "the ancient mode of production" that manifested itself in the Hellenic Age:

> The solidarity of money and the deity, which we can logically interpret with the dialectical genesis of social exchanges by which *money* becomes the universal equivalent of commodities and *God* the universal equivalent of subjects — with the same value of unification and transcendence attributed to both — will continue to be manifest in the Hellenic age. (Goux 1990, 91)

In a Christian moral economy the accumulation of wealth and the criminality that it generates, the resultant social tensions, the acceleration of international trade, and the renewed emphasis upon the symbolic significance of "money" as a commodity in itself, existed side-by-side, and were beginning to destabilise society at every level. Lupton's moral interlude demonstrates, through a series of conceptually differentiated abstractions, the destructive consequences of the convergence of "tangible forms of writing, aesthetic production, social organisation of space" and also "forms of knowledge and consciousness." It exposes "the *economic* mode of symbolising which obtains in material exchanges and in relations of production linking social subjects, that is, the mode of *exchange* in the sense inclusive of interaction" (Goux 1990, 88). We might, perhaps, express Lupton's achievement as an inversion of tradition as "realised morality," of what Pierre Bourdieu identifies from an ethnographical point of view as:

> The reconciliation of subjective demand and objective (i.e. collective) necessity which grounds the *belief* of a whole group in what the group believes, i.e. in the group: a reflexive return to the principles of the operations of objectification, practises and discourses, is prevented by the very reinforcement which these productions continuously draw from a world of objectifications produced in accordance with the same subjective principles. (Bourdieu 1987, 164)

What "Money" disrupts is precisely what holds the subjective and the objective world together, elements and "taxonomies" that are the

"misrecognizable" representations of "the real divisions of the social order," but that "contribute to the reproduction of that order by producing objectively orchestrated practices adjusted to those divisions" (Bourdieu 1987, 163). In this context the "Dives and Lazarus" parable hinges upon a double *refusal* of "exchange" expressed here as "charity," and that occludes a constitutive social division, manifest in Dives' initial refusal to offer help to the beggar Lazarus, and secondly by the consequential proscription that prevents Lazarus from offering succour, from his place after death in Abraham's bosom, to Dives languishing in the fires of Hell:

> 23. And being in hell in torments, when he had lifted up his eyes, he seeth Abraham afarre off, and Lazarus in his bosome:

> 24. And he cried, and saide, father Abraham, haue mercie on me, and send Lazarus, that he may dip the tip of his finger in water, and coole my tongue, for I am tormented in this flame.

> 25. But Abraham saide, Sonne, remember that thou in thy life time receivedst thy pleasure, and like wise Lazarus paines, but now he is comforted, and thou art tormented. (Luke 16:19–31 [Bible 1595, 483])

The "orchestrated practice" that Dives violates is a refusal to act charitably in the interests of someone less fortunate than himself. But more than that, it fails to acknowledge that the material world is transitory, and that an adjustment to its earthly inequalities will be made in another life and according to a principle of divine "justice."

Lupton's moral interlude acknowledges this fundamental sense of "divine justice," but focuses more directly on a demystification of those "misrecognizable" elements of the social order that "money" has now replaced. A natural order, predicated upon a recognition of social hierarchy, is replaced by a *primum mobile* that in purely Aristotelian terms is "sterile." In Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* it is "The wind that bloweth all the world besides,|Desire of gold" (3.5.3–4) and it is geographically located in "the Western Ind."

Lupton's play is concerned to uphold a morality under threat, whereas in *The Jew of Malta* Marlowe advances a "new" psychology that is also an exercise in political theory. While the Jew Barabas is concerned to accumulate wealth, he is initially more subtle in the way in which he links his "authority" to Machiavellian "policy":

And since by wrong thou got'st authority,
Maintain it bravely by firm policy,
At least unprofitably lose it not:
For he that liveth in authority
And neither gets him friends, nor fills his bags,
Lives like the ass that Aesop speaketh of,
That labours with a load of bread and wine,
And leaves it off to snap at thistle tops. (*The Jew of Malta* 5.2.35–42)

Lupton's interlude exposes the moral and economic workings of the engine-house of a society substantially given over to the pursuit of mammon. It exposes the dual nature of "money" within a moral economy, but it is critical from a moral and ethical (quasi-Aristotelian) standpoint of the danger of committing to an object that is derived from "nature" but that can assume an independent identity and has the capacity to pervert nature's purposes. Marlowe's play identifies and isolates a source of wealth generation, Barabas, the Jew, but he also lays bare a political philosophy that claims to be universal, in that its methods affect Jew and Christian alike. Unlike Dives, who will never be lodged in Abraham's bosom, Barabas will violate all social protocols and obligations, including those of his family, to protect his accumulated wealth, while at the same time dismissing the Christian faith in an afterlife. The double irony of the play is that the Christian Ferneze (who is left in control at the end) uses the same Machiavellian practices to undermine Barabas in order to acquire power and authority and to justify his duplicity. Moreover, Marlowe's "characters" are not abstractions, although we can still detect a set of stereotypes beneath the surface of the drama. The exotic setting of the play in Malta, a geographical location at the centre of international trade, represents a "community" embedded in an international politics that manifests itself in the quasi-religious conflict between Christian and Ottoman Turk. But in the conflict between "Damned Christian dogs, and Turkish infidels" (5.5.85–86) it is the demonised "Jew" onto whom the burden of the play's Machiavellian politics is displaced. The fate of Calymath is the consequence of "A Jew's courtesy;|For he that did by treason work our fall|By treason hath delivered thee to us" (5.5.107–10). The abstractions of Lupton find themselves transported in Marlowe and in Shakespeare into a recognisable "reality" in which an "afterlife" is reconfigured as an historical "future."

One more issue needs to be taken into consideration here, and this is connected at one extreme to the practical question noted by Oresme and Copernicus of maintaining the intrinsic value of currency: the "abuse of counterfeiting, clipping and tampering with money" that "has not stopped to this very day" (Copernicus 1985, 188–89) with its ramifications for trading practice. At the other extreme, quantitative, or "economic exchange value" that was the basis upon which "the sequential logic of value forms could be reconstructed almost axiomatically," as Jean-Joseph Goux puts it, "also provided a scheme for the constitution of qualitative values." In other words, the differential mechanisms whereby *economic* value was established, could be extended to those areas of "culture" that were not, strictly speaking "economic" (Goux 1990, 3).

One obvious example might be Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida* (ca.1602) where the question of "value" determines the progress of the war between Greece and Troy. In Act 2 scene 2 the Trojan camp debate the "value" of Helen, and Hector asserts that "she is not worth what she doth cost|The holding"; this prompts a question from the high-minded Troilus: "What's aught but as 'tis valued?" (2.2.51–52) Hector challenges Troilus's relativism in the following manner:

> But value dwells not in particular will;
> It holds his estimate and dignity
> As well wherein 'tis precious of itself
> As in the prizer. 'Tis mad idolatry
> To make the service greater than the god;
> And the will dotes that is inclinable
> To what infectiously itself affects,
> Without some image of th'affected merit. (*Troilus and Cressida* 2.2.53–60)

Paris, the abductor of Helen wishes to transform the act of abduction by revaluing his act: "I would have the soil of her fair rape | Wiped off in honourable keeping her" (2.2.148–49). Hector, for his part, views Paris's "reasons" as "the hot passion of distempered blood" (169), and proceeds to invoke "a law in each well-ordered nation|To curb those raging appetites that are|Most disobedient and refractory" (2.2.180–82). In the scene immediately following a third valuation of the war is proposed, this time by the scabrous Thersites:

> After this, the vengeance on the whole camp! Or rather, the Neapolitan bone-ache! For that, methinks, is the curse dependent on those that war for a placket. (*Troilus and Cressida* 2.3.16–19)

The persistent "valuation"/devaluation/revaluation of Helen reduces everything to the contingent practices of an a-historic present embedded at the heart of an "historic" event. To this extent, the gradual emptying of all value in the breaking of vows, leading to the discrepancy between referent and object, renders meaning itself ineffectual, with the result that at the level of form the play can have no teleological objective, or indeed, no "ending." At one extreme quasi-monetary worth, or Helen as "commodity," and at the other the abstract values of "chivalry," with all the gradations between, culminates in the venal and venereal perspective of Pandarus, the trader in human pulchritude whose only bequest to his audience is "diseases."

3. Shakespeare's Venetian Plays

The distance from Thomas Lupton's *All For Money* to Shakespeare's two Venetian plays is substantial. Venice is not an abstraction but a fully functioning republic, noted for what we would now call its "multiculturalism." It was also noted for its mercantile activity, whose complexity is outlined from an "English" perspective in *The Merchant of Venice* (1597), and for its controversial acceptance of "strangers," that is also the subject of *Othello* (1604). I have suggested elsewhere that these plays offer a "reading" of Venice rather than a realist representation of its institutions. Indeed, if you will permit me the vanity of quoting myself, I have argued that the ethnic variety of Venice, its comparative economic freedoms, and its alleged sexual permissiveness, "entered the Elizabethan (and early Jacobean) popular imagination and were interpreted according to the demands of an ideology struggling to contain its own social, political and economic contradictions" (Drakakis 2010, 6). The anchoring anxiety that lies behind both plays derives from the problems emanating from money as a means of exchange, but also as a signifier of embryonic capital, and embedded in a series of social practices that involve questions of identity, institutions such as marriage, and issues of power, authority and legitimacy that are central to the ways in which a community defines itself. The "reality" of Venice has been the subject of comments from historians, who have noted that by the

end of the sixteenth century its international status as a centre of Mediterranean trade was under considerable threat and during the first three decades of the seventeenth century it declined (Wallerstein 1974, 215–21). But possibly in the wake of the performance of Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice* in 1597, and its subsequent appearance in print in 1600, Lewis Lewkenor's translation of Gasparo Contarini's *The Commonwealth and Government of Venice* (1599), provided considerable information on the workings of a successful "republic," and in particular noted its reception of "strangers." If Marlowe's *The Jew of Malta* could project the Machiavellian underbelly of economic, and political activity onto the figure of the Jew, then Shakespeare, in dialogue with Marlowe could increase the complexity of the relationship between an "outsider" such as Shylock, and a Christian merchant such as Antonio, both of whom are embedded antagonistically in a community that emphasised values very different from those of Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* (1572), but which shared in some measure what Jean-Joseph Goux, in a much larger context, would call the "paterialist" values that Shakespeare ascribes to the Venice of both plays. We might perhaps dwell on Goux's definition for a moment, since it may help us to understand a little more clearly, these plays' paternalism, and their *sexual* content, as well as their dramatic form. Goux returns to Aristotle, and to the claim that "in Aristotle the opposition between *form* and *matter* is of sexual extraction," and that both Plato and Aristotle aligned themselves "with an enduring metaphorical archaeology" that operated in the following way:

> If (paternal) form is invariant, (maternal) matter is the changing and relative receptacle that possesses no determinacy or consistency apart from the imprint of this ideal form. When value, or the idea, unfurls its possibilities in the hegemony of the general equivalent, not only the possibilities of idealism but also those of paterialism are deployed — even if the latter becomes increasingly abstract and difficult to discern. (Goux 1990, 213–17)

The difficulties are multiplied when "money" is separated from its intrinsic (and "idealistic") value, and threatens to become a free-floating signifier, that both substitutes for the object of exchange, and assumes a generating power of its own, and that we are familiar with under the name of "capital." At the centre of this transformation is the practice of usury that denotes a quasi-capitalistic form of economic exchange, that has the capacity to

alienate and, from a moral perspective, to demonise its agents. Like the Moor, no matter how integrated or how necessary, the Jew may appear to be, he will always return to type in a paterialist world that desperately clings on to its own self-conception and the philosophical idealism that underpins its economic practices. Both "outsiders" are under-represented in reality in Elizabethan and early Jacobean England, but both are nonetheless the object of considerable social anxiety.

4. Fathers and children

In both plays the problems crystallise around "fathers," who are the nominal markers of social authority, and (mainly) "daughters." In *The Merchant of Venice* the Lord Bassanio has "disabled" his estate "By something showing a more swelling port | Than my faint means would grant continuance" (1.1.124–25). His solution is to replenish his coffers by marriage, and the object of his quest is Portia, "a lady richly left" but who is also "fair and fairer than that word, | Of wondrous virtues" (1.1.161–62). Antonio, his "merchant" mentor and surrogate father, is asked to finance the venture, but because he has no available liquid capital, and because he is actively invested in a series of trading projects of his own, he approaches a "usurer." This "borrowing of money" as though it were a commodity in itself, is the beginning of the problem. Portia, for her part, has a dead father, but one who exercises power over her from beyond the grave. But the usurer himself is also a "father," and of an unruly daughter who eventually elopes with the Christian Lorenzo. There is one other parent-child relationship that we are allowed to glimpse fleetingly in the play, and that is the Lancelet / Giobbe relationship, where the suffering father seeks to ensure his son's future livelihood, within a traditional domestic economy of the household, and the son, reciprocally, is in a position to alleviate the father's tribulations; Lancelet also moves, like Jessica, Shylock's daughter, from one "group" to another. The fleeting reference to the tribulations of the Old Testament Job in this truncated comic sup-plot hints generally at the promise of the "son" but takes the issue no further.

The "form" that the drama as a whole takes is that of comedy, in which the "power" of patriarchy is brought into alignment with the requirements of a younger generation, as a means of guaranteeing

the future of society. Bassanio overcomes the test that Portia's dead father prescribes; her waiting-woman Nerissa imitates her mistress and marries Gratiano; and Antonio is finally united with his wealth, but not before he is brought almost to the point of death as a result of a "bond" he has entered into with Shylock who also has a "family." The "usurer's family is distinguished by its unruliness; his daughter Jessica elopes with his money, but her actions are legitimised by the enforced conversion of her father to Christianity, and Lancelet his servant "escapes" from one household to another.

The play's teleological thrust is to align mercantile success with patriarchal authority, while at the same time restoring the process of exchange to its place in a traditional hierarchy that minimises its threat to the community. But the presence of the usurer opens Pandora's box, even though he is represented in traditional terms as a "necessary evil." In this context, Venice is both a locus of anxiety, whose republican freedoms can be aesthetically crafted to produce a series of "solutions" to social problems that had already begun to surface in economic practices in England. The threats in the play come from two directions: firstly, the economic straits in which Bassanio finds himself generates a desire that is presented as being both economic *and* sexual; this too leads to a refinement in which he and Antonio share a homosocial relationship that is an extension of patriarchy. In this context the institution of marriage is both a guarantee of the supply of money *and* of progeny, thereby satisfying the Aristotelian proscription that distinguished between the "sterility" of money, and the virility and vitality of human generation. Portia is initially powerless and must submit to "the will of a dead father" (1.2.24), although once having fulfilled his demands, and when she is later disguised as the lawyer Balthazar, she assumes a power that allows her to expose masculine inconstancy. Thus even within the domestic arena of sexual politics there remains a tension between "romantic idealism" on the one hand, and the materiality of "money" on the other. At the end of the play Antonio's store of wealth is replenished, almost by divine intervention, and he will, presumably, continue to supply the needs of his "friend."

The case of Shylock and Jessica, however, is very different. She and Lancelet regard her father's clearly puritanical household as "Hell," and she plans to elope with Lorenzo. This flagrant violation

should give us pause for thought, and in the later play *Othello* it is even more serious. But like Portia, Jessica is empowered by her disguise, and engages in an act that challenges the foundation of patriarchal authority and the source of "meaning" itself. Who chooses the correct casket in the game that Portia's father devises for potential suitors, chooses *his* meaning. Jessica robs her father of "meaning," and this transforms his "merry bond" with Antonio, that was designed to exhibit "friendship" into something that is potentially deadly, and that reinforces the separation between Jew and Christian in Venice. If Antonio is, indeed, a "tainted wether of the flock" then the nature of that taint must surely, lie in his willingness to enter into a usurious relationship that of its very nature threatens to undermine the fabric of community. His is a mercantilism that exists on the cusp of a transformation from exchange value to the emergence of money as "capital."

No matter what Shylock does, he is pulled back into the orbit of Christian meaning. In his initial encounter with Antonio and Bassanio he seeks to make his "meaning" clear: "My meaning in saying he (Antonio) is a good man is to have you understand me that he is sufficient, yet his means are in supposition" (1.3.14–16). Here "meaning" is reduced to "means," to monetary means, and later what will be at issue will be the "meaning" of the bond itself. The circulation of meaning, its susceptibility to multiple interpretations, is not unlike the circulation of money, and the problem that arises when, like language, it can circulates freely as a signifier of itself in a community still committed to the anchoring of meaning in a "paterial" discourse. The "blood" of youth, is brought into alignment with the free circulation of money, and both are regarded as dangers requiring the submission to legal *and* moral constraint. This not only requires the law to win out against the usurer, but it also requires conversion to Christian morality, an act that produces discomfort in the psyche of the "stranger" who hitherto admits to having only "imitated" Christian behaviour. Unusually in Shakespeare, this conversion also serves to legitimise what we might otherwise think is the anarchic behaviour of his daughter. That the play seems to retain some sympathy for the scapegoat here, Shylock, the "real" "tainted wether of the flock," challenges the claim that Venice is hospitable to "strangers," and that by implication, a republic, that ostensibly thrives on commercial activities that are deeply suspect, is not the democracy that it claims

to be. Indeed, in the play it is "money" that poses a threat to "friendship" as Antonio puts it: "when did friendship take |A breed of barren metal of his friend?" (1.3.128–29). Shylock responds, "Why, look you, how you storm.|I would be friends with you and have your love" (1.3.133–34). I want to return to the issue of "friendship" when I consider *Timon of Athens*.

Alongside the question of the "sterility" of money, the question of miscegenation in *The Merchant of Venice* is caught up in a much larger mythological discourse surrounding the figure of the "Jew." In *Othello* parts of the earlier play are re-worked to form a tragedy, where the emphasis is upon the extent to which Venice is "hospitable" to the figure of the "stranger" upon whom it relies for its defence against "the Turk." If in the earlier play, money, and the processes of its circulation in Venice is the problem, in the later play it is the paterial authority of Venice that depends upon "strangers" to protect it against anarchy that is now under scrutiny.

A minor figure in the earlier play, Morocco, becomes the tragic protagonist in the later play, except that this time the role of "villain" and "hero" are ultimately folded into the one dramatis persona. Whereas in earlier Shakespeare comedies elopement is a strategy designed simply to circumvent paternal authority which is shown to be at odds with youthful desire, here Desdemona's "elopement" with Othello — about whose actual circumstances we are never clear — exposes a much deeper division within Venetian society. In what some critics have labelled a "domestic" tragedy, the central relationship that effectively destroys Brabantio's "family" turns out to have its roots in a community that breeds resentment and paranoia, and that leads ultimately to a perverse alignment of "otherness" with the ideal values of the social order itself. In the earlier play the villain is interpellated as a "satanic" figure, and is made to relive subjectively the effects of the "fall" and redemption; in the later play two morally opposed forces play out the drama in the psyche of the tragic hero, faced with defending the very values that his own alter-ego strives to undermine. This is not a proto-bourgeois tragedy, but a tragedy in the Aristotelian sense, in which the artificially constructed domestic problems of the protagonist are made to impinge directly on his role as defender of Venetian values. The defence takes place on the geographical frontier of Venice's domain in Cyprus, on the border between "Christian" and "Turk,"

the two internalised facets of Venetian subjectivity that are combined in the figure of Othello himself. What in the earlier play is represented as a "disquiet" that is felt initially by Antonio, and that is subsequently bequeathed to the converted Shylock, is worked out more fully, and with deadly effect, in the psychology of a protagonist who is both "noble Moor" and potentially a "blacker devil." If money and commerce make of Antonio and Shylock split subjects, then that process is exacerbated in the later play, to the point where it culminates in an extraordinary suicide that depicts a protagonist alienated from himself.

We would need to go to Ben Jonson's *Volpone* (1605) to explore the satirical implications of the practices of fraudulent acquisition in Venice. Here, in *Othello* we, as audience occupy the kind of superior position that we might identify as satirical, except that the discourses of stereotype (the denigration of the Moor as animalistic outsider, and the depiction of the Venetian "housewife") are subjected to a serious scrutiny in which the proliferation of certain meanings are shown, in their alarming volatility, to have devastating consequences. The villainous "white devil" Iago, who is himself both "ensign" *and* "sign," invites Othello to "read" his wife's and Cassio's behaviour, and directs him to certain conclusions that we know to be false. We should be careful not to displace the threat posed by Iago onto an assumed "naivete" of the protagonist. We see how deadly Iago's method is early in the play in his manipulation of Brabantio and its consequences, and his narrative is plausible precisely because we are never told about the father's part in fostering the relationship between his daughter and Othello. All we know is that Iago's insinuations awaken a deep prejudice in this representative of Venetian law that is later transferred to, and inherited by, his son-in-law. In what James 1 called "this artificial town" beneath its republican veneer, there is something diseased and fundamentally destructive that eats at its fabric of law and exchange from within, and that is initially projected onto its external enemies.

Shakespeare's critical treatment of Venice in these two plays is an "English" response to a particular kind of community whose imminent decay is inscribed in the very fabric of its practices of exchange and defence. Of course, there are issues that are reflected in Elizabethan and Jacobean anxieties about the complex ways in which new economic practices threatened to undermine the very

fabric of community itself. If, as Benedict Anderson famously observed, the identity of a community is inscribed in its language, then the threat to meaning that money as an emergent free-floating signifier posed to the process of making meaning could not but involve those institutions upon which the values of the community rested.

5. *Timon of Athens*

The Merchant of Venice and *Othello* provide a comic and a tragic gloss on some of these issues. But it is to *Timon of Athens* (1605–1608) that we now need to turn to see how corrosive the process of material acquisition can become, when the values of the protagonist are clearly out of synchronisation with the corrupt society in which he finds himself. Perhaps we should think of *Timon* as a "Greek" play, with its action located in a particular kind of democracy some of whose values Elizabethans and early Jacobeans shared. As in the case of the Roman plays that select particular tracts of Ancient Roman history as occasion demands, so in the case of *Timon*, the focus is upon a particular kind of exploitative society dominated by an amoral acquisitive energy. My concern here is not with the vexed question of authorship, or particularly with the possibility that *Timon* is an untidy and unfinished play. Rather I want to place it within the context of the early seventeenth century preoccupation with "wealth" and its social ramifications. The Arden 3 editors, Anthony Dawson and Gretchen Minton who see the play as a collaborative effort of Shakespeare (as the senior partner) and Thomas Middleton (as the junior partner), invoke Aristotle's *The Politics* as part of an argument that focuses on "the intricate network of money-getting, one that…is inextricably linked to the issue of economic reproduction" (Dawson and Minton 2008, 80). The play's "sources" are various, stretching back to Lucian's "moral interlude" *Timon the Misanthrope*, and including, Plutarch's *Lives*, Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (1584), and possibly the anonymous play *Timon* (ca.1601). If we take these, along with Aristophanes' play *Wealth*, and with moral interludes such as *All for Money* (1577), and the plethora of usury tracts that appeared between 1572 and 1605, we have an extended historical context both for the play and for the widespread anxieties surrounding the subject of "money" at this time. Much of these narratives focus upon the misanthropic Timon, that Painter dates

back to Plato and Aristophanes, when he remarks on "his marveylous nature, because hee was a man but by shape onely, in qualities hee was the capitall enemie of mankinde, which he confessed franckely utterly to abhorre and hate" (Bullough 1977, 6.293). It is Timon's "anti-social" and anti-communal attitude that attracted attention, leading to a form of "beastial" behaviour consequent upon his fall from prosperity into adversity. In Shakespeare's play, that fall is attributed to a specific cause, that lays open to question the connection between "wealth," "friendship" and community in the play.

6. Friendship

In book 8 of *The Ethics* Aristotle notes that "friendship is based on community" and each community is bound together by "some kind of justice and also some friendly feeling" (Aristotle 1977, 273; Montaigne 1965, 2.198). Earlier he dismisses "friendship" based on "utility" where the original ground for association disappears when the benefit derived from it ceases to exist (Aristotle 1977, 261–62). Reading Aristotle, in his *The Politics of Friendship* (1997), Derrida notes that:

> There is no democracy without respect for irreducible singularity or alterity, but there is no democracy without the "community of friends"…without the calculation of majorities, without identifiable, stabilizable, representable subjects, all equal. Tragically irreconcilable and forever wounding. The wound itself opens with the necessity of having to count one's friends, to count the others, in the economy of one's own, there where every other is altogether other. (Derrida 1997, 22)

The Athens of Timon is a thoroughly corrupt Jacobean polity in which we see, to quote Montaigne, "all those amities which are forged and nourished by voluptuousnesse or profit, publicke or private need, are thereby so much the lesse faire and generous, and so much the lesse true amities, in that they intermeddle other causes, scope, and fruit with friendship, than it selfe alone" (Montaigne 1965, 2.196–97). The opening exchange between the Painter, the Poet and the Merchant encapsulates the hypocrisy of a community that invests heavily in the vicissitudes of "Fortune." Both the Poet and the Painter can flaunt their public "moral" representations of the precariousness of Fortune, while at the same time fabricating a

repetition of Aristotle's sentiment: *"Oh you my friends, there is no perfect friend"* that exposes the possibility of a self-deception that lies at the heart of what began as a reciprocity (Montaigne 1965, 1.203). What binds the community together is, as Aristotle observed, the link between "friendship" and "justice," because, he says, "in every community there is supposed to be some kind of justice and also some friendly feeling." And he goes on to suggest that "it is natural that the claims of justice should increase with the intensity of friendship, since both involve the same persons and have an equal extension" (Aristotle 1977, 273). In Shakespeare's play the opposing discourse is that of an urban commerce or, in Aristotle's terms, "utility" where friendship is "impermanent" and non-reciprocal once circumstances change. Only the liberal Timon, who is, in a sense, out of time, begins by behaving in the spirit of true "friendship" from which he clearly derives "pleasure." Timon's final withdrawal from community coincides with his loss of "pleasure" in his fellow man, and a death that is equated with an irreversible and extreme misanthropy. Money may make the world go round, but divested of an accompanying moral and ethical social context it becomes a terminally destructive force.

References

Aristotle. 1977. *Ethics*. Translated by J.A.K. Thompson. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

———. 1992. *The Politics*. Translated by T.A.Sinclair. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1987. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Translated by Richard Nice. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bullough, Geoffrey, ed. 1977. *The Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*. 8 vols. London: Routledge.

Copernicus, Nicholas. 1985. *Minor Works*. Translated by Edward Rosen. London: Macmillan.

Crombie, A. C. 1969. *Augustine to Galileo*. 2 vols. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Dawson, Anthony, and Gretchen Minton, eds. 2008. *Timon of Athens*. London: Arden Shakespeare.

Derrida, Jacques. 1997. *The Politics of Friendship*. Translated by George Collins. London: Verso.

Drakakis, John. 2010. Introduction to William Shakespeare. *The Merchant of Venice*. Edited by John Drakakis. London: Arden Shakespeare.

Goux, Jean-Joseph. 1990. *Symbolic Economies after Marx and Freud*. Translated by Jennifer Curtis Gage. New York: Cornell University Press.

The Holy Bible (London: Christopher Barker, 1595).

Laslett, Peter. 1983. *The World We Have Lost –Further Explored*. London: Methuen.

Lupton, Thomas. 1969. *A Moral and Pitiful Comedy Entitled All for Money*. In *English Morality Plays and Moral Interludes*, edited by E.T. Schell and J. D. Schuchter. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston.

Marx, Karl. 1981 (1867). *Capital*. Vol. 3. Translated by David Fernbach. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Montaigne, Michel de. 1965. *Essays*. 3 vols. Translated by John Florio. London: Dent.

Oresme, Nicholas. 1956. *The De Moneta and English Mint Documents*. Translated by Charles Johnson. London: Nelson.

Ovid. 1965. *The Metamorphoses: The Arthur Golding Translation, 1567*. Translated by John Frederick Nimms. London: Collier-Macmillan.

Shell, Marc. 1982. *Money, Language and Thought*. Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press.

Vilar, Pierre. 1976. *A History of Gold and Money, 1450–1920*. Translated by Judith White. London: NLB.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. 1974. *The Modern World System I: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century*. San Diego and London: Academic Press.

Timūr's theatrical journey:
Or, when did Tamburlaine become black?

✍

El viaje teatral de Timūr, o
¿Cuándo se volvió negro Tamburlaine?

Linda McJannet
Bentley University, United States

ABSTRACT

Reviews of modern productions of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* often note a three-hundred-year hiatus between a recorded performance in 1641, just before the closing of the theatres, and Tyrone Guthrie's revival at the Old Vic in 1951. While the statement is mostly true with respect to Marlowe's play, Tamerlane or Timūr Lenk and the Ottoman emperor Bayazid I (Marlowe's Bajazeth) had important theatrical incarnations in the 1700s before they declined into parody in the 1800s. When Marlowe's play was revived in the modern era, the main characters reclaimed their dignity, but they also acquired markers of racial, ethnic, or religious otherness that had not been prominent earlier. Timūr's (and Bayazid's) varied theatrical representations illustrate the malleability of iconic cultural figures, the sometimes problematic emphasis on ethnic difference in modern theatrical practice, and the challenges and opportunities of cross-racial casting.

KEYWORDS: Christopher Marlowe, dramatic productions; stage history of *Tamburlaine*, parts I and II; Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlane, A Tragedy*; George Frideric Handel's *Tamerlano*; Timūr Lenk; Bayazid I; race; colorblind casting; performing arts.

RESUMEN

Las reseñas de las producciones modernas del *Tamburlaine* de Marlowe a menudo dan cuenta del paréntesis de trescientos años que existió entre una representación de la obra de la que se tiene noticia en 1641, justo antes del cierre de los teatros, y su recuperación a manos de Tyrone Guthrie en el Old Vic en 1951. Aunque esta afirmación es fundamentalmente cierta en lo tocante a la obra de Marlowe, Tamerlane o Timūr Lenk, junto con el emperador otomano Bayazid I (el Bajazeth de Marlowe) tuvieron importantes encarnaciones en el teatro en el siglo XVIII, antes de degradarse y convertirse en parodia en el siglo XIX. Cuando la obra de Marlowe fue recuperada en la época moderna los personajes principales recobraron su dignidad, pero también adquirieron unos marcadores de alteridad racial, étnica o religiosa que no habían sido prominentes anteriormente. Las variadas representaciones teatrales de Timūr (y de Bayazid) ilustran la maleabilidad de los iconos culturales, el énfasis a veces problemático en la diferencia étnica en la práctica teatral moderna, y los retos y las oportunidades de un reparto interracial.

PALABRAS CLAVE: producciones teatrales de Christopher Marlowe; historia de las representaciones de *Tamburlaine, partes I y II*; *Tamerlane, A Tragedy* (Nicholas Rowe); *Tamerlano* (Georg Frideric Handel); Timūr Lenk (Tamerlane) en la literatura; Bayazid I en la literatura; raza en la literatura; reparto sin distinción de color; artes escénicas.

Prologue

Stage histories of Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* often begin by noting the three-hundred-year hiatus between a recorded performance in 1641 and Tyrone Guthrie's revival of the play in

1951.[1] The claim is mostly true with respect to Marlowe's play, but the originals of Marlowe's main characters, the Central Asian conqueror Timūr Lenk (or Tamerlane) and his main antagonist, the Ottoman sultan Bayazid I, had other theatrical incarnations in Europe during those years. An awareness of these incarnations of Timūr and Bayazid enriches our understanding of Marlowe's place in an arc that links the historical figures with their early modern stage counterparts, their modern real-life appropriators, and their recent theatrical incarnations. According to historian Adam Knobler, Timūr's career exemplifies the "portability of the past" (2006, 293); at times, it was an "empty slate upon which Orientalist fantasies and practical foreign and domestic politics could be written and discussed without risk of offending contemporary sensibilities" (2001, 111–12). However, theatrical appropriations of Timūr are not limited to the East-West binary articulated by Edward Said in *Orientalism* (1978). They remind us that charismatic historical figures and their avatars are global cultural commodities around which communities unpredictably form.

This essay traces Timūr's theatrical journey with an emphasis on the oscillation between "bloodthirsty barbarian" and "ideal ruler" and the markers (if any) of race, religion, and class that distinguished him from his rivals and/or from the audience expected for a particular work.[2] While Timūr and Bayazid were larger than life and sometimes demonized in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, they were domesticated during the Restoration and eighteenth century, only to be re-vilified and reduced to parody in the nineteenth.[3] When Marlowe's play returned to the stage in the twentieth century, however, they regained their dignity and power, and in recent decades they began to be played by actors of African ancestry. Timūr's and Bayazid's

---

[1] See, for example, Dawson (1997, xxix).

[2] In referring to the historical characters, I will use the names most historians use, Timūr and Bayazid. For dramatic incarnations other than Marlowe's, I will use the names given in those works, usually "Tamerlane" and "Bajazet." In speaking of Marlowe's characters, I will use his spelling, "Tamburlaine" and "Bajazeth**."**

[3] Knobler reports that seven comic plays and parodies "of the most unsophisticated variety" were performed or published between 1800 and 1850, including *Timour the Cream of Tartar* (1845) by Gilbert à Beckett, founder of *Punch* magazine (2001, 110-111).

roots were in Anatolia and Central Asia, not Africa.[4] However, I am interested not in the historical accuracy of their representations, but in when and how these characters were represented as racially, ethnically, and/or religiously distinct from each other and from their putative audiences. In addition, since, to my knowledge, an actor of Asian descent has never played Tamburlaine in the West, what kind of triangulation is occurring if, after years of imagining him as European, actors with African roots are the first actors of color to fill the lead roles?

Timūr the Charismatic Barbarian

Historian Beatrice Manz, has argued that:

> Despite changes in state legitimation, society, and culture in the centuries since Temür lived, the ideal of the powerful ruler, ruthless and charismatic, seems to have remained disconcertingly constant. The image of a man of will and destiny rising from low station to rule the world […] appealed to the writers of the European Renaissance, to wartime Soviet writers and now to the rulers of independent Uzbekistan. (Manz 2002, 25)[5]

Nonetheless, the emphasis in Western representations of the conqueror has varied, sometimes stressing his bloody ruthlessness and sometimes his charisma and military success. Some medieval European writers saw him positively, as a savior from the "terrible Turks" (Knobler 2001, 101). Stephen Greenblatt (1980), Daniel Vitkus (2001), and Richmond Barbour (2003) have argued that Timūr's aspiring mind and interest in global commerce appealed to the New

---

[4] Evidence for the physical appearance of the historical Timūr emerged when his body was exhumed in 1941. According to his biographer, Hilda H. Hookam, Timūr was lame in "both right limbs," powerfully built, and "bristles of a chestnut moustache" were still visible on his remains (1978, 425). Culturally, however, Timūr's appearance was determined by his representers. A sixteenth-century Persian miniature with pronounced eye-folds in the collection at Topkapı Palace in Istanbul (see Hookham 1978, 424) bears little resemblance to the bust with rugged features based on the reconstruction created by Russian forensic archeologist Mikhail Mikhaylovich Gerasimov in 1941 (see *Historum* 2012).

[5] After the fall of the Soviet Union, Uzbek leaders erected statues to Timūr in Samarkand and Tashkent. Although ethnic Uzbeks arrived in that part of the world long after Timūrid times, Uzbek President, Islam Karimov, identified himself with Timūr during his campaign for reelection in 1999 (McMahon 1999).

Men of the Renaissance, such as the merchant adventurers who founded the Levant and East India Companies. Later, however, as British imperial interests focused on India rather than the Levant, Timūr became vilified "as 'the bloodthirsty barbarian' *par excellence*," enabling apologists for the Raj to compare Timūr's bloody conquest of India with their allegedly more benign rule (Knobler 2001, 101–2, 109). Manz reviews the most barbaric anecdotes about Timūr (the massacre of whole cities, the iron cage in which he imprisoned Bayazid, the chariot drawn by captive kings) and concedes that some may be Western fabrications. Others, she asserts, "originated during [Timūr's] lifetime and came from […] sources" close to the man himself (2006, 11). Indeed, Indian histories list the casualties at Delhi at 50,000 souls, but Timūr's authorized history puts them at twice that number —the reverse of what one might expect. In short, Timūr was a pre-Renaissance self-fashioner for whom "shock and awe" and a reputation for cruelty were deliberate tactics.

The charismatic conqueror that Manz describes and the bloodthirsty barbarian can both be seen in Marlowe's hero. I have argued that the figure of Bajazeth, Timūr's chief rival, is not portrayed as negatively as some critics have alleged (McJannet 2006, 65-81). However, Marlowe's version of their story favors Tamburlaine: he is the center of both plays, and all the other characters, whether Persian, Arabian, Turkish, Syrian, or Hungarian, are presented as less capable and sometimes less worthy of wielding power than he is. At least in *Part I*, he is a barbarian with whom we are invited —indeed compelled— to identify. As Manz observed of Timūr, Tamburlaine's successes are "so spectacular that [it seemed] they had to represent the will of God" (2002, 5). As a result, in the play as in some historical accounts, questions of good and evil are overshadowed by the scale of his exploits and the power of his rhetoric and "symbolic claims" (a concept to which I will return).[6]

The moral ambiguity of Marlowe's hero heightened that already present in the histories, but neither the character nor the historical Timūr seem to have been imagined by early modern Europeans as physically other. The portraits of Timūr in Paolo Giovio's *Elogia Virorum Bellica Virtute Illustria* (1575), Richard Knolles's *The Generall*

---

[6] Manz points out that Timūr's campaign of self-legitimation was necessary since he was of lowly birth and thus "not eligible for supreme office" within either the Mongol or Islamic imperial traditions to which he belonged (2002, 3).

Historie of the Turkes (1603), and in the first published version of the play (1590) look European. Indeed, the engraving in Knolles's account (see fig. 1) was accepted for decades as a portrait of the actor Edward Alleyn in the role of Tamburlaine, a claim effectively challenged by John H. Astington (1993).[7] Similarly, Philip Henslowe's diary mentions the barbaric iron cage in which Bajazeth was imprisoned, but the costumes listed for Tamburlaine show that the hero's clothes resembled those of an Englishman of the time, not an exotic foreigner: "a cotte with coper [copper]

Fig. 1. Portrait of Tamburlaine in Richard Knolles, *Generall Historie of the Turkes*, 1603.

lace" and "breches of crimson velvet" (quoted in Dawson 1997, xxx). As a Muslim, Timūr would have been seen as religiously other (although Tamburlaine's religion is ambiguous in Marlowe's play), but neither his physical attributes nor his dress differentiated him significantly from those of his early modern audience.

After Marlowe: Timūr as William III, 1701–1800

The plays that held the stage in the 1700s differ markedly from Marlowe's play and most histories, embroiling Timūr in the love triangles and conflicts of honor that preoccupied Restoration tragedy, but in some ways, he is identified even more radically as "self" not "other."

In 1681, Charles Saunders published *Tamerlane the Great*, a dramatic treatment of the story. It appears to have been acted only a few times and saw no further editions. The subplot resembles the Gloucester/Edmund/Edgar plot in *King Lear:* Tamerlane is duped into mistrusting his good son and trusting the evil one. The play also

---

[7] These and other early modern images of Tamburlaine can be found in Astington (1993, 73-86). Astington argues that the images (however conventional and derivative) are meant to depict Timūr himself. That Martin Holmes thought the image depicted Edward Alleyn indirectly testifies to the early modern artist's supposition that Timūr would have resembled an Anglo-European.

features the vengeful ghost of the evil son's murdered wife. Saunders was accused of plagiarism, and his text has little literary merit.[8] John Dryden wrote a bemused Epilogue stressing the "boy-poet's" youth and "beardless" state, as if to excuse his lack of skill (Saunders 1681, 61). Nonetheless, the play indicates a late seventeenth-century interest in Timūr and portrays the son as more evil than the father.

While Saunders' play was stillborn, Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlane, A Tragedy* had a long life. It saw thirty-five editions between 1701 and 1835, a record few Restoration or eighteenth-century tragedies can match (Burns 1966, 7). Rowe was a professional dramatist and produced the first edited collection of Shakespeare's works (1709). Rowe's hero, unlike Marlowe's, is the very model of a Christian prince. Knolles's account in *The Generall Historie of the Turkes* had portrayed a somewhat Christianized Timūr, but later writers went much further.[9] In a 1690 essay on "*Heroick Virtue*," Sir William Temple declared that Timūr was "without question, a great Heroick Genius, of great Justice, exact Discipline, generous bounty, and much Piety, adoring one God, tho' he was neither Christian, Jew, or Mohametan" (quoted in Clark 1950, 146). Rowe's play echoes this view. Its debut featured the leading actors of the day: Thomas Betterton played Tamerlane, John Verburggen was Bajazet, and Elizabeth Barry and Anne Bracegirdle took the roles of Arpasia, Bajazeth's young wife, and Selima, his adult daughter.

The central conflict of Rowe's play is not between Tamerlane and Bajazet but between Bajazet and the Christian suitors, both in Tamerlane's service, who love the women Bajazet wants to control (Arpasia and Selima). To measure the difference between Rowe's Tamerlane and either the historical Timūr or Marlowe's hero, it is interesting to note what his play does *not* have: there are no Persians, no black flags and banners to terrorize populations, no talk of aspiring minds, no massacred virgins, no incinerated cities, no daily humiliation of Bajazet, and no iron cage —until Bajazet's outrageous

---

[8] Saunders claimed that he based his plot on a recent "Novell call'd *Tamerlane and Asteria*" (Saunders 1681, [a1v]). I have not been able to find this source, but Saunders' plot resembles the French play by Jaques Pradon (1675), the source for the opera librettos discussed in the next section.

[9] For a discussion of Knolles's positive portrayal of Timūr, see McJannet (2006, 124-27).

acts force Tamerlane to punish him. Tamerlane's inner circle includes loyal Christians as well as sour (and sometimes treacherous) Tartars. Tamerlane's modesty and virtue are repeatedly displayed. For example, he responds to his generals' praise for the victory over Bajazet in language that echoes Macbeth (when he was still virtuous), King Lear on the heath, and Henry V after Agincourt:

> It is too much, you dress me
> Like an Usurper in the borrow'd Attributes
> Of injured Heav'n: Can we call conquest ours?
> Shall Man, this Pigmy, with a Giant's Pride
> Vaunt of himself, and say, Thus have I done this?
> […]
> Could I forget I am a Man, as thou art,
> Would not the winter's cold, or summer's Heat,
> Sickness, thirst, or Hunger […]
> […]
> Reprove me daily? — No—If I boast of ought,
> Be it, to have been Heaven's happy Instrument […] (Burns 1966, 41–42)

By contrast, Rowe's Bajazet is a haughty and unpleasant figure. Initially, he maintains some dignity in his insistence that his soul is unbowed by defeat, but eventually he tries to kill his own daughter rather than let her marry Axalla, a Greek Christian. In fact, Bajazet (though already a prisoner when the play begins) commits the only violent acts in the play, and these actions are emphasized in the printed editions, which show him supervising the strangling of Moneses, the Greek nobleman who was betrothed to Arpasia before she was forced to marry the sultan, and threatening to kill his daughter Selima (figs. 2 and 3). By contrast, Tamerlane loses his temper only once, when Bajazet accuses him of trying to seduce his [Bajazet's] wife. A happy ending is secured for one of the couples, but the other falls victim to Bajazet's
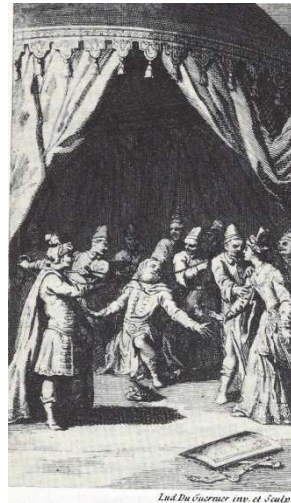
Fig. 2. Bajazeth looks on while the Mutes strangle Moneses and restrain the distraught Arpasia. From Nicholas Rowe, *Tamerlane, A Tragedy*, fourth ed., 1717.

wrath. Caught in the act of attempting to murder Selima, Bajazet is finally imprisoned in the iron cage, where he can do no further harm.

Fig. 3. Bajazeth (John Palmer) threatens his daughter Selima. From Nicholas Rowe, *Tamerlane, A Tragedy,* 1776 (and in later editions).

So, what does all this have to do with William III? Rowe's Tamerlane is so perfect a monarch that he was immediately read as an image of the king, who died the year that the play was published. Commentators saw a political allegory, with Tamerlane and his Christian commanders as William and the Whigs, upholding peace and justice at home and abroad, and Bajazet as Louis XIV, persecuting French Protestants and waging war against the Dutch (Burns 1966, 5). Rowe's Preface did nothing to dispel this interpretation.[10] Further, the corrupt *dervish* (or priest) and the disgruntled Tartar lords were seen as representing Jacobite Catholics and Tories.[11] Theatre managers began to mount the play every November 4, William's birthday, and November 5, Guy Fawkes Day and the anniversary of William's arrival in England in 1688 (Clark 1950, 146). Beginning in 1716, the play was performed six to ten times a year for sixty years —an astonishing run (Burns 1966, 6). With a tamed Tamerlane, the play became a Whig ritual that celebrated their hero (William), maligned Tory rivals, and looked forward to continued influence and power.

---

[10] In his dedication, Rowe admits that his hero and the king share "many Features" including "Courage, […] Piety, […] Moderation, […] and […] Fatherly Love of [the] people, but above all, his Hate of Tyranny and Oppression, and his zealous Care for the common Good of Mankind." His portrayal, he insists, only shows "how far the *Hero* [William] has *transcended the Poet's Thought*" (Burns 1966, 17, italics in the original).

[11] Contemporaries also identified Axalla with Willem Bentinck, a trusted foreigner who served William, and the rebellious Omar with Lord Denby or the Earl of Godolphin (Thorp 1940, 125-126).

Surprisingly, the extant editions boast six images of famous actors in the role of Bajazeth, but none of Tamerlane.[12] The sultan's costume became increasingly oriental. His modest Turkish turban, tunic, and cloak in the edition of 1717 morph, in the 1792 edition, into a fanciful, feathered headdress, harem pants, and an ermine-trimmed robe (figs. 2 and 3). Although the faces of mutes participating in the strangling are rather ghoulish, neither they nor Bajazet appear to be what we would call racially other. Since Tamerlane was identified with William III, it seems unlikely that either his physical appearance or his costume would have been more exotic than the sultan's. Dress, behavior, and cultural norms (strangulation by bowstring rather than beheading as a punishment for traitors) are emphasized, not the characters' physiognomy. In addition, only the male characters wore foreign costumes; the women wore fashionable dress of the day, decreasing the distance between the characters and the audience.

Sympathy for the Sultan: Bayazid in Baroque Opera

Adding to the familiarity of Timūr and Bayazid on the eighteenth-century stage was *Tamerlano*, an opera written in London in 1724 by George Frideric Handel. In 1735, Antonio Vivaldi composed an opera with the same title, now called *Bajazet* in order to distinguish the two. In these works, the pendulum of sympathy swung back from Timūr to the Ottoman sultan. Both composers and their librettists relied on an earlier libretto by Agostino Piovene, itself based on a French play by Jacques Pradon published in 1675. Handel's libretto, like its source, "takes the Turkish side":

> It emphasizes the nobility of Bajazet as a put-upon hero who dies by his own hand, and the sufferings of his daughter Asteria, who becomes involved in a most Handelian love triangle with "enemies" Andronicus and Tamerlane. (Ashman 2010, 7)

According to Terence Best, Handel's changes to the libretto deepened sympathy for Bajazet. In Piovene's last scene, Bajazet "leaves the stage after his defiant aria […] and takes poison"; in Handel's version, Bajazet has an extended on-stage death scene, which, "for pathos and dramatic power is unequalled in Baroque

---

[12] I checked all the illustrations in the editions contained in *Early English Books Online*.

opera" (Best 2002, 12). Tamerlano, sung by an *alto castrato* (high tenor voice), is the villain. He jilts Irene to whom he was betrothed and threatens Asteria (Bajazet's daughter) with the murder of her Greek lover if she will not marry him. Everyone in the play flings negative epithets at Tamerlano ("that wretch," "unfaithful *Tamerlano*," "Fiend," "scoundrel," "Barbarian"). After misunderstandings and conflicts of honor, Irene and Asteria, displaying an understanding of dynastic politics and resourcefulness, chastise him by word and example. Stung by their just rebukes and Bajazet's tragic death, he relinquishes his claim to Asteria. In Handel's opera, the addition of powerful female roles and the complex love-plots reconfigure the balance of sympathy between Timūr and Bayazid to make the sultan the tragic hero.[13]

The marks of the characters' otherness in Handel's opera appear to be similar to those in Rowe's play. Burrows speculates that Eastern costumes and sets would have been part of the performance (2002, 11), but the original singers were all Italian, with Andrea Pacini, a famous *alto castrato*, as Tamerlano.[14] So, once again, *mise en scène* was sufficient to transform a European cast into Ottomans, Central Asians, and Egyptians.

Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* Returns, 1919– 2000

Rowe's play disappeared from the stage during the nineteenth century, and Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* reemerged in the twentieth. In 1919, an abridged version played at Yale University, sponsored by the drama coach, Edgar Wooley (later famous as actor Monty Woolley), and his student, Stephen Vincent Benét. According to Nancy Leslie's analysis of the performance text, this "romantic" production imagined Tamburlaine as a "Robin-Hood-turned-

---

[13] Modern performances of Handel's work have emphasized its sympathy for the sultan. In a production by the Los Angeles Opera, Tamerlano was a "flighty-flippant sociopath […]. A sort of [James] Bond villain on helium, or Dr. Evil with perfect pitch," while Placido Domingo sang a "compelling" Bajazet (Wallace 2009). When the production moved to London, critics again found Tamerlano a "lascivious tyrant," while Bajazet, sung by Kurt Streit (who replaced an ailing Domingo), possessed "a forthright, virile dignity" (Christiansen 2010).

[14] Burrows implies that Trevor Pinnock's production with The English Concert in 2001, with its Mongol, Ottoman, and ancient Egyptian costumes, might have approximated the original setting (2002, 11).

Napoléon" and emphasized pageantry over poetry (1971, 112). Nonetheless, a young James Thurber and Shakespeare scholar C.F. Tucker Brooke praised the performance (Dawson 1997, xxx; Leslie 1971, 108). Neville Coghill and members of the Worcester [College] Buskins also mounted the play in 1933, and another Yale production is recorded in 1946 (Leslie 1971, 107.n4). These academic productions were influenced by the work of Harley Granville-Barker and other scholar-practioners, who sought to free Shakespearean drama from decades of Victorian traditions, including "grand" acting, heavily cut texts, an emphasis on spectacle, and interminable scene changes. The Marlowe Society, founded in 1907 at Cambridge University, inspired by the similar ideas of William Poel, dedicated itself to "verse speaking, clarity, intelligence of direction and acting, and a corresponding lack of emphasis on scenic spectacle" (Marlowe Society 2015).[15] Although the Marlowe Society staged *Doctor Faustus* in 1907, it did not tackle *Tamburlaine* until 1993. Taken together, however, the university productions played an underappreciated role in the reintroduction of *Tamburlaine* to the theatre and in the revival of Marlowe and other early modern dramatists generally.

With Tyrone Guthrie's decision to open the Old Vic's 1951 season with *Tamburlaine*, Marlowe's play returned to the professional stage. Between 1950 and the end of the twentieth century, the play received nine professional productions (including Guthrie's), plus nine non-commercial performances, two BBC readings, and one radio broadcast of a new

Fig. 4. Donald Wolfit in *Tamburlaine the Great*, 1951. © John Vickers/University of Bristol Theatre Collection/ArenaPAL.

opera based on the play (see Appendix). The productions featured generic Eastern costumes and settings. While white actors (with a few exceptions to be discussed later) filled all the roles, as was the case in classic theatre at the time, Tamburlaine began to appear in

---

[15] The Society nurtured many prominent Shakespearean actors and directors: John Barton, Peter Hall, Trevor Nunn, Derek Jacobi, and Ian McKellan are all among its alumni.

"oriental" makeup, and his cruelty was associated with markers of barbarism and cultural/racial otherness.

For example, in Guthrie's 1951 version, Tamburlaine, played by Donald Wolfit, threatens the Persian king Mycetes with a spear, while Cosroe looks on (fig. 4). Tamburlaine's costume differs from the Persians' civilized robes, but, as James Maloon pointed out, the costumes worn by his men were "about 1000 years too early": their wooly hides and bare limbs were more suitable for Attila the Hun than Timūr (Maloon 1977, 25). Guthrie's final scene depicted Tamburlaine as declining into animality: clad in a fur coat, Wolfit "prowled on all fours" over an immense map "like a fever-ravaged grizzly" (Leslie 1971, 114). Thus Guthrie exaggerated Tamburlaine's barbarism in relation to his antagonists in the play, as well as in relation to the audience. In addition, audiences and reviewers read

Fig. 5. Donald Wolfit in *Tamburlaine the Great*, 1951. Photograph by Maurice Ambler. ©Hulton-Deutsch Collection/ CORBIS.

Wolfit's costume and make-up as "Mongolian," and it became more so in *Part II* (fig. 5). Eric Keown quipped that he "changed his hairdresser in the interval and acquired new Mongolian deviltry" (quoted in Maloon 1977, 18). Eric Johns also noted the "savage and repulsive" makeup and ascribed Tamburlaine's brutality in *Part II* with his "slip[ping] back toward his Mongol origins" (quoted in Maloon 1977, 18). Wolfit's moustache resembled that of the fictional Dr. Fu Manchu, the arch-villain in a series of novels written by Sax Rohmer in the 1920s and 1930s.[16] The Fu Manchu craze is now seen as part of the reaction to the growing influence of China, the so-called Yellow Peril. The ethnic prejudices circulating at the time were also revealed by the reviewer for *The Times*¸ who observed that Wolfit's Tamburlaine displayed "a street-arab delight in cruelty" (Anon. 1951, 8). The off-hand, lower-case

---

[16] Sax Rohmer was the pen name and persona of Arthur Henry Ward (1883-1959). Fu Manchu's evil schemes circulated for decades in feature films, serials, comic strips, comic books, and radio dramas based on the novels.

stereotyping ("street-arab") and the conflation of Mongolian and Arab peoples itself indicates a lack of interest in or knowledge of ethnic distinctions —an ignorance which this production seemed to exploit.

Guthrie's revival of this production in 1956, with Anthony Quayle as Tamburlaine, elicited similar prejudices. Coral Browne disappointed as Zabina, one critic wrote: she had not "sufficient force to do more than suggest oriental savagery: she [was] a western woman in a world of eastern barbarism" (Anon. 1956, 12). Interestingly, the same critic who associated Tamburlaine and his men with savagery and brutality (a not unfair response to this production) found Douglas Rain's Bajazeth full of "nobility" and endowed "with the wrath and majesty of a lion" (Anon. 1956, 12). So, at least one Eastern character was viewed positively. Scheduled for eight weeks in New York, Guthrie's revival lasted only twenty-one performances. Maloon blames Guthrie's sensationalized direction and textual cuts, not his audiences, for this failure (1977, 24).

Peter Hall's 1976 production at the National Theatre took a similar approach, but achieved the opposite result. His all-white cast included Albert Finney as Tamburlaine, Denis Quilley as Bajazeth, Susan Fleetwood as Zenocrate, and Barbara Jefford as Zabina. The costumes were opulent, silks studded with jewels. In this production, Bajazeth sported the black moustache, but it was less cartoonish than Wolfit's (fig. 6).[17] Finney's moustache

Fig. 6. *Tamburlaine the Great*, Act III, scene 3, with Barbara Jefford, Denis Quilley, Albert Finney, and Susan Fleetwood, National Theatre, 1976. ©Nobby Clark/ArenaPAL.

was equally impressive but reddish brown (like the historical Timūr's), and therefore (apparently) not "repulsive and savage" as was Wolfit's. Tamburlaine was often bare-legged while Bajazeth was

---

[17] Contemporary images of the Ottomans, such as Gentile Bellini's portrait of Mehmet II, often show them with beards and moustaches, and some resemble the Fu Manchu style.

robed, contrasting the more civilized Ottomans with the upstart hero. Critics also noticed Finney's "peasant swagger" and his "corner cockiness," observing tartly that Finney himself, unlike actors of the earlier generation, "ha[d] never seemed a gentleman" (Walker 1976). However, Hall's "detached, unjudging, and often humorous direction" resulted in a "dangerously attractive" hero, which would seem quite faithful to the play (Nightingale 1976, 73).[18] In an additional contrast with Guthrie's production, Hall kept the battles off-stage and, used stylized effects, such as red spotlights for pools of blood, to suggest (rather than show) their violence. As a result, the savagery so pronounced in Guthrie's version was muted (Geckle 1978, 339). Still, like Guthrie, Hall introduced a less appealing Tamburlaine in *Part II*. Quilley's Bajazeth grew in stature and sympathy as the play progressed, achieving "the difficult task of making his defeat more moving than any of Tamburlaine's victories" (MacPherson 1976). In the second half, Finney acquired "a wild-eyed" look, sufficiently different from his "fiery but engaging" demeanor in *Part I* to convey "an impending streak of madness" (Geckle 1978, 336). Thus, Hall included the trademark moustache but focused on Tamburlaine's mental instability rather than his ethnicity to explain the atrocities of *Part II*.

Terry Hands's 1992 production with Antony Sher for the Royal Shakespeare Company at the Swan Theatre found more problematic reference points for Tamburlaine's brutality. Sher, a white South African, had built his career playing the most sinister —and sometimes most other— of Shakespeare's characters: Richard III, Shylock, Iago, and Macbeth. Michael Billington wrote that he played Tamburlaine as a "bulging-eyed monomaniac with a Hitlerian dream of world conquest" (1992, 24). Hands's stated goal was to present "the human animal with its teeth bared" (quoted in Dawson 1997, xxxvii). He reportedly showed the actors videos of wild dogs hunting as a model for the behavior of Tamburlaine and his men.

---

[18] Based on the reviews and production photographs, I could imagine Finney's Tamburlaine, with his boyish charm, as the hero of Fielding's *Tom Jones* (1963), one of Finney's best film roles.

Barbaric, yes, but Sher's Tamburlaine was a home-grown barbarian in a matted Mohawk hairstyle and a bandana (fig. 7). The bandana accounts for his description as "Rambo triumphant" (Wardle 1992), an allusion to the post-Vietnam vigilante played by Sylvester Stallone, whose hallmark (apart from his physique and machine gun) was a bloody bandana-headband.

Fig. 7. Antony Sher, drenched in blood, as Tamburlaine, Royal Shakespeare Company, 1992–3. © Henrietta Butler/ ArenaPAL.

In Hands's production, Bajazeth and his court entered on golden stilts wearing tusked helmets and long robes. Given Hands's metaphor of Tamburlaine as the leader of a hunting-pack, the tusked emperor seemed a natural prey —a slow-footed water buffalo or an elephant cornered at the watering hole. When Bajazeth "snarl[ed]" at him, Tamburlaine responded with "tigerish roars," continuing the animalistic theme (Billington 1992, 24). Eventually, Sher kicked out the stilts, like a mischievous child, and toppled the sultan. Hands exacerbated Tamburlaine's barbarity with interpolated stage business. The banquet scene and the taunting of Bajazeth and Zabina included real cannibalism, not just the text's hypothetical allusions to it (Wardle 1992), and Tamburlaine's followers were allowed "to urinate over the morsels with which they taunt[ed] the starving [Bajazeth]" (Billington 1992, 24).[19]

Given this increase in the hero's savagery, the moment at which Sher became a "shaggy tribal chieftain, who leads his troops in foot-stamping chants and lethal high kicks" struck me as problematic (Billington 1992, 24). The movement sequence was created by South African playwright and director Welcome Msomi, who founded the Izulu Dance Theatre in 1965 and brought *uMabatha* or *The Zulu Macbeth* to London in 1972. Since high kicks are hallmarks of Zulu dances, some audience members may have inferred that

---

[19] Keith Hack had also introduced cannibalism in his production in Glasgow in 1972, so this detail was not original with Hands; see Wardle 1972, 15.

Tamburlaine's barbarity could be conveyed —or even explained— by an association with Zulu dancing. In any case, the introduction of an African motif was a departure from previously oriental markers of Tamburlaine's otherness and pointed the way to the nontraditional casting that was to follow.

Tamburlaine and BajAzeth: Black actors in the New Millennium

In the twenty-first century, interest in staging Marlowe's play has grown. The last five decades of the twentieth century saw nine professional productions, nine university or non-commercial productions, two readings on the BBC, and one opera broadcast; the first decade and a half of this century have already logged five professional, two non-commercial productions, one staged reading at Shakespeare's Globe, and four opera performances or recordings (see Appendix). No doubt, the attacks of September 11, 2001, the rise of brutal non-state terrorists, and the tragic sectarian violence in the Middle East and other parts of the world account for much of the play's current appeal: it features brutality as a political tactic and conflict among different Muslim groups as well as between Muslims and Christians. Moreover, in this century, Bajazeth, Tamburlaine, and other characters are likely to be played by actors of color. Casting actors of color in roles previously restricted to whites is a relatively recent phenomenon. It took centuries for white audiences to accept a black man in the role of black character such as Othello or Aaron, let alone Hamlet, Romeo, or Henry V. Joseph Papp's Shakespeare in the Park in New York pioneered the practice in the 1960s, and now it is becoming the norm especially in Britain.[20] Simultaneously, and partly as a result of this practice, audiences for productions of Shakespeare and other classic dramatists have themselves become more diverse, altering the dynamics of identification among character, actor, and audience.

In her pioneering collection, *Colorblind Shakespeare*, Ayanna Thompson distinguishes between "colorblind casting" and "nontraditional casting." In colorblind casting, an actor's race is

---

[20] Ayanna Thompson discusses Papp's courageous but partial contribution to opening up Shakespearean performances to actors of color (2006, 1, 4-5).

assumed to be irrelevant to his or her suitability for a role. Applying this principle opened the closed world of Shakespearean performance to actors of color. In practice, however, colorblind casting had some unwritten rules: if the hero was black, so was his love interest (no "interracial romantic couples"), and families likewise had to be "monochromatic" (Thompson 2006, 9). Thompson argues, further, that audiences can never really be blind to race in contemporary society, and that the attempt to make race invisible, as E. Patrick Johnson has written, risks ignoring or devaluing the fact that "the black body has historically been the site of violence and trauma" (quoted in Thompson 2006, 15). Reviewers of early colorblind productions were uncertain whether to note an actor's race; if race was irrelevant, it seemed inappropriate to mention it (Thompson 2006, 9). As a result, as I have discovered, tracking this trend can be difficult.[21] Nontraditional casting, on the other hand, uses the actor's race deliberately to make a socio-political point or to add another layer to characterization or theme. It doesn't pretend race is invisible; rather, it leverages the historical and cultural associations of race to create timely new meanings. However, as Thompson points out, the "significance of an actor's race is perpetually in flux," so intended meanings must be established in the performance itself and may or may not be successfully communicated. In her view, neither colorblind nor nontraditional casting can therefore never be entirely "free from the specter of racism" —or from racist interpretation (2006, 8).

Both colorblind and nontraditional casting have had their critics, most notably the late African American playwright August Wilson, whose award-winning plays document a century of American history as experienced by African Americans. Wilson viewed colorblind casting of classic plays as another way to make blackness invisible, to elevate the cultural capital of white writers, and to entrench Shakespearean roles as the crowning achievement for an actor (Thompson 2006, 1). Peter Erickson questions the term "colorblind" itself on the grounds that it appears to avoid discussion of whiteness and to assume (in Patricia Williams's phrase) "a

---

[21] Some reviewers include a photograph that clarifies the casting, and visiting the actors' websites can be helpful. But even then, one is confronted with the infinite variety of human appearance and a photograph may or may not accurately convey how a particular person identifies him- or herself with respect to race or ethnicity.

prematurely imagined community" in which all races have an equal place (2006, 242). Referring to Denzel Washington, who played Don Pedro in Kenneth Branagh's *Much Ado about Nothing*, Erickson asks, "How can we be colorblind if […] the character excluded from the marital festivity [at the end] is played by the actor who just happens to be black?" (2006, 248 n.19). As an alternative, Thompson embraces ethnographer Dwight Conquergood's concept of Bakhtinian, "dialogical performances" that would "bring self and other together so that they can question, debate, and challenge one another" (quoted in Thompson 2006, 17). Far from being blind to race, such performances would be committed to the dialogue between actor and text. They would discard the unwritten conventions of colorblind casting and encourage audience members and critics "not to be afraid to discuss moments in a production that [made] them uncomfortable" (Thompson 2006, 17). While this model remains somewhat abstract and might not satisfy Wilson, it resembles Erickson's call to view cross-racial casting (the term he prefers) as an "explicit metadramatic theme whose interpretation is crucial to a [production's] overall meaning" (2006, 242).

Thompson's and Erickson's insights can illuminate the ways that actors of color, and particularly actors of African ancestry, have been cast in recent productions of *Tamburlaine*. While it is not a simple linear progression, one can see examples of colorblind, nontraditional, and perhaps even dialogical cross-racial casting. In addition to race, contemporary productions also highlight the play's Muslim milieu and the characters' religious identity. The success of such decisions (like everything else in a production) can be determined only case-by-case, preferably after multiple viewings. Consequently, I will briefly survey critics' reactions to productions I did not see and concentrate on the 2014–2015 production directed by Michael Boyd, which I was able to see twice, and with some of whose actors I was able to speak after the performances. I do not presume to speak for all white, female, Scots-Irish-Franco-American, lapsed Catholic spectators (such as myself), much less for the diverse urban audiences who saw these productions. However, while earlier productions clearly opened up Marlowe's play to new actors and new meanings, my experience of Boyd's production came closest to the dialogical ideal Thompson envisions.

Actors of color first appeared in supporting roles.[22] Claire Benedict, a native of Antigua, W.I., played Zenocrate to Antony Sher's Tamburlaine in 1992/3. This added race to their social and ethnic differences (she a princess from an ancient state and culture, he an upstart nomadic warrior) and created an interracial couple, one of Thompson's benchmarks for fully nontraditional casting. As noted above, Hands also included a Zulu-like dance sequence, but this ethnic touch was associated with Tamburlaine and his men, not Zenocrate.

Bajazeth was the first major character to be played by a black actor. In 1999 at Covent Garden, Samantha Shammas cast a black English actor, Jason Barnett, opposite a white Tamburlaine (Brendan Fleming). The actress playing Zabina (Iona Grant) was also black, while Zenocrate (Catherine Harvey) was white, so this production did not feature interracial couples.[23] Rather, two couples of contrasting ancestry squared off in their battle for empire. Less comprehensible was the presence of "a high steel fence peppered with more than 300 blood-spattered [black] dolls" (Shammas 1999). The dolls in the production photographs initially bore some resemblance to Benin sculptures, but on closer inspection they seemed to be black Kewpie dolls. Strung up even before the massacre of the Virgins or the fate of the Governor of Babylon, they seemed to point forward to Tamburlaine's bloodiest acts. Perhaps they signified all the lives lost in his murderous campaigns, or perhaps they were meant to represent religious totems, but in either case their blackness remained puzzling. Ben Naylor's 2003 production at the Rose Theatre featured Ghanian-born Kwaku Ankomah as a "terrifying and majestic" Bajazeth opposite light-skinned, Egyptian-born Khalid Abdalla as Tamburlaine (Violanti 2004, 124). Once again, race as well as politics separated the rivals.

---

[22] In describing the effects of cross-racial casting, I will necessarily focus on the markers audiences would see and hear, such as skin tone or accents from the actors' countries of origin or ancestry. I have not been able to determine how specific actors might identify themselves (except where they are on record, like John Douglas Thompson). I recognize that markers of social and racial difference exist to uphold hierarchies of power, and I hope my analysis will be able to discuss some of the points of discomfort Thompson mentions, without creating discomfort in others. I will appreciate hearing about my failures.

[23] I base this assertion on the photograph of the two queens confronting each other on the director's website (Shammas 1999).

Naylor also included Muslim costumes, such as the burqa worn by the (single) Virgin of Damascus (Violanti 2004, 123). Finally, in 2005 at the Bristol Old Vic and later at the Barbican in London, David Farr directed Trinidad-born Jeffrey Kissoon as Bajazeth opposite a white Tamburlaine (Greg Hicks). The Anglo African actress Ann Ogbomo was Zabina, so the sultan and his wife were bound by ancestry as well as mutual devotion. Tamburlaine's men initially appeared in sheepskins, but their costumes later became "conventionally transhistorical," blending chain-mail shirts with "twenty-first-century guerilla garb"; the Virgins again wore quasi-Muslim dress, "white cheesecloth-like burqas" (Shand 2006, 50–51).

Fig. 8. Greg Hicks as Tamburlaine and Jeffrey Kissoon as Bajazeth, Bristol Old Vic, 2005. © Manuel Harlan.

Given the casting of these three productions, the tableau of a white Tamburlaine mounting his throne on the back of a kneeling black Bajazeth would have carried extra significance (fig. 8.) Evoking the history of slavery and colonialism, it invited audience members to identify uncomfortably with Tamburlaine, the white oppressor, or (with guilt or sympathy) with his black victim —or all of the above. Farr also cast Nigerian-born Chukwudi Iwuji as the Persian captain Theridamas, one of Tamburlaine's trusted commanders. This casting also seemed purposeful, suggesting that black as well as white fighters had rallied to Tamburlaine's cause. At the same time, Iwuji conveyed discomfort with Tamburlaine's cruelest actions; he was "no unquestioning henchman" (Keenan 2006, para.13). Farr thus distributed feelings of resistance among actors/characters of different races and genders, the black Theridamas and the white Zenocrate, whose dismay at some of her husband's actions was heightened in this production (Shand 2006, 51).

In addition to playing Bajazeth in 2005, Jeffrey Kissoon was the first black actor to play Tamburlaine himself —or a piece of him. In the 1972 Glasgow Citizens' Theatre version directed by Keith Hack, Kissoon was one of three actors who took the role, one in each act. Wardle wrote that this arrangement did not convey any character progression or contribute to the meaning of the production, but his own comments belie his assertion. He characterized the three actors as providing a developmental arc for the hero and associated Kissoon's race with Tamburlaine's more negative acts. As he put it, Rupert Frazer played Tamburlaine as "an erotic adventurer" and Kissoon as "a brutal dusky killer," while Mike Gwilym acquired "something like Marlovian dignity and sonority" (Wardle 1972, 15). In the eye of this critic, Kissoon's race became associated with Tamburlaine's bloody acts and reinforced negative stereotypes.

Only in 2007 did a black actor undertake the entire lead role. Michael Kahn's Shakespeare Theatre Company in Washington, D.C., featured African American actor Avery Brooks as Tamburlaine and a multiracial cast. There were several interracial couples: Theridamas (Scott Jaeck) was white and Olympia (Amy Kim Waschke) was Asian American; Bajzaeth (David

Fig. 9. Avery Brooks as Tamburlaine, 2007. Photograph by Carol Rosegg. ©The Shakespeare Theatre Company.

McCann) was white and Zabina (Franchelle Stewart Dorn) was African American; and Tamburlaine (Brooks) played opposite Mia Tagano (Zenocrate), who describes herself as "Japanese, Armenian, and German" (Tagano [2015]). Tamburlaine's sons were plausibly bi-racial, with their mother's eyes, and a skin tone lighter than their father's, so two of the unspoken limits of colorblind casting were contravened.[24] Tamburlaine's entrance in *Part II*, with the captive

---

[24] Historically, an Ottoman sultan's wife or favored concubine might indeed have been of a different ethnicity. Muslim women were protected from concubinage, and captured non-Muslim women often rose to positions of influence. Süleyman the Magnificent's wife, Roxolana, was of Circassian or Russian descent. So this instance of cross-racial casting could have been a nod to history.

kings pulling his chariot, was spectacularly realized with a large war wagon, a diverse band of warriors and enslaved kings, and black banners presaging the destruction of Babylon **(**fig. 9**)**.

Fig. 10. Soldier with helmet, leather "obi-style" belt or armor, and striped and block printed cotton robes. Photograph by Carol Rosegg. ©The Shakespeare Theatre Company.

In keeping with the racially diverse cast, the production was eclectically designed. Tamburlaine initially wore nomadic leather and fur that contrasted with the Turks' and Persians' silks and turbans. Soldiers sported Central Asian helmets as well as obi-like leather belts and striped cotton robes (see fig. 10). Olympia's and Zenocrate's East Asian identities were reflected in two *taiko* drums suspended on the rear wall of the stage and the antique Chinese canopy bed on which Olympia tricked Theridamas into ending her life. The play's Islamic milieu was not emphasized, however. Lois Potter observed that the play, with its Muslim characters and provocative scenes (such as the burning of the Koran in *Part II*), is arguably so "contemporary as to be almost unplayable"; she felt that Kahn opted for "remoteness and beauty as if afraid of what would happen if he pushed the topicality too far" (2009, 64–65). Nonetheless, Kahn retained the burning of "an oversized Koran" (Godwin 2009, 126), a scene which had been "neuter[ed]" in Farr's production by the substitution of "unidentified 'holy books'" (Shand 2006, 49). Overall, Laura Grace Godwin criticized Kahn's production for not living up to its own splendor —or to the complexity of Marlowe's text. In her view, Kahn reduced the play to a "live-action video game pitting one exotically named and dressed ruler against another" (2009, 126).

Brooks had played Othello for Kahn's company and was also known for his television work as Hawk, the hard-boiled detective in *Spenser for Hire* and as Captain Sisko in *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine*. Critics praised his deep and powerful voice and invoked the memory of Paul Robeson, African American opera star, actor, and

activist (Godwin 2009, 125; McCauley 2010). Godwin praised his work as Othello and acknowledged that he would have seemed "an excellent choice" for the part (2009, 125), but she was severely critical of his performance and Kahn's direction. Tamburlaine's dialogue, she wrote, "was never clearly enunciated, and […] it was usually punctuated by animalistic growls […] and a vigorous shaking of the body, with the result that undecipherable non-verbal messages regularly obscured the content of Marlowe's mighty lines" (2009, 125). She faulted the director for undercutting Tamburlaine's stature by depicting Bajazeth as "an English pantomime emperor straight out of a West End production of *Aladdin*" (2009, 126). (Before his defeat, Bajazeth lounged on a divan with a turban and mutton-chop facial hair, resembling a Victorian gentleman in smoking jacket more than the Ottoman sultan known as the Lightning Bolt [fig. 11].[25])

Fig. 11. David McCann as Bajazeth with mutton-chops, reclining on his throne, 2007. Photograph by Carol Rosegg. ©The Shakespeare Theatre Company.

Godwin's comments about Brooks's performance carry an unfortunate historical sting. As Thompson points out, black actors had been excluded from Shakespearean and other classical roles for their alleged inability to speak and understand Shakespeare's language; it was a "litmus test" used to disqualify them in advance (2006, 2). I did not see Brooks in the role, so I cannot confirm or contradict the description of his delivery, and Godwin is a respected critic, whose views appear regularly in *Shakespeare Bulletin* and other journals. In considering the specifics she mentions, it is important to recall that "animalistic" details had been associated with white actors, too: Antony Sher roared like a tiger (Billington 1992, 24); Sher's Turkish opponents bellowed like elephants (Tasnim 2012); and Wolfit in his final scene crawled across the stage like a wounded

---

[25]The painted-on Fu Manchu moustache was demoted and appeared only on Mycetes, the foolish Persian monarch.

bear (Leslie 1971, 114). Nonetheless, Godwin's criticism (true or not) strikes the ear differently when it concerns an actor of color. This is not to say that a reviewer should not speak his or her mind. As noted earlier, in *Colorblind Shakespeare* Thompson exhorts spectators, actors, and critics alike to speak honestly, but this example illustrates the challenges all parties face in discussing nontraditional casting. In this case, it seems, Kahn created a visually beautiful, multicultural world for Marlowe's hero, where interracial couples and mixed race families were the norm, but Brooks may have been miscast and was apparently not well served by Kahn's direction.

Fig. 12. Douglas Thompson as Tamburlaine, Chukwuji Iwuji as Bajazeth, Theatre for a New Audience, 2014. ©Gerry Goodstein.

In 2014, Michael Boyd also cast a black actor, John Douglas Thompson, as Tamburlaine in production at the Polansky Shakespeare Center at the Theatre for a New Audience in Brooklyn, NY (fig. 12). Thompson was born in the UK, educated in the US, and identifies himself as a Canadian-American. Unlike Brooks, Thompson's career developed in the theatre, including the Royal Shakespeare Company and other prestigious venues. Boyd, like Kahn, included many actors of color in the cast, so neither Brooks nor Thompson was a token black in an all-white cast. Rather, both casts conveyed the global scale of the contest for empire. Chukwudi Iwuji (Theridamas in Farr's production) played Bajazeth, and Jamaican-born Patrice Johnson Chevannes was Zabina. Thus, this couple was not interracial, but Zenocrate (Merrit Janson) was white, and her children with Tamburlaine had varied skin tones: one dark, one white, and one in-between. I read this as true-to-life; children of interracial marriages may resemble one parent more than another. But at least one critic read it differently. Joel Dodson judged Thompson's Tamburlaine "terrific" in *Part I*, but he observed that the hero seemed "unaware [in *Part II*] that two of his three sons look[ed]

conspicuously more like his generals than himself" (2014, 8).[26] Our different interpretations illustrate Thompson's point that the significance of an actor's race on stage is neither fixed nor easily controlled. Similarly, in this production, Calyphas (James Odom), the son who rejected his father's warlike ethos and died at his hands, closely resembled his father physically, while Amyras (Zachary Infante), the son who succeeded Tamburlaine, was smaller in stature and lighter-skinned.[27] I felt the casting challenged simplistic assumptions about inheritance and physical versus temperamental leadership qualities; others may have seen not irony but stereotyping at work.

Overall, Boyd's casting seemed strategic and dialogical, not merely colorblind. Of the actors playing Tamburlaine's victims, about half were white and half were not; his closest comrades in arms, Usumcasane (Carlo Alban), Techelles (Keith Randolph Smith), and Theridamas (Andrew Hovelson) were of different ages and ethnicities. While Thompson is

Fig. 13. Chukwudi Iwuji as an elegant Bajazeth, Theatre for a New Audience, 2014. ©Gerry Goodstein.

"classically trained" (a term rather irritatingly repeated in many of reviews of this performance), he employed the voice, gestures, and body language typical of a more or less contemporary American.[28] According to one reviewer, he played the part "with drawling wit and vigour," "more like a tough contemporary cop […] than a well-spoken […] Marlovian protagonist" (Fisher 2014, 2). Though he avoided a self-conscious vocal delivery, Thompson was totally at ease with —and the master of— Marlowe's language, just as he was

---

[26] Dodson's comment seems to overlook the fact that several of Tamburlaine's generals (including Techelles and Usumcasane) were also played by actors of color, although their skin tones were lighter than the hero's.

[27] Sitting in the second row, I felt how intensely Infante inhabited his role as he locked eyes with members of the audience, while Tamburlaine threatened the citizens of Babylon.

[28] The phrase "classically trained" or "classical actor" was used by Simon, Barbour, Brantley, and Croghan. It uncomfortably resembled white journalists describing a person of color as "articulate" or "well spoken," as if the quality were unusual. No reviewer used such a descriptor for Wolfit, Finney, or Sher.

physically dominant and at ease in his body. Whereas Thompson's Tamburlaine sounded American, Bajazeth and Zabina had British accents. Their costumes were of golden silk brocade, elegant and fitted, in contrast to Tamburlaine's loose, military-style great coat (fig. 13). Thompson gestured expansively, whereas the Ottoman emperor and his wife moved precisely and formally, holding their bodies erect, reinforcing the social distance between themselves and Tamburlaine. Boyd's direction thus explored nuances of privilege and power within a racial group, suggesting that race itself is not the only social barrier.

More than Kahn, Boyd stressed the religious elements of the play. The Christians in *Part II* (who were cut by Kahn) carried large crosses into battle. When the Christian Sigismund and the Muslim Orcanes agreed to a truce, they emphasized the names by which they swore, hitting the consonants with competitive force: "Jesus *Chr*is*t*" and "sa*c*r*e*d Mahom*et*." Also religiously pointed was the massacre of the Virgins at Damascus. Two of the women wore hijabs or khimars (long cape-like veils) over loose black garments, and one wore a more concealing niqab or burqa, which conveniently disguised the male actor who filled out their numbers. In a stunning effect, their deaths were conveyed by streams of blood, running down the strips of translucent PVC behind which they stood (see fig. 14). There was no escaping the fact the Tamburlaine was destroying fellow Muslims. Similarly, when Tamburlaine prepared to burn the Koran, the captive Muslim kings protested with horror, underscoring their reverence for the holy book. Recalling recent anti-Muslim provocations, flash paper ignited spectacularly, and ashes wafted down upon the stage.

Fig. 14. The death of the Virgins of Damascus, with John Douglas Thompson as Tamburlaine, Theatre for a New Audience, 2014. ©Gerry Goodstein.

As the production progressed, the costumes and props crept closer to modern times. Machine guns and pistols replaced daggers and scimitars, and, as in other productions, Tamburlaine became less sympathetic. In act 5, he confronted audience members as if they were the besieged people of Babylon. As he rolled in on his war wagon (which had doubled as Bajazeth's cage), his sons and others hung off the sides of the vehicle, brandishing AK47s. The effect was right out of the headlines, which were full of ISIS fighters in pick-up trucks, who had defeated Middle Eastern armies and declared their Caliphate. ISIS's very name —the Islamic State— constitutes a symbolic claim that recalls Manz's account of Timūr's self-legitimation. Like the historical Timūr and Marlowe's hero, modern terrorists use rhetorical claims and staged violence to create their own reality. An uncanny moment occurred when Tamburlaine cut his arm and ordered his sons to bathe their hands in his blood. As his "good" sons eagerly obeyed, I was reminded of how boys who had escaped from ISIS described their training. According to one young recruit, the teacher showed them how to behead a prisoner and asked for volunteers to perform the act on a living captive: "The youngest boys' hands shot up, and several were chosen to participate. 'I'd become desensitized by then,' the young man reported. 'The beheading videos they'd showed us helped'" (Abi-Habib 2014, A1). As one critic noted, in Boyd's production, "the history of the present moment [became] a co-author, adding its own expressive footnotes […] without any directorial intervention" (O'Brien 2014).

Taken together, these examples of a black Tamburlaine (and/or a black Bajazeth) resonate in multiple ways. One may feel uneasy that so violent and brutal a character is among the first classical roles offered to black actors and that some critics saw racial stereotypes enacted. On the other hand, Thompson's performance was universally hailed, as a "force of nature" (Brantley 2014, C1). He was praised for finding nuances in the hero, without compromising his defiance of all conventional morality (O'Brien 2014). None of the previous white actors was seen as achieving comparable complexity. Similarly, critics agreed that Iwuji and Chevannes rescued Bajazeth and Zabina from their supposed bluster to create noble, sympathetic opponents for Tamburlaine. Further, in practical terms, Tamburlaine

and Bajazeth are *leading* roles —as well as great roles— from a major play in the repertoire. They are prizes to be sought —not to mention paychecks to be welcomed. To play either of these characters is a mark of excellence and accomplishment as an actor. Audiences are aware of these practical and professional considerations, and (I speculate) many viewers can separate the actor from the role, which is, I would argue, distinct from being "blind" to an actor's race. When I spoke with some of Boyd's cast, this was their implicit view of the matter. They were proud to be in such an excellent production and reveled in the reception of Thompson's performance as Tamburlaine, as well as the raves received by Iwuji, Chevannes, and Keith Randoph Smith, among others. They were more interested in matters of craft than in discussing the implications of cross-racial casting or points of contact with contemporary events: Had I picked up on the logic of the doubling of Zenocrate and Callapine, or of Bajazeth and Zabina's return as the kings of Trebizon and Syria in *Part II*? The subtleties of cross-racial casting and the parallels with contemporary events they seemed to take as givens, as aspects of the performance that the audience was welcome to interpret on its own.

If black Tamburlaines and Bajazeths and multiracial casts can create new meanings and insights in performances of Marlowe's text, what might be the result of a mostly Asian cast or a historically accurate production, in which actors of Persian, Arab, Turkish, Egyptians, North African, and Central Asian descent took the parts of their ancestors?[29] Could such a production be done in our historical moment? Would it be an overdue rebuttal of the Yellow Peril productions of the previous century, or a reactionary retreat to bogus historical fidelity? To be sure, it would raise the question of which kind of Arab or Egyptian or Central Asian would appear. These terms, like "Black" or "Latino" or "Asian" in our own lexicon, refer to communities that are not monolithic or fixed. Moreover, our understanding of the intermixture of cultures and races in those distant places at that distant time is far from perfect. Still, having

---

[29] In 1989, Antonio Diaz-Florian directed a production at the Théâtre de l'Épee de Bois in Paris that featured actors from North Africa, the Middle East, and South America. Dias-Florian, a Peruvian, played Tamburlaine (in most convincing fashion, judging from production photographs), and the common denominator for the cast was the experience of despotism and exile, not a shared ancestry with their characters. The *mise en scène* was eclectic, mixing turbans and great coats, and the acting was deliberately stylized and anti-realistic (Singleton 1991, 83 and 90-94).

admired the historically informed costumes in Kahn's production, I would love to see such a realization of the text and to think about its contemporary resonances. Such a production would establish, at the very least, that Tamburlaine's army was far from being a primitive band of half-naked marauders. His nomadic culture was highly adapted to its geographical niche, and his camp resembled a well laid out city, with streets assigned to the armorers, bakers, tanners, and other craftspeople who travelled with the army and sustained it. The fabrics, carpets, metalwork, and other artifacts associated with his culture and the commerce of the Silk Road would give quite a different impression from the primitive sheepskins depicted in many productions. What if the conqueror were envisioned in his own terms, not under the trope of the barbarian?

The figure of Timūr has a long and varied history on the Western stage. It has oscillated between implacable barbarian and ideal ruler, declined into parody, and returned to take its place among the most challenging and relevant of early modern roles. Spurred by the savagery of modern history, theater practitioners have found contemporary analogues, from stereotyped racial others like Fu Manchu, to the power-mad dictators of World War II, to the terrorists who attacked Parisian cafés, Beirut neighborhoods, the Brussels airport, and a Pakistani park as I was completing this essay. Like the historical Timūr, Marlowe's hero embodies disturbing truths about the psychology of terror, the power of symbolic political claims, and the ability of staged brutality to undo, for a time or forever, years of socialization. Of late, cross-racial casting and religious specificity have contributed to the play's vitality, and one can hope that courageous directors and performers will continue to explore its themes, even if audiences react with discomfort. As one critic observed of Boyd's production, "The energies unleashed [in the play] are destructive and uncontainable —[and] if that effect is not produced, there is not much point in doing the thing in the first place" (O'Brien 2014). The power and continuing relevance of Marlowe's play having been reestablished, one hopes that Timūr's theatrical journey has not yet reached its end.

Appendix. Modern Productions of Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* and Related Works with Directors and Venues

Note: Non-commercial productions may feature professional, even prominent, actors and directors.

1950–2000

PROFESSIONAL

1951	Tyrone Guthrie	Old Vic, London, UK
1956	Tyrone Guthrie	Toronto, Canada, and New York, USA
1964	Robert Pennant Jones	Tower Theatre, London, UK
1966	R. D. Smith	Marlowe Theatre Arena, Canterbury, UK
1972	Keith Hack	Glasgow Citizens' Theatre, Glasgow, UK
1976	Peter Hall	National Theatre, London, UK
1983	Mik Derks	American Players' Theatre, Spring Green, WI, USA
1992/3	Terry Hands	Swan Theatre, Stratford-upon-Avon and Barbicon Theatre, London, UK
1999	Samantha Shammas	Cochrane Theatre, London, UK

UNIVERSITY OR NON-COMMERCIAL

1958	unknown	Peninsula Theatre, San Mateo, CA, USA
1960	John Duncan	Oxford University, UK
1964	unknown	Corpus Christi College, Cambridge University, UK
1968	unknown	Group One, Birmingham, UK
1971	unknown	University of York, UK
1975	Tim Sewell	Oriel College, Oxford University, UK
1989	Antonio Diaz-Florian	Théâtre de l'Épee de Bois, Paris, France[30]
1993	Tim Supple	Marlowe Society, Cambridge University, UK

---

[30] My research concentrated on Anglophone productions, but this French production was kindly called to my attention by one of the referees of this essay. There are no doubt other interesting non-Anglophone productions of which I am not aware.

| 1997 | Jeff Dailey (*Part I*) | American Theatre of Actors, New York, USA |

RADIO BROADCASTS OF READING OR OPERAS

1964	BBC	Radio broadcast
1965	BBC 3	Radio broadcast, *Parts I and II* over two days
1977	BBC 3 Ian Hamilton	New opera version based on *Parts I and II*

2001–2015

PROFESSIONAL

2003	Ben Naylor	Rose Theatre, London, UK
2005	David Farr	Bristol Old Vic, Bristol, and Barbicon Theatre, London, UK
2007	Michael Kahn	Shakespeare Theatre, Washington, D.C., USA
2011	unknown	American Shakespeare Center, Staunton, VA, USA
2014	Michael Boyd	Theatre for a New Audience, Brooklyn, NY, USA

UNIVERSITY OR NON-COMMERCIAL

2003	Jeff Dailey (*Part II*)	American Theatre of Actors, New York, USA
2013	unknown	Marlowe Society, Cambridge University, UK
2015	Steven Green	Jackson Lane Theatre, London, UK

OPERA PERFORMANCES, STAGED READINGS, AND AUDIO RECORDINGS

2001	Jonathan Miller and Trevor Pinnock (Handel)	Sadler's Wells Theatre, London, UK
2004	unknown	Staged reading, Shakespeare's Globe, London, UK
2005	Fabio Biondi (Vivaldi)	Audio recording with DVD, EMI Records /Virgin Classics
2009	William Lacey (Handel)	Dorothy Chandler Pavilion, Los Angeles, CA, USA
2010	Graham Vicks (Handel)	Royal Opera House, London, UK

References

Abi-Habib, Maria. 2014. "The Child Soldiers of Syria: Boys Who Escape Islamic State Recount Horrors: 'Like learning to chop an onion.'" *Wall Street Journal* 264/115: 27–28 December: A1 and A5.

Anon. 1951. "Old Vic: *Tamburlaine the Great.*" Rev. of *Tamburlaine,* dir. Tyrone Guthrie. *The Times* (London) 25 September: 8. *Times Digital Archive (1785–2009).* Farmington Hills, Michigan: Thomson-Gale Publishing, continually updated.

Anon. 1956. "*Tamburlaine* in Toronto: Canadian Actors for New York." Rev. of *Tamburlaine,* dir. Tyrone Guthrie. *The Times* (London) 11 January: 12. *Times Digital Archive (1785–2009).* Farmington Hills, Michigan: Thomson-Gale Publishing, continually updated.

Ashman, Mike. 2010. "*Bajazet.*" Liner notes for *Bajazet* (Antonio Vivaldi). Cond. Fabio Bondi. Perf. David Daniels, Ildebrando D'Arcangelo, Marijana Mijanovic, Patrizia Ciofi, Vivica Genaux, Elina Garancia. EMI/Virgin Classics. Digital recording with DVD.

Astington, John H. 1993. "The 'Unrecorded Portrait' of Edward Alleyn." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 44(1): 73–86.

Barbour, David. 2014. "Theatre in Review: *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II* (Theatre for a New Audience/Polansky Shakespeare Center)." Rev. of *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II,* dir. Michael Boyd. *Lighting and Sound America Online,* 12 November. Accessed 5 September 2016. http://www.lightingandsoundamerica.com/news/story.asp?ID=-US42CL.

Barbour, Richmond. 2003. *Before Orientalism: London's Theatre of the East, 1576–1626.* Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press.

Best, Terence. 2002. "The History of *Tamerlano.*" Liner notes to *Tamerlano: An Opera in Three Acts* (George Frideric Handel). Dir. Jonathan Miller, cond. Trevor Pinnock. The English Concert (PEC Concerts Ltd.). Digital recording with DVD.

Billington, Michael. 1992. "In the Court of a Monster." Rev. of *Tamburlaine the Great,* dir. Terry Hands. *The Guardian,* 3 September: 24.

———. 1988. "The National Champion: Michael Billington Weighs Up the Achievement of Sir Peter Hall's 15 Years at the National [Theatre]." *The Guardian,* 31 May: 17. *The Guardian (1959–2003).* ProQuest Historical Newspapers.

Bourne, Claire M.L. 2015. "*Tamburlaine the Great, Parts I and II.*" Rev. of *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II,* dir. Michael Boyd. *Shakespeare Bulletin* 33(2): 347–50.

Brantley, Ben. 2014. "It's Best Not to Make Him Angry." Rev. of *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II,* dir. Michael Boyd. *New York Times,* November 18. Accessed

5 September 2016. http://www.nytimes.com/2014/11/19/theater/marlowes-tamburlaine-parts-i-and-ii-in-brooklyn.html?_r=0.

Burns, Landon C., ed. 1966. *Nicholas Rowe: Tamerlane: A Tragedy* (1701). Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Burrows, Donald. 2002. "Handel, *Tamerlano*, and London." Liner notes to *Tamerlano: An Opera in Three Acts* (George Frideric Handel). Dir. Jonathan Miller, cond. Trevor Pinnock. The English Concert (PEC Concerts Ltd.). Digital recording.

Christiansen, Rupert. 2010. "*Tamerlano* at the Royal Opera House." Rev. of *Tamerlano* (George Frideric Handel), dir. Graham Vick. *Daily Telegraph*, 8 March: n.p.

Clark, Donald B. 1950. "The Sources and Characterization of Nicholas Rowe's *Tamerlane.*" *Modern Language Notes* 65(3): 145–52.

Croghan, Lore. 2014. "*Tamburlaine* Takes the Stage by Storm at the Theatre for a New Audience." Rev. of *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II*, dir. Michael Boyd. *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, 17 November. Accessed 5 September 2016.

http://www.brooklyneagle.com/articles/2014/11/17/tamburlaine-takes-stage-storm-theatre-new-audience.

Dawson, Antony, ed. 1997. *Christopher Marlowe: Tamburlaine, Parts One and Two* (1590). London: A&C Black and New York: W.W. Norton.

Dodson, Joel 2014. "Review of *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II*, by Christopher Marlowe, at Theatre for a New Audience, Brooklyn, NY." Dir. Michael Boyd. *Marlowe Society Newsletter* 34/1: 7–8.

Erickson, Peter. 2006. "Afterword: The Blind Side in Colorblind Casting." In *Colorblind Shakespeare*, edited by Ayanna Thompson, 241–49. New York and London: Routledge.

Fisher, Philip. 2014. "*Tamburlaine, Parts I and II.*" Rev. of *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II*, dir. Michael Boyd. *British Theatre Guide*, [November]. Accessed 5 September 2016. http://www.britishtheatreguide.info/reviews/tamburlaine-pa-theatre-for-a-n-11076.

Geckle, George L. 1978. "The National Theatre Production of *Tamburlaine.*" *Educational Theatre Journal* 30(3): 329–42.

Godwin, Laura G. 2009. "*Tamburlaine* and *Edward II.*" Rev. of *Tamburlaine* and *Edward II*, dir. Michael Kahn and Gale Edwards. *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27(1): 122–31.

Greenblatt, Stephen. 2005 (1980). "Marlowe and the Will to Absolute Play." In *Renaissance Self-Fashioning from More to Shakespeare*, rev. ed. with a new Preface, 193–221. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Historum. 2012. "Facial Reconstruction of the Timūrids." Accessed 5 September 2016. http://historum.com/asian-history/46604-facial-reconstruction-timurids-tamerlane-shah-rukh-ulugh-beg.html.

Hookham, H[ilda] H. 1978. "Timur." *Encyclopaedia Britannica: Macropaedia* 18: 424–25.

Keenan, Siobhan. 2006. "Christopher Marlowe, *Tamburlaine.* Presented at the Bristol Old Vic Theatre, October 2005." Rev. of *Tamburlaine*, dir. David Farr. *Early Modern Literary Studies* 11(3): 16, para.1–15. Accessed 5 April 2016. https://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/11-3/revtam.htm.

Knobler, Adam. 2006. "Holy Wars, Empires, and the Portability of the Past." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 48(2): 293–325.

———. 2001. "Timur the (Terrible/Tartar) Trope: A Case of Repositioning in Popular Literature and History." *Medieval Encounters* 7(1): 101–12.

Leslie, Nancy T. 1971. "*Tamburlaine* in the Theatre: Tartar Grand Guignol or Janus?" *Renaissance Drama* 4: 105–120.

MacPherson, Malcolm. 1976. "King of Carnage." Rev. of *Tamburlaine the Great*, dir. Peter Hall. *Newsweek,* 18 October.

Maloon, James. 1977. "From Beast to Mad Beast: A Further Look at Tyrone Guthrie's *Tamburlaine.*" *Theatre Survey* 18(1): 1–29.

Manz, Beatrice Forbes. 2002. "Tamerlane's Career and its Uses." *Journal of World History* 13(1): 1–25.

Marlowe Society, Cambridge University. "The History of the Marlowe Society." Accessed 5 September 2016.
http://www.themarlowesociety.com/?page_id+75.

McCauley, Mary Carole. 2010. "The Voice, the Role, the Actor: Avery Brooks, Here for Center Stage's 'Let There Be Love,' Made a Career by Playing Epic Figures." *Baltimore Sun*, 14 February, n.p. Accessed 5 September 2016. http://articles.baltimoresun.com/2010-02-14/entertainment/bal-ae.brooks14feb14_1_alfred-center-stage-voice, n.p.

McJannet, Linda. 2006. *The Sultan Speaks: Dialogue in English Plays and Histories about the Ottoman Turks.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

McMahon, Colin. 1999. "The Rehabilitation of Tamerlane." *Chicago Tribune*, 17 January: n.p. Accessed 5 September 2016. http://articles.chicagotribune.com/1999-01-17/news/990117256_1_-uzbek-islam-karimov-tamerlane.htm.

Nightingale, Benedict. 1976. "The Blood and Bombast of *Tamburlaine.*" Rev. of *Tamburlaine the Great,* dir. Peter Hall, *New York Times*, 17 October: 73.

O'Brien, Geoffrey. 2014. "Tamburlaine's Seductive Terror." Rev. of *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II,* dir. Michael Boyd. *New York Review of Books Blog*, November 24. Accessed 5 September 2016.

http://www.nybooks.com/blogs/nyrblogs/2014/nov/24/tamburlaines-seductive-terror/?printpage=true.

Patterson, Richard. 2014. "*Tamburlaine, Parts I and II* at The Theatre for a New Audience." Rev. of *Tamburlaine, Parts I and II*, dir. Michael Boyd. *Exeunt Magazine*. Accessed 5 September 2016. http://exeuntmagazine.com/reviews/tamburlaine-parts-i-and-ii/.

Potter, Lois. 2009. "What Happened to the Mighty Line? Recent Marlowe Productions." *Shakespeare Bulletin* 27(1): 63–68.

Said, Edward. 1978. *Orientalism.* New York: Vintage Books.

Saunders, Charles. 1681. *Tamerlane the Great: As it is Acted by Their Majesties' Servants at the Theatre Royal*. London: Jacob Tonson.

Shammas, Sam[antha]. 1999. *Sam Shammas Productions*. "Black is the Beauty of the Brightest Day." Program for *Tamburlaine the Great*, dir. Sam Shammas. Accessed 30 October 2015. http://www.samshammas.com/tamb.htm.

Shand, Skip. 2006. "*Tamburlaine*." Rev. of *Tamburlaine*, dir. David Farr. *Shakespeare Bulletin* 24(2): 49–54.

Simon, Lizzie. 2014. "John Douglas Thompson Stars in *Tamburlaine* at Theatre for a New Audience." Rev. of *Tamburlaine the Great*, dir. Michael Boyd. *Wall Street Journal,* November 14. Accessed 4 March 2015. http://www.wsj.com/articles/john-douglas-thompson-stars-in-tamburlaine-at-theatre-for-a-new-audience-1415978702.

Singleton, Brian. 1991. "The Beauty of the Resistible Tyrant: *Tamerlan* at the Théâtre de l'Épee de Bois." *Theatre Research International* 16(2): 83-103. Odyssey 144.133.239. Accessed 22 March 2016.

Tagano, Mia. [2015]. *Mia Tagano Voiceover.* Accessed 28 November 2015. http://www.miatagano.com.

Tasnim. 2012. "Zenocrate and Zabina in Marlowe's *Tamburlaine.*" *Muslimah Media Watch,* 21 February. Accessed 5 September 2016. http://www.patheos.com/blogs/mmw/2012/02/zenocrate-and-zabina-in-marlowes-tambuirlaine.

Thorp, Willard. 1940. "A Key to Rowe's *Tamerlane.*" *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 39(1): 124–27.

Thompson, Ayanna. 2006. "Practicing a Theory/Theorizing a Practice: An Introduction to Shakespearean Colorblind Casting." In *Colorblind Shakespeare: New Perspectives on Race and Performance,* edited by Ayanna Thompson, 1–24. New York: Routledge.

Violanti, Heather. 2004. "*Tamburlaine the Great:* Cannon's Mouth Productions 2003." Rev. of *Tamburlaine the Great*, dir. Ben Naylor. *Research Opportunities in Renaissance Drama (RORD)* 43: 123–24.

Vitkus, Daniel J. 2001. *Turning Turk: English Theatre and the Multicultural Mediterranean.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Walker, John. 1976. "An Excellent Opener for the Olivier." Rev. of *Tamburlaine the Great,* dir. Peter Hall. *Herald Tribune*, 5 October 1976: n.p. Accessed 5 September 2016.
http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/arts/ren/projects/elizabethan_jacobe an_drama/christopher_marlowe/tamburlaine_stage_history/profession al/1976nt.

Wallace, George M. 2009. "You're Bajazet, Bajazet All the Way." Rev. of *Tamerlano* (George Frederic Handel), dir. William Lacey. *A Fool in the Forest,* 29 November. Accessed 5 September 2016.
http://www.afoolintheforest.com/2009/11/tamerlano.html.

Wardle, Irving. 1992. "Marlowe's Rambo Triumphant: *Tamburlaine* [at the] Swan [Theatre]." Rev. of *Tamburlaine the Great,* dir. Terry Hands. *The Independent*, 6 September: n.p. Accessed 15 November 2015.
http://www.independent.co.uk/artsentertainment/theatre--marlowes-rambo-triumphant-tamburlaine-swan--merry-wives-of-windsor-royal-shakespeare-stratford--amphibians-pit.

Anthony Munday's *Palmerin d'Oliva*: Representing sexual threat in the Near East[*]

❦

El *Palmerin d'Oliva* de Anthony Munday: La amenaza sexual representada en oriente próximo

Alejandra Ortiz-Salamovich
Universidad de Chile, Chile

ABSTRACT

This article explores how Anthony Munday's *Palmerin d'Oliva* (1588), Part II, portrays the threat of Muslims in the Near East. Munday's source is the French *L'Histoire de Palmerin d'Olive* (1546), which Jean Maugin had translated from the anonymous Spanish chivalric romance *Palmerín de Olivia* (1511). I focus on the way that the description of the Muslim menace changes in the course of translation. I argue that both the French and English translators manipulate medieval and early modern sexual stereotypes used to describe Muslim culture in order to heighten the sense of Islamic aggression and the holiness of Christianity as a counter to its threat. Munday's translation, in particular, represents the ambivalent views that his contemporary England held about Islam and the Near East, and also highlights the sanctity of Christian chastity and marriage, which are issues that he also develops in Part I of the *Palmerin d'Oliva*.

KEYWORDS: Anthony Munday; translation; Near East; sexual threat; Christian chastity; religious stereotype.

RESUMEN

Este artículo explora cómo el *Palmerin d'Oliva* (1588), Parte II, de Anthony Munday retrata a los musulmanes en el Oriente Próximo. La fuente de Munday es el texto francés *L'Histoire de Palmerin d'Olive* (1546) que Jean Maugin tradujo del anónimo libro de caballería español *Palmerín de Olivia* (1511). Analizo cómo la descripción de la amenaza musulmana cambia a lo largo de la traducción. Sostengo que tanto el traductor francés como el inglés manipulan estereotipos sexuales medievales y de la Edad Moderna Temprana usados en la representación de la cultura musulmana para darle énfasis a la sensación de agresión islámica y a la cualidad sagrada del cristianismo para contrarrestar esta amenaza. La traducción de Munday, en particular, representa las visiones ambivalentes que su Inglaterra contemporánea sostenía con respecto al Islam y al Oriente Próximo, y también destaca la santidad de la castidad cristiana y del matrimonio, que son aspectos que él también desarrolla en la Parte I del *Palmerin d'Oliva*.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Anthony Munday; traducción; Oriente Próximo; amenaza sexual; castidad cristiana; estereotipo religioso.

This article analyses how Anthony Munday portrays the sense of threat that the Muslims in the Near East represent in Part II of his *Palmerin d'Oliva* (1588).[1] Munday's source, which he follows very

---

[1] Munday's representation of Muslim culture and the Near East in his *Palmerin d'Oliva* invites investigation because to date there has not been any detailed analysis of these

closely, is the French *L'Histoire de Palmerin d'Olive* (1546), which Jean Maugin had translated from the anonymous Spanish chivalric romance *Palmerín de Olivia* (1511). My article focuses on the way that the description of the Muslim threat changes in the course of translation from the Spanish original into French and English. The Spanish author describes Palmerin's relations with these foreign cultures as generally friendly, even though the text consistently presents the hero as a foreigner who wants to get back to his homeland. The French translator, however, heightens the sense of hostility between the Christian and Muslim worlds while at the same time translating literally the magnificence of the foreign kingdoms. Munday, on the other hand, translates literally most of Maugin's description of antagonism between faiths, and its stress on the hero's Christian identity. I argue that both French and English translators manipulate medieval and early modern sexual stereotypes used to describe Muslim culture in order to heighten the sense of Islamic aggression, and the purity and holiness of Christianity as a counter to its threat. By following Maugin, Munday represents the ambivalent views that his contemporary England held about Islam and the Near East, and also highlights the sanctity of Christian chastity and marriage,[2] which are issues that he also develops in Part I of *Palmerin d'Oliva*. The East and the stereotypes associated with it,

---

issues except for Giuseppe Galigani's brief comments on Munday's translation of the word "cross" for the French term "croissant," which describes the birthmark on Palmerin's cheek. Galigani (1966, III, 263–65) suggests that Munday's substitution of a cross for a crescent moon replaces a Muslim sign with a Christian one but the author does not go beyond the substitution of the symbol, nor does he dwell on the translator's views of Islam.

[2] Munday's treatment of the erotic material in his translation has been largely ignored by scholarship, since up to date there has not been any work on the subject apart from Mary Patchell's and Galigani's comments. In her study on the Palmerin series, Patchell dedicates one chapter to the theme of love, exploring how these romances follow or depart from medieval courtly love convention (1947, 53–71). She notes how the treatment of marriage as a romantic ideal is the greatest departure of these romances from the medieval courtly love tradition. However, she only alludes in passing to the characters' desire, and does not analyse the romances' attitude to sexuality. Galigani, on the other hand, dedicates a few sections to the translator's treatment of erotic material and argues that Munday edits and modifies the source to make Maugin's explicit sexual description more decent and suitable for his English readership. Even though Galigani notes some telling examples of the way that Munday changes the sense of the original and how he employs metaphors different from Maugin, he does not dwell on what the language might mean (1966, III, 281–88).

serve to draw attention to religious issues relevant to the English translator's context.

The anonymous *Palmerín de Olivia* was first published in 1511 following the model of Garci Rodríguez de Montalvo's *Amadís de Gaula* (1508) and *Las Sergas de Esplandián* (1510), both of which began the early modern vogue for Spanish chivalric romance in Europe. Parallel to the success of the *Amadís* series *Palmerín de Olivia* (1511) gathered interest in its own right, going through a total of fourteen editions during the sixteenth century, with the last edition printed in 1580 (García Dini 1966, 5–20). There is no current agreement about the identity of the author but there are strong arguments for both male and female authorship, as María Carmen Marín Pina notes (2004, ix–x). It was followed, in Spain, by a second part, *Primaleón* (1512), and a third part, *Platir* (1533). The *Amadís* and *Palmerín* series soon reached a wide continental audience through translation, even inspiring foreign continuations, such as the Portuguese *Palmeirim de Inglaterra* (ca.1543) and the Italian *Flortir* (1554) (Marín Pina 2004, ix–xii).[3]

Jean Maugin's *L'Histoire de Palmerin d'Olive* was first published in Paris in 1546 by Jeanne de Marnef for Jean Longis, one of the three stationers who initiated the printing of the *Amadis* series. Like the Spanish version, it drew on the enormous success of the *Amadis* series, which in France became a publishing phenomenon made up of twenty-four books, which were translations from the Spanish, Italian and German texts.[4] The series was so successful that each of these books was re-edited and reprinted several times.[5] The books even became the material for a selection of excerpts known as *Le Thresor d'Amadis de Gaule* (1559), a manual for fine speaking and writing, also printed several times in numerous editions. The French *Palmerin*, if less popular than the *Amadis*, also proved fashionable. During the sixteenth century it was printed in nine more editions in

---

[3] For quite a comprehensive record of scholarly work on the Spanish Palmerín de Olivia see the online database "Clarisel" (<http://clarisel.unizar.es/>).

[4] Most scholars today agree on this total of twenty-four volumes, with the exception of Mireille Huchon who claims that the total number was twenty-five but does not give any evidence on that final book (2007, 1, n. 2).

[5] For a list of editions of the first twenty-one books in the French *Amadis* series see Pettegree, Walsby, and Wilkinson (2007, I, 18–31).

France, with the last edition in that century appearing in 1593 (Pettegree, Walsby, and Wilkinson 2007, II, 463–64).

English-speaking audiences came late to Spanish chivalric romance. Their first encounter was through Thomas Paynell's *The Treasurie of Amadis of France* (ca. 1572), a translation of the French *Thresor*. Margaret Tyler followed Paynell with *The Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood* (ca. 1578), the first English translation of a full Spanish chivalric romance, Book I of the Spanish romance *Espejo de Príncipes y Caballeros* (1555) by Diego Ortúñez de Calahorra. Anthony Munday was responsible for all the English translations of Spanish chivalric romance,[6] except for *Bellianis of Greece* (1598), translated by one L. A. (Thomas 1920, 256); the *Mirror* series, translated by Tyler, one R. P. (either Robert Parry or Park) (Boro 2014, 3), and one L. A.; and possibly *Amadis* Book V (1598).[7]

Anthony Munday's *Palmerin d'Oliva* was first printed by John Charlwood for William Wright in London in 1588. Munday divided the romance in two parts, which were edited separately, as he explains in his epistle to the reader:

> […] a Booke growing too bigge in quantitie, is profitable neither to the minde nor the pursse: for that men are now so wise, and the world so hard, as they loove not to buie *pleasure* at unreasonable *price*. And yet the first parte will entice them to have the second […] (Munday 1588, sig. *3ᵛ) (my emphasis)

---

[6] Munday translated *Palladine of England* (1588), *Palmendos* (1589), *The First Booke of Primaleon of Greece* (1595), *The Second Booke of Primaleon of Greece* (1596), *The Famous and Renowned Historie of Primaleon of Greece* (1619). He also translated the Portuguese chivalric romances *Palmerin of England, Parts I and II* (1596), and *Palmerin of England, Part III* (1602). For a list of all his translations see Braden, Cummins and Gillespie (2010, 533–34).

[7] Neither the 1598 nor the 1664 editions of the English Book V indicate the identity of the translator. Nonetheless, Hamilton attributes the 1598 edition to Munday, without any explanation, and does not include the 1664 edition, presumably because it is beyond the chronological scope of her study (2005, 96). *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English* lists Munday as the translator of the 1598 edition but indicates that the 1664 edition is anonymous (Braden, Cummins and Gillespie 2010, 534; Hitchcock 2005, 406). The *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads* catalogue, on the other hand, cites the 1598 edition as anonymous, and does not include the 1664 one because it is beyond the chronological scope of the project. Helen Moore also presents both editions as anonymous but concedes the possibility that Munday might be the translator, since he translated books I to IV (2011, 118).

The English translator has been seen as a very crafty businessman, carefully advertising his texts in ways that will ensure an enthusiastic readership, and his commercial strategy is very clear in his epistle (Phillips 2006, 791–93). There, Munday depicts books as sources of "pleasure" but also as commodities, and cleverly combines the two aspects to advertise this first part of the romance and the second one that will soon follow. However, one must also consider the possibility that these commercial strategies were imposed on him by his stationers.

The Second Part of the honourable Historie of Palmerin d'Oliva, was apparently also first printed in 1588, as Jordi Sánchez-Martí speculates, although no copy of the first edition survives (2014, 193). Both parts went through three more editions each, which shows their success. Both 1588 editions of Parts I and II were dedicated to Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, as well as the 1616 and 1637 editions of Part II (Sánchez-Martí 2014, 206). Oxford had been the dedicatee of Munday's romance *Zelauto* (1580), and Donna B. Hamilton sees these dedications as a sign of Munday's Catholic sympathies (2005, 80). The other editions of *Palmerin d'Oliva*, Parts I and II, were dedicated to Francis Young of Brent-Pelham and his wife Susan (Sánchez-Martí 2014, 197; 206). Louise Wilson explains that Young was a merchant and that the different social status from his previous dedicatee is consistent with Munday's search for patronage in non-aristocratic circles at that point in his career (2011, 126; 246, footnote 18).

Almost half of the action in the Spanish original is located in the East, because the hero, Palmerin, is heir to the throne of Constantinople. The hero's travels take him to the lands of the Sultan of Babylon, the Emperor of Turkey and the Sultan of Persia. Palmerin has no interest in conquest or conversion, even though he is defined as a Christian hero (Marín Pina 2004, xxi). He first disguises himself as a "Moor" to ensure his survival in the court of the Sultan of Babylon, but later he is open about his Christian identity and is spared his life in the service of the Emperor of Turkey as a soldier, and then is later welcomed as a guest in the court of the Sultan of Persia. Marín Pina emphasises Palmerin's generally tolerant attitude towards the Muslim community (2004, xx–xxiii). The worlds of Christianity and of Islam are brought together in the text, more through social interaction rather than through combat.

Even though the Spanish *Palmerín* describes conflict between Christians and Muslims, and many times depicts the latter through cultural stereotypes, Palmerin's experience in the Near East is generally one of peaceful coexistence between faiths, arguably a reflection of the centuries-long Christian-Muslim coexistence in the Iberian Peninsula (Redondo 1995, 51).

Maugin and Munday, however, portray an antagonism between Christians and Muslims apparently characteristic of early modern European misrepresentations of the Near East. Daniel J. Vitkus notes an overall demonization of Islam in Western Europe at the time, which he attributes, on the one hand, to a strong medieval foundation of polemical distortions about the Muslim "Other," and, on the other hand, a fear of the threat that Islam presented to Christianity. Vitkus draws attention to the persistence of inaccurate images of Islam, such as those represented in medieval romance and chivalric "legends" about clashes between Christian and Saracen knights. Added to this medieval legacy, Vitkus argues, early modern Europe's anxieties were also encouraged by Islamic wealth and power, and, in turn, this was related to an inferiority complex originated after the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 1453. Even though there was great tension between Catholics and Protestants during this period, and some Protestants were glad of the conflict between Roman Catholics and Ottomans, much poetry, sermons and religious polemic urged an overall union of Christendom against the Turkish threat (Vitkus 1999, 207–13).

In this period, printed matter provided Europe with much of its knowledge of the East. Matthew Dimmock notes that in the sixteenth century alone, three thousand five hundred texts dealing with the "turke" were published in northern Europe in a variety of languages (2005, 6). Vitkus notes the incredible rise of interest in learning about Islam and the pronounced increase of literature on the topic during the seventeenth century. He mentions the popularity of "true stories," such as captivity narratives, which told of the experiences of survival of Christian prisoners under Turks and "Moors," or tales about renegades who had willingly joined foreign pirates in North African ports (1999, 215–16). One such text was Bartholomej Georgijevic's *The offspring of the house of Ottomanno, and officers pertaining to the greate Turkes Court*, published in English translation ca. 1570, twenty-six years after the French version was printed in

1544. This work encouraged European fears of life under Islamic rule with its detailed description of abuse captive Christians suffered (Robinson 2007, 28).

At the same time, during the period which preceded the publication of *L'Histoire de Palmerin d'Olive* in 1546, constant diplomatic relations between France and Turkey encouraged the flow of French travellers, traders and missionaries, as well as the printing of texts about the Near East. Clarence Dana Rouillard presents a list of 291 pamphlets on Turkish affairs published in France between 1481 and 1660 as evidence of the curiosity provoked by the area (1938, 169–79). Michael Harrigan, on the other hand, draws attention to the fact that most of the seventeenth-century French travel narratives referring to the Near East focused on the Ottoman Empire because of commercial and diplomatic relations between the two territories (2008, 13; 20). Rouillard comments that a great amount of information about the Ottoman Empire that came through pamphlets and geographical literature, revealed a particular interest in the Ottoman military conquests around Europe. One of the most comprehensive descriptions of the Ottoman Empire was *La Genealogie du grand Turc à present regnant* (1519), a translation from the Italian text written by Teodoro Spandugino in the middle of the fifteenth century, an eyewitness account which went through several French editions. It is a very detailed description of the Turkish court, which became an authority and model for later published descriptions of the Ottoman court (Rouillard 1938, 169–79).

When Munday was working on his *Palmerin*, England enjoyed fewer commercial relations with the Ottoman Empire than did France. Robinson notes that in the same year that Munday published his romance *Zelauto* (1580), which deals in part with Christian/Muslim conflict, the "first Anglo-Ottoman commercial treaty" was being negotiated in Istanbul, which would "lead to the establishment of the Levant Company" (2007, 29). Since commercial exchange was underdeveloped, many of the English texts dealing with these distant cultures were, as Dimmock demonstrates, either translations of foreign travel narratives, pamphlets dealing with military events, or polemical religious tracts, most of which had the Ottoman threat as their main concern (1999, 20–95). Robinson notes that many of these sermons and pamphlets expressed anxiety about the "effects of life under Islamic rule," and he argues that Munday's

Zelauto shows his awareness of these fears (2007, 28). Arguably he expresses them too in his *Palmerin*, as I will discuss below, and therefore reveals the influence of contemporary printed texts in his views of these foreign cultures.

Munday and Maugin emphasise Palmerin's Christian identity, and that of his friends, thus establishing a wider difference between them and the Muslim characters. One particularly interesting example is the way in which the translators use the Muslim threat of rape and Christian divine protection to represent this antagonism between faiths. On the one hand, the translators seem to be developing common early modern representations of Islamic society, which, as Vitkus argues, saw it as a location of "unbridled sensuality" (1999, 222–23). Maugin and Munday emphasize the sexual threat posed by Muslim characters, and in doing so, they might also be re-appropriating certain medieval stereotypes which Corinne J. Saunders identifies in the chronicles of the Crusades, where rape is depicted "as a mark of pagan evil" (2001, 142). The translators seem to be representing Christianity's ability to counter Muslim aggression by emphasising cultural stereotypes which connected the aggression to the religious identity of the attacker, and by drawing attention to the victims' devotion and the consequent divine intervention that saves them. Arguably, this also allows Munday to continue focusing on the issue of sexuality and religion that he develops in Part I of the *Palmerin d'Oliva*.

At the end of Part I, Palmerin and his friends, Prince Trineus of Germany, Princess Agriola of England, and Palmerin's cousin, Ptolome of Macedonia, are sailing from England to Germany, where Trineus and Agriola will make official their clandestine marriage. However, their plans are delayed for they are taken prisoner by Olimael, captain of the Turkish army. Palmerin is the only one who avoids captivity. Trineus and Ptolome are taken on board one ship and Agriola on board another because Olimael has taken a fancy to her. While they are sailing towards the Turkish court, Munday, following Maugin, depicts Agriola's angry reaction to Olimael's advances and how she manages to repel the captain's first sexual assault:

> […] with angry [stomacke] like a Lyon enraged, [she] caught him by the haire and the throat, saying. Thou *villaine Dogge*, thinkest thou I take any delight in thy company? How darest tho[u]

traitourlye thee[f]e lay hande on mee? And so roughly did she struggle with Olimael, as if his men had not assisted him, shee had *strangled* him: notwithstanding hee tooke all patiently, perswading himselfe, that by gentle speeches, smooth flatterings, and large promises, hee should in time win her to his pleasure. So came he forth of the cabin, with his throat and face bravely painted with Agriolaes nayles […].[8] (Munday 1588, sigs. Z2ʳ–Z2ᵛ) (my emphasis)

The three texts depict the scene in a very similar way. However, while the Spanish author has Agriola only scratch the Captain's face, the translators make the scene more dramatic by adding her intention of strangling him. Moreover, Olimael is identified in the French and English texts, but not in the Spanish, as a "traitourley thee[f]e" ("paillard infame" in French) and "villaine Dogge" ("trahistre mastin " in French), a term which is echoed by "hound " later in the text; a common image used by Europeans at the time to describe "Turks, Muslims, and Saracens," as Phillip John Usher explains (2010, 203). Agriola's strong response against the attack of an enemy of her faith recalls the actions of heroines of hagiographical narratives and other romance characters similar to them. Andrea Hopkins analyses the links between Saints' Lives and some romances from the Constance cycle, and notes how the protagonists in these narratives are strong and sometimes explicit in their defiance of their attackers. Hopkins describes the example of Florence, from the medieval romance *Le Bon Florence of Rome*, who breaks Sir Machary's teeth with a stone to repel his sexual attack (2010, 135), a portrayal which anticipates Agriola's reaction here. The Princess's actions in this scene, added to the divine intervention that saves her in the other attacks, help to present her, and her chastity, as symbolic of the Christian faith, as I shall discuss below. Eventually, Olimael runs out of patience and decides to attack her. The Spanish text is very straightforward about his intentions and gives little detail: "[…] vido que le aprovechava nada sus falagos […] quísola forçar […]" (Di Stefano, ed. 2004, 160) [(…) seeing that his praises were not beneficial (…) he wished to rape her (…)]. Maugin translates:

Cognoissant doncq' que ses blandices, feintes, paroles, offres, dons, at autres douceurs propres à persuader ne luy pouvoient rien

---

[8] Typography has been modernised in this and all further quotes from early modern editions in the cases of long s, sharp s, u/v, i/j, and ampersand. Contractions have also been expanded. All translations are my own, unless otherwise stated.

> servir, delibera user de main mise et aller par force: en sorte qu'apres plusieurs propos, mist toutes peines de la forcer. (Maugin 1572, sig. O8ʳ)

> [Knowing that his flatteries, tricks, words, offers, gifts, and other sweet gestures, suitable for persuasion, were not helpful, he decided to exercise dominance and proceed by force. On account of which, after many speeches, he put all effort into forcing her.]

Munday translates:

> He seeing that fayre speeches, offers, gifts, and other inticements proper to perswasion, could not compasse the thing he desired, he grewe into *choler*, intending to gaine his pleasure perforce, so that after manie *threatnings*, with *rough violence* hee woulde needes ravish her. (Munday 1597, sig. A1ᵛ) (my emphasis)

In keeping with his hyperbolic style, as Jane H. M. Taylor describes it (2014, 191), Maugin adds all kinds of details to depict Olimael's wooing. Munday follows closely but crucially adds the terms "choler, " "threatnings, " and "rough violence, " which enhance the aggressiveness of the captain, thus highlighting, by contrast, the great power of Christian faith in protecting Agriola against this attack.

In the Spanish text, the Princess, aware of her helpless state, prays for divine protection: "[…] ella començó de llamar a Dios e a Santa María que la valiesse […]" (Di Stefano, ed. 2004, 161) [(…) she started to call on God and Saint Mary to help her (…)]. Munday translates literally from the French: "[…] with devout prayer shee called on God, desiring him to take pittie on her, and not to suffer that villainous Ruffian to *dishonour* her" (1597, sig. A1ᵛ) (my emphasis). Maugin has removed the Virgin Mary as a protective figure, like Nicolas Herberay des Essarts does many times in the French translation of *Amadís de Gaula*. Maugin, and Munday with him, draws attention primarily to the loss of honour. However, in the French and English versions (unlike in the Spanish text) the reader is to understand that Agriola has already lost her virginity at this point, on account of the consummation of her clandestine marriage to Trineus. In the French and English versions, then, the Princess's concern for her honour has more to do with her status as wife than as a chaste maiden, even though her official marriage has not yet taken place. The threat vanishes, for Agriola's prayer is instantly

answered in all the three versions; Olimael starts shaking uncontrollably, and stops his attack.

In the Spanish text, Agriola attributes her safety to the magical power of a ring that Palmerin has earlier given her, which ensures her inviolability: "[…] pensó que aquella virtud venía de la sortija […] e dio gracias a Dios […]" (Di Stefano, ed. 2004, 160) [(…) she thought that power came from the ring (…) and gave thanks to God (…)]. While Munday, following Maugin, also alludes to the ring's power, he notably affords God's aid greater importance than does the Spanish text:

> The Princesse […] was […] greatly comforted […] *imputing* the whole *worke* thereof to the *Almightie providence*, and the vertue of the Ring […] wherefore with thankfull heart, and *elevated eyes to heaven*, shee sayd, O celestiall Father, howe great and infinite is thy *goodnesse*? howe happie is the creature, whom thou regardest with the eye of *pittie*? assurdly I nowe perceyve, that such as in extremitie have recourse to thee, shall no waie perish. (Munday 1597, sig. A1ᵛ) (my emphasis)

Munday depicts the scene in a more dramatic light with his addition of Agriola's devout gesture of raising her eyes while in prayer; other than this, his translation is literal from the French. The extended prayer gives a clear indication of Agriola's Christian identity and the trust that God's "goodnesse " and "pity " will protect her from a foreign threat. A magical protective ring features in many medieval romances and its stone can be interpreted as "a material sign of God's grace," as Corinne Saunders argues (2010, 89). She comments that in the medieval romance *King Horn*, the ring forms part of other elements that represent divine protection, such as the hero's sword, and Horn is himself associated with the Christian faith in two episodes in which he defeats the Sarracens (2010, 89–90).

Maugin and Munday again emphasize this dynamic between Muslim sexual danger and Christian protection when Agriola has arrived in the Turkish court and is forced to marry the Emperor. In the Spanish text, the night before the ceremony, Agriola, seeing she has no choice but to go through with the wedding, prays for God's protection:

> […] aquella noche nunca dormió mas estuvo fincada de rodillas rogando a Dios que la guardasse, e dezía: "Ay Señor Dios, no paréys Vos mientes a los mis grandes pecados qué, aunque son

muchos, yo por mi voluntad no quebrantaré la Vuestra santa ley ni la fe que devo a mi marido Trineo [...]." (Di Stefano, ed. 2004, 162–63)

[(...) that night she did not sleep at all but was kneeling praying for God to keep her, and she said: "Oh Lord God, do not dwell on my great sins as, although they are many, I am determined not to break Your holy law nor the faith I owe to my husband Trineo (...).]

Munday translates literally from the French:

[...] falling downe on her knees at her beds feete, shee thus began.

"O my God and benigne Father, pittie thy poore distressed creature, and forget the offences I have heretofore committed: for what is a sinner, unlesse thou in mercie suffer her to come before thee? Wilt thou then vouchsafe (O wonderfull workeman of the whole worlde) one eye of pittie upon thy humble forsaken servant and suffer her not to fall into *subiection*, to the *vowed enemie* of thy holy worde, *arming* me so strongly in this temptation, that I no way iniurie my Lord and husbande Trineus [...]." (Munday 1597, sig. A5ʳ) (my emphasis)

The French and English translations expand on the Spanish Agriola's anxiety about breaking her marriage vows to draw attention to interfaith conflict. The Muslim captors are enemies of Christianity, bent on subjugation, perhaps even conversion. Agriola's personal struggle represents a more general cultural conflict. As in the episode of Olimael's attack, Agriola's prayer here is also answered; when the Emperor tries to make love to her on their wedding night, he suffers from an attack of apoplexy which puts an end to his sexual advances.

The elements of these two near-rape scenes, in the context of the antagonism between two faiths, recall medieval hagiographical narratives, as noted above. Kathleen Coyne Kelly comments on how in these texts the virgin body of the saint represented the "'body' of the Church metonymically" (2000, 41). She argues that the "female virgin body " epitomized "the most apt homology between the self and the institutionalized Church " because of its "mystification as closed, sealed, intact" (2000, 42). Kelly analyses near-rape tales from late antiquity to the end of the Middle Ages which include a threat of rape by a pagan official or suitor and in which virginity, and, by symbolic extension, the Christian Church, is affirmed, usually by miraculous prevention (2000, 41–43). Kelly notes that most of these

tales of "circumvented rape" were first written "from the second to the fourth centuries," when the Christian Church was under "assault […] within the Roman Empire and its ideological margins" (2000, 41–43). Saunders notes that in later medieval Saints' Lives, the threat does not come from a pagan world; rather, the virgins sacrifice themselves for their faith in the face of the "trials of family life, politics or asceticism" (2001, 142). The Spanish author of *Palmerín* is clearly drawing on this tradition in these scenes and, by emphasising Agriola's piety and the divine intervention to prevent the rape, the translators are using these symbolic links to highlight the power of Christian devotion to counter Muslim violence. In this sense, Munday's translation of the French "me preservant " (keeping me) into "arming me," in Agriola's prayer before the wedding, echoes the language of these narratives of virgin saints. Kelly argues that the victim is protected from her attackers by a symbolic "armor " that publicly proves her virginity (2000, 42).

In her discussion of Thomas Dekker's and Philip Massinger's *The Virgin Martyr* (1620), Jane Hwang Degenhardt notes how, at first glance, the Catholic hagiographic material on which the play is partly based, might be viewed as problematic in the light of Protestant suppression of virgin martyr material (2010, 74). However, Alison Chapman notes the continuing popularity of the genre of Saints' Lives even during the Reformation, as attested by the great numbers of printed editions in the period. She argues that rather than abolishing the medieval cult of the saints, the Reformation limited its power (2013, 11–12). Also discussing *The Virgin Martyr*, Julia Gasper argues that, in the religious context of their time, Dekker and Massinger incorporated a sense of ambiguity from John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* (1563) in the representation of the miraculous powers of St Dorotea, and therefore make her state that she cannot perform any miracles (1991, 18). Arguably, Munday here is not only representing contemporary fears about a potential Muslim threat, but also the tensions between the old and new roles of religious symbols, as he does in the *Amadis* in his treatment of the cult of the Virgin Mary, for example. In this respect, the combination of divine intervention and the magical power of Agriola's ring plays down any element of Catholic devotion. This may be linked to what Joyce Boro notes as a common tendency in post-Reformation Protestant writers to remove the "supernatural marvellous" from romance, as it was reminiscent of Catholic faith (2014, 9), although

here, Munday does not omit it but rather transforms it. References to virgin saints are reworked to fit a different context, since Agriola is at this point a married woman, albeit through a clandestine wedding, and has potentially lost her virginity in the French and English texts, as I mentioned above. The three versions arguably combine the "proof of virginity" topos and the "chastity ordeal," in which the issue in question is the wife's chastity, rather than the saint's virginity (2000, 61–90). Considering this, the possibility of temptation, which the French and English translators incorporate in Agriola's prayer before the wedding, might be hinting at the issue of adultery and ambiguity developed in vernacular romance and the *lai*. This issue of Agriola's married status, as opposed to the virginal condition of the hagiographic heroine, would, arguably, not have been problematic to an early modern audience since the Catholic ideal of female virginity had been replaced by the Protestant notion of married chastity (Halpern 1986, 92).

Munday anticipates, at the end of *Palmerin* Part I, the concern for chastity that he later develops in Part II, by drawing attention to Agriola's near-rape experiences. At the end of Part I, Munday translates literally from the French when Ptolome tries to comfort Trineus who is desperate to see Agriola taken away. Ptolome tells him: "As for your Lady Agriola, doubt not of her unconquerable loyalty, for shee hath in her custody a *jewel* of such vertue, as no one can dishonour her against her owne lyking" (Munday 1588, sig. Z3^r) (my emphasis). Munday plays here with the term "jewel " (which translates the French "bague ") for he could be alluding to the ring, but he could also be referring to Agriola's chastity, since he uses the term in this sense at other points in the text. A few lines after this dialogue, Munday specifically alludes to the topic in an epistle to the reader which puts an end to Part I, and which is original to the English text. The translator provides a summary of the final events and points towards the resolution in Part II of the pending narrative. Munday here refers twice to the Princess's situation:

> Right straunge will bee the meeting of all these friendes againe, after the hazards of many perillous fortunes. For Agriola thus separated from the Prince her husband, is maried to the great Emperour of Turkie: howe wonderfully the *ring* which Palmerin gave her, preserves her *chastitie*, will be worth the hearing. (Munday 1588, sig. Z4^r) (my emphasis)

After this, he anticipates the reunion of the three main couples that will take place at the end of Part II: "How Palmerin gaines his Polinarda, Trineus his *chast* wife Agriola, Ptolome his Brionella, and all Honors meeting togither in the Emperours Court of Allemaigne, wil be so strange as the like was never heard [...]" (Munday 1588, sig. Z4ʳ) (my emphasis). Clearly Munday is concerned with the issue of chastity and honour, which he develops in Part I, where he modifies Maugin's sexual material by drawing attention instead to the value of the clandestine marriage that precedes, and therefore sanctions, the erotic encounters in the first half of the *Palmerin*. His interest in the institutional consent of marriage also explains Munday's cautioning against adultery and divorce in Part I. The English translator solves the problematic loss of female virginity in these unions by associating the event with the requirements of marriage.[9] Munday continues to draw attention to the topics of sexuality and chastity in Part II, although in combination with the theme of Christian/Muslim antagonism which is present in his source. Crucially for the discussion of his religious message, he only points here to the power of the ring in protecting Agriola's chastity, whereas he later clearly gives divine intervention the same amount of importance, as I discussed above. Perhaps his omission here of the religious connotations of the Princess's miraculous protection is indicative of an intention of self-preservation which makes him avoid being overt about matters of religious polemic in the paratexts of his editions, as is evident from the lack of religious references in his dedications and epistles to the reader.

Overall, Munday follows Maugin closely in exaggerating Christian and Muslim difference and antagonism. Many of the elements that the translators use to describe Islamic culture seem to be informed both by contemporary stereotypical representations of the kingdoms of the Near East and by medieval misrepresentations. However, Munday re-works his source's manipulation of sexual stereotypes in the portrayal of Muslim culture to develop issues of sexuality and religion which clearly concern him, and which are first made evident in his translation of the first part of the romance when

---

[9] For Munday's attention to the clandestine marriage that sanctions sexual relations and guards female honour, see, for example, the union between Palmerin's parents, Princess Griana of Constantinople and Prince Florendos of Macedonia (Munday 1588, sigs. D1r-D2r; N1v) or the consummation of the marriage between Princess Agriola of England and Prince Trineus of Germany (Munday 1588, sigs. Y2r-Y2v, Y8v-Z1r).

he draws attention to the sanction that clandestine marriage provides for the sexual activity of the characters, as noted above. The English translation then becomes a commentary on contemporary views of religious doctrine and sexual conduct, all the while following his source closely and respecting the logic of the romance. Munday arguably uses Eastern locations to highlight those issues that he is interested in. Through his treatment of this material he also at times reveals his concerns with the tensions of the Reformation between old and new devotional practices which will become crucial to his *Amadis de Gaule* a few years later.

References

Boro, Joyce. 2014. "Introduction." In *Mirror of Princely Deeds and Knighthood*, edited by Joyce Boro, translated by Margaret Tyler, 1–36. London: Modern Humanities Research Association.

Braden, Gordon, Robert Cummins, and Stuart Gillespie, eds. 2010 (2005). *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English 1550 to 1660*. 5 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chapman, Alison. 2013. *Patrons and Patron Saints in Early Modern English Literature*. New York: Routledge. *Clarisel*. Accessed 14 January 2016. http://clarisel.unizar.es/.

Degenhardt, Jane Hwang. 2010. *Islamic Conversion and Christian Resistance on the Early Modern Stage*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Dimmock, Matthew. 2005. *New Turkes: Dramatizing Islam and the Ottomans in Early Modern England*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Di Stefano, Giuseppe, ed. 2004 (1511). *Palmerín de Olivia*. Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos.

Galigani, Giuseppe. 1966. "La versione inglese del *Palmerín de Olivia*." In *Studi sul Palmerínde Olivia*, vol. 3, 239–88. Pisa: Università di Pisa.

García Dini, Encarnación. 1966. "Per una bibliografia dei romanzi di cavalleria: edizioni del ciclo dei 'Palmerines'." In *Studi sul Palmerín de Olivia*, vol. 3, 5–44. Pisa: Università di Pisa.

Gasper, Julia. 1991. "The Sources of *The Virgin Martyr*." *The Review of English Studies* 42 (165): 17–31.

Halpern, Richard. 1986. "Puritanism and Maenadism in *A Mask*." In *Rewriting the Renaissance: The Discourse of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Margaret W. Ferguson, Maureen Quilligan, and Nancy J. Vickers, 88–105. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Hamilton, Donna B. 2005. *Anthony Munday and the Catholics, 1560–1633*. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Harrigan, Michael. 2008. *Veiled Encounters: Representing the Orient in 17th–Century French Travel Literature*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Hitchcock, Richard. 2005. "Spanish Literature." In *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English 1660 to 1790*, edited by Stuart Gillespie and David Hopkins, vol. 3, 406–15. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hopkins, Andrea. 2010. "Female Saints and Romance Heroines." In *Christianity and Romance in Medieval England*, edited by Rosalind Field, Phillipa Hardman, and Michelle Sweeney, 121–38. Cambridge: Brewer.

Hosington, Brenda, et al. 2010. *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads*. Accessed 15 September 2016. http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/rcc/

Huchon, Mireille. 2007. "Traduction, translation, exaltation et transmutation dans les *Amadis*." *Camenae* 3: 1–10.

Kelly, Kathleen Coyne. 2000. *Performing Virginity and Testing Chastity in the Middle Ages*. London: Routledge.

Marín Pina, María Carmen. 1995. "La historia y los primeros libros de caballerías españoles." In *Medioevo y Literatura Actas del V Congreso de la Asociación Hispánica de Literatura Medieval (Granada, 27 septiembre–1 octubre, 1993)*, edited by Juan Paredes, vol. 3, 183–92. Granada: Universidad de Granada.

———. 2004. "Introducción." In *Palmerín de Olivia,* edited by Giuseppe Di Stefano, ix–xxxvi. Alcalá de Henares: Centro de Estudios Cervantinos.

Maugin, Jean, trans. 1572. *L'Histoire de Palmerin d'Olive*. Antwerp: Jean Waesberghe.

Moore, Helen. 2011. "The Eastern Mediterranean in the English *Amadis* Cycle, Book V." *The Yearbook of English Studies* 41 (1): 113–25.

Munday, Anthony, trans. 1588. *Palmerin d'Oliva*. London: J. Charlewood for William Wright. *Early English Books Online*. Accessed 15 September 2016. http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home

———. 1597. *The Second Part of the honourable Historie of Palmerin d'Oliva.* London: Thomas Creede. *Early English Books Online*. Accessed 15 September 2016. http://eebo.chadwyck.com/home.

Patchell, Mary. 1947. *The "Palmerin" Romances in Elizabethan Prose Fiction*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Pettegree, Andrew, Malcolm Walsby, and Alexander Wilkinson, eds. 2007. *French Vernacular Books: Books published in the French Language before 1601*. 2 vols. Leiden: Brill.

Phillips, Joshua. 2006. "Chronicles of Wasted Time: Anthony Munday, Tudor Romance, and Literary Labor." *ELH* 73 (4): 781–803.

———. 2010. *English Fictions of Communal Identity, 1485–1603*. Farnham: Ashgate.

Redondo, Agustín. 1995. "Moros y Moriscos en la Literatura Española de los años 1550–1580." In *Las dos grandes minorías étnico-religiosas en la literatura española del Siglo de Oro: los judeoconversos y los moriscos. Actas del Grand Séminaire de Neuchâtel (Neuchâtel, 26 a 27 de mayo de 1994)*, edited by Irene Andrés-Suárez, 51–83. Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

Robinson, Benedict S. 2007. *Islam and Early Modern English Literature: The Politics of Romance from Spenser to Milton*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Rouillard, Clarence Dana. 1938. *The Turk in French History, Thought, and Literature (1520–1660)*. Paris: Boivin & Cie.

Sánchez-Martí, Jordi. 2014. "The Publication History of Anthony Munday's *Palmerin d'Oliva.*" *Gutenberg-Jahrbuch* 89: 190–207.

Saunders, Corinne J. 2001. *Rape and Ravishment in the Literature of Medieval England*. Cambridge: Brewer.

———. 2010. "Magic and Christianity." In *Christianity and Romance in Medieval England*, edited by Rosalind Field, Phillipa Hardman and Michelle Sweeney, 84–101. Cambridge: Brewer.

Taylor, Jane H. M. 2014. *Rewriting Arthurian Romance in Renaissance France: From Manuscript to Printed Book*. Cambridge: Brewer.

Thomas, Henry. 1920. *Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Usher, Phillip John. 2010. "Walking East in the Renaissance." In *French Global: A New Approach to Literary History*, edited by Christie McDonald and Susan Rubin Suleiman, 193–206. New York: Columbia University Press.

Vitkus, Daniel J. 1999. "Early Modern Orientalism: Representations of Islam in Sixteenth– and Seventeenth–Century Europe." In *Western Views of Islam in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Perception of Other*, edited by David R. Blanks and Michael Frassetto, 207–30. New York: St. Martin's Press.

Wilson, Louise. 2011. "Playful Paratexts: The Front Matter of Anthony Munday's Iberian Romance Translation." In *Renaissance Paratexts*, edited by Helen Smith and Louise Wilson, 121–32. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Author's contact: alejandra.ortiz@u.uchile.cl

Postal address: Dpto. Literatura, Facultad de Filosofía y Humanidades – Universidad de Chile – Av. Capitán Ignacio Carrera Pinto 1025 – Ñuñoa – Santiago – Chile

Re-humanising *Coriolanus*: Community and the ethical self

❧

Re-humanizando *Coriolanus*: comunidad y el ser ético

María Luisa Pascual Garrido
Universidad de Córdoba, Spain

ABSTRACT

In this article I analyse subjectivity in *Coriolanu*s taking as a starting point the traditional antagonism between essentialist humanism and cultural materialism. While mainstream humanism has approached Shakespeare's plays stressing the transcendental nature and autonomy of the subject, cultural materialism has challenged that assumption by underscoring the actual lack of freedom of the individual whose actual choices are determined not by the inherent nature of the hero but by social and political forces.

My aim is to try to bridge the gap between two seemingly divergent ways of understanding subjectivity by adopting a more sceptical form of humanism, which is based on both the acceptance of the limits and the vulnerability of human beings (Mousley 2007) and recent developments in communitarian theory and biopolitics (Nancy 1991, Agambem 1995, Butler 2006, Esposito 2012). I contend that Coriolanus is an embodiment of humanity, a singular being capable of making an ethical choice at the risk of his own death.

KEYWORDS: William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, subjectivity, humanity, ethical community, vulnerability, singularity of being.

RESUMEN

En este artículo se analiza la subjetividad en *Coriolano* tomando como punto de partida la tradicional discrepancia entre dos corrientes de pensamiento antagónicas: el humanismo esencialista y el materialismo cultural. Mientras que la crítica humanista más ortodoxa ha abordado las obras de Shakespeare insistiendo en la naturaleza transcendental y autónoma del sujeto, el materialismo cultural la cuestiona, negando en cambio la existencia de la libertad del individuo, cuyas decisiones vienen determinadas no tanto por la naturaleza o el carácter inherente del héroe sino más bien por factores externos al individuo tales como la presión social o política.

Mi propósito es intentar tender un puente entre dos formas aparentemente opuestas de concebir la subjetividad. Para ello adopto una versión más escéptica del humanismo ortodoxo sustentada, por una parte, en la afirmación de que las limitaciones y la vulnerabilidad son aspectos ineludibles de ser humano (Mousley 2007) y, por otra, en el reciente desarrollo de ciertas teorías sobre comunidad en el ámbito de la biopolítica (Nancy 1991, Agambem 1995, Butler 2006, Esposito 2012). A la luz de estos planteamientos, sostengo que el personaje de Coriolano es una justa encarnación de lo humano, un ser singular capaz de hacer una elección ética aun a riesgo de perder la propia vida.

PALABRAS CLAVE: William Shakespeare; *Coriolano*; subjetividad; humanidad; comunidad ética; vulnerabilidad; singularidad del ser.

Introduction

Readers and audiences are usually baffled about where the playwright's apparent sympathies lie in *Coriolanus. S*ome critics have addressed this tragedy as a work that promotes a pro-republican ideology just emerging in the late sixteenth century, according to

which Shakespeare would side with the plebeians' struggle for sovereignty (Patterson 1989).[1] Seen in this light, Coriolanus stands as an irritating symbol for absolutism, while the fact that the plebeians' grievances are voiced and the warrior is banished is interpreted as a sign of Shakespeare's progressive stance in politics.[2] On the other hand, humanist criticism, with a firm belief in an essentialist conception of the individual, has generally focused on the character's assertion of individual subjectivity, arguing that the playwright conceived of the Roman warrior as "a noble, even a lovable, being" (Bradley 1904, 83). From this perspective, it is the unyielding nature of the Roman warrior against the strain of external forces what defines the character as truly admirable.

Most recent readings of this tragedy have been concerned with Shakespeare's advocacy for the rights of the commonality. Thus Andrew Hadfield analyses the playwright's engagement with reformist political theory and declares that "plays such as *Coriolanus* (1607–1608) and *Pericles* (1609) demonstrate the need to 'define civic virtue and create a sustainable balanced state'" (2005, 205). That republican thought as discussion of the commonwealth is a central issue in *Coriolanus* is evident in Menenius' fable of the belly, "touching the weal o'th'common" (1.1.134), and the detailed depiction of the canvassing process (2.3). It is the concept of "civic

---

[1] Patterson's "'Speak, Speak!': The Popular Voice and the Jacobean State" (1989, 120–53) is one of the most convincing arguments following this line. Oliver Arnold also lists a number of contributions which view *Coriolanus* as the work of "a prescient liberal who championed the people" and "belie[ved] that Jacobean England, desperately needed to borrow from the strengths, as well as from the difficulties, of republican theory" (2007, 192).

[2] However, this pro-republican view is contested by critics who consider that Shakespeare is voicing contemporary anxieties over the changing political situation, with "a nascent class consciousness" threatening the political and social order and anticipating republicanism in England (Bliss 2010, 23). Taking into account Shakespeare's prosperity as a landowner by 1607, and the uprisings against enclosure as an obvious subtext for the play, it would be highly problematical to classify Shakespeare as a staunch supporter of extended civil rights. Indeed, Coriolanus' contempt of the plebeians (1.1.181–2) has been considered an echo of the author's allegedly hatred of the mob. Yet, as Hadfield notes, republican discourse was still quite contradictory in England after the long debate about Elizabeth's succession, so "republican thought could be used to defend as well as to attack the monarchy" (2005, 18).

virtue" that seems relevant to critics hailing Shakespeare's purportedly republicanism in *Coriolanus* as well as in other works.[3]

Although political interpretations of the play have proved insightful, I do not intend to take the manifest socio-political conflict in *Coriolanus* as the central point of this essay. It is rather the problematic interpretation of subjectivity as self-sovereignty that I will address here.

When considering Coriolanus' nature and identity, critics seem to have adhered to either one of the following views. The first is based on the assumption that Coriolanus' sense of selfhood is stable and inherent to the character, as Coriolanus repeatedly asserts, and accordingly that his identity must be independently considered from whatever relationships the individual may establish with other members of the community. This is in line with A. C. Bradley's humanist interpretation, which asserts the free will and sovereignty of the subject regardless of social and political constraints. In contrast, the second type of reading considers that Coriolanus' nature and identity can only be defined in terms of the warrior's rapport with other beings, so it is understood to be politically and socially determined, particularly when class struggle is judged to be a pivotal question in the play. Therefore, in historicist readings like Jonathan Dollimore's in *Radical Tragedy* (1984), the discussion revolves around Coriolanus' assertion of his despotic will against the commonwealth and his failure to understand his role in the community by fully complying with his "civic" duties. As a result, the emphasis is on a concept of the subject as a relational, social being, whose identity cannot be understood as free from societal and political constraints. Although, I agree to a certain extent with Dollimore in his interpretation of Coriolanus' identity as the result of conflicting ideological forces and mechanisms of power, I will not exclusively pursue a cultural materialist reading of the play.

In this paper, my purpose is to bridge the gap between these apparently incompatible views on how subjectivity and, in particular, Coriolanus' nature have generally been interpreted.

---

[3] Hadfield focuses mainly on *The Rape of Lucrece*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Julius Caesar* and *Hamlet* as works distilling a complex republican discourse. *Coriolanus* is mentioned briefly as just another instance of Shakespeare's fascination with the Roman republic as a model for parliamentarism and political representation in the Jacobean era.

Following Andy Mousley in *Re-Humanising Shakespeare* (2007), I will argue that a less self-assured humanist reading of *Coriolanus* is possible, one which includes a new definition of the human on the basis of lack and vulnerability. My analysis will also be informed by recent theory on community, one which adopts an ethical perspective.

Mousley deftly argues for the need to re-examine our understanding of literary humanism by broadening its scope. Acknowledging the prevalence of an essentialist humanism against which post-structuralist theory started reacting by the 1970s, Mousley grants the existence of an alternative, more distrustful humanist approach to literary texts which goes beyond the so-called "mainstream humanism." Liberal humanism as a critical practice was perceived to be based on "an inflated assumption that 'man' is the origin and source of meaning, of action, and of history" (Belsey 1980, 7). Yet, as Mousley points out, the humanist discourse that fosters the ideal of self-autonomy and human transcendence inspiring classical studies on Shakespeare's drama (Bradley's *Shakespearean Tragedy*, 1904), G. Wilson Knight (*The Wheel of Fire*, 1930; *The Crown of Life*, 1947) and H. C. Goddard (*The Meaning of Shakespeare*, 1951) represents a particularly optimistic conception of human nature. Historicism and cultural materialism emerged in clear antagonism to the "naive and uncritical" position of liberal humanism given the obvious existence of social and historical limitations determining subjective identity and defining human nature (Mousley 2007,14).

The postmodern version of humanism which Mousley advances does not take for granted an uncompromising belief in human freedom and self-sovereignty. In approaching Shakespearean texts, Mousley suggests a slightly different version of humanism, one based on the possibility "to articulate a belief in human nature, not in terms of hubristic transcendence but more humbly, as an acceptance of human limits" (Mousley 2007, 15). I find this approach quite suitable to analyse *Coriolanus* since much of the discussion in the play revolves around models of humanity and inhumanity. This new form of humanism acknowledges the sceptical challenge derived from post-modern theory and hence the need to redefine "the human" in an age of disbelief and uncertainty. The task is quite challenging since "the model of transcendence," which has certainly

monopolised humanism, focuses on the ideal of human superiority and the infinite capacity of human beings for improvement rather than on the "acceptance of human limits." The fact that it takes into account the ethical dimension of humanity as a crucial issue is another reason for choosing to work within this renewed theoretical framework.

Therefore, my aim in this paper is to offer a humanist reading of *Coriolanus* on the basis of the character's limitations as a human being. In order to do so, I will also support my analysis of self-identity in *Coriolanus* by drawing on recent criticism on community theory. Some of the concepts that will be handled in this assessment of the problematic notions of humanity, individual subjectivity and the relationship between the singular being and community in *Coriolanus* are inspired by Jean-Luc Nancy's *The Inoperative Community* (1991). I will also consider the concepts of "state or exception" and "*homo sacer*" as developed by Giorgio Agamben (1998) in analysing Coriolanus' position in Rome, as well as the ideas of loss and vulnerability that Judith Butler (2006) brings about in her discussion of "bare life," which are necessary to add an ethical dimension to the discussion on humanity. Finally, I will take on a relevant distinction made by Roberto Esposito (2012) between political and ethical communities to argue for Coriolanus' "singularity" as based on the recognition of his being just a vulnerable creature. These authors share an understanding of individual subjectivity which does not fulfil the human desire for self-sufficiency and transcendence but rather an inevitable, self-destructive bond with community.

Identity as a relational concept

Generally speaking, Shakespeare's heroes are promising figures that believe in their capacity for self-fashioning but end up yielding to external forces that compel them to act in ways that prove to be devastating for the subject. It is the dialectical struggle between contradictory versions of the self what makes most of Shakespeare's tragic heroes such appealing characters. Brecht deemed them "inconsistent and relative, and hence more like life, where the development depends on contradiction" (Heinemann 1994, 232). As cultural materialism has shown, the main reason is that the

Renaissance was a period offering greater possibilities to cultivate individualism and inwardness, fostering at the same time serious doubts about the sovereignty of the individual and the boundaries of the subject.

Dollimore points out that "Jacobean tragedy challenged Christian essentialism, and indeed its stoic and humanist derivatives" (1989, 156). So, Shakespearean drama, and in particular *Coriolanus*, is in this regard a prototypical product of the early modern period for it underscores the question of modern subjectivity by testing the degree of autonomy of the subject and its position in relation to other beings. As Kuzner points out in his essay on *Coriolanus*, "questions about selfhood were increasingly turning into questions about bounded selfhood" (2007, 175).

Shakespeare's tragedy dramatizes the rise and fall of Martius Caius, an arrogant patrician brought up by his mother to become the greatest warrior in Rome. Having built his reputation on countless battles since his adolescence, the Roman warrior reluctantly accepts the self-serving praise after his victory at Corioli (1.9.13–15). Coriolanus finds it unbearable having to beg for the people's support to be elected consul, certain as he is of his innate superiority and his martial virtue, and uncomfortable with the political manoeuvring of the patricians and the tribunes.

Coriolanus' discernment of his self-identity implies an assertion of his uniqueness. He identifies himself with absolute values which clash with the limitations he identifies in the plebeians. Coriolanus claims to be a complete, self-ruling being. Throughout the first three acts, he repeatedly insists on his autonomy and defines himself by openly declaring his hatred of the plebeians. In contrast to the idea of bounded selfhood and the absolute values he identifies with, Coriolanus associates the plebeians with ideas of mutability and corruption: "For | the mutable, Rank-scented meinie. Let them | Regard me, as I do not flatter, and | Therein behold themselves" (3.1.66–68); and he attacks them for their unreliability: "Trust ye? | With every minute you do change a mind | And call him noble that was your hate, | Him vile that was your garland […]" (1.1.164–67). Nor is he able to perceive the plebeians as discrete individuals but as a Hydra, the nine-headed monster (3.1.94). The metonymical reduction of the plebeians to mere "voices," "bodies" without a heart (2. 3. 190–91), and "tongues," and of the tribunes to "their mouths"

(3.1.37) is further evidence of his inability to admit in others the subjective potential he claims for himself. To Coriolanus the people lack the distinctiveness that would allow them to claim an autonomous subjective identity. Coriolanus' use of degrading language to address the plebeians —"Go get you home, you fragments" (1.1.206)— highlights his conviction that they do not qualify as human beings, since they are perceived as a disjointed, shifting mass with no individual personality. This dehumanisation is also palpable in the analogy he draws between the plebeians and the lowest ranks in the animal kingdom: "What would you have, you curs,|That like nor peace nor war? […] He that trusts you,|Where he should find you lions finds you hares, |Where foxes, geese you are […]"(1.1.151–55). In contrast, he pictures Aufidius, his rival and the only character he identifies with, as the noblest of beasts, "a lion |That I am proud to hunt" (1.1.217–18).

However, the interpretation of Coriolanus' identity does not only rely on the stubborn assertion of physical and figurative boundaries of the self. As historicists have asserted, identity is also dependent on a shared view of what constitutes the subject, so Coriolanus' own identity is determined by how the concept of "virtue" is construed. In early Latin *virtus* denoted the quality entailed by being a *vir* (man), so it was typically associated with courage and military achievement. Yet later the term came to be associated with the Hellenic concept of arête ($\alpha\rho\epsilon\tau$), denoting *goodness* or *excellence,* of any kind, especially of *manly* qualities.[4] In Shakespeare's play the word is loaded with a range of meanings that must be negotiated and it may thus be interpreted in different ways depending on who speaks.

Everyone in Rome associates Coriolanus with the one quality in which he excels, military prowess. Yet, in the eyes of the people this virtue is also coupled with an excessive pride, depriving the warrior of the *dignitas* (worth) he considers his greatest asset:

> FIRST CITIZEN I say unto you, what he hath done famously, he did it to that end. Though soft-conscienced men can be content to say it was for his country, he did it to please his mother and to be partly proud, which he is, even to the altitude of his virtue.

---

[4] For further discussion on the Roman concept of "virtue," its origin and evolution, see the first three chapters of McDonnell's *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic* (2006).

SECOND CITIZEN What he cannot help in his nature you account as
    vice in him. You must in no way say he is covetous. (1.1. 27–32)

This discussion of Coriolanus' virtue continues in act 2. In an attempt to offset the widespread condemnation of the haughty warrior, Cominius eulogizes Coriolanus in order to obtain the citizens' support in the election for consulship: "[…] he covets less | Than misery itself would give, rewards | His deeds with doing them, and is content | To spend the time to end it" (2.2.120–23). Cominius insists on dissociating Coriolanus from an idea of excessive ambition since the term "virtue" in the republican era includes manliness and military courage but also honourability to qualify for public service (McDonnell 2006). Although it is the Roman custom, Coriolanus refuses to show his scars in public to ingratiate himself with the people:

MENENIUS   It then remains
    That you speak to the people.

CORIOLANUS   I do beseech you,
    Let me o'erleap that custom, for I cannot
    Put on the gown, stand naked, and entreat them
    For my wounds' sake to give their suffrage. Please you
    That I may pass this doing

SICINIUS   Sir, the people
    Must have their voices, neither will they bate
    One jot of ceremony. (2.2.128–36)

In Coriolanus' view, exhibiting the wounds and trading the people's support for his "mild words" implies disowning his true self. He is accustomed to wearing a sword but has not been trained in the art of rhetoric and lacks the capacity to effectively address others or be moved by the speech of others. From this perspective, it is Coriolanus' *virtus* in the wider sense of the term and his failure to display it in public that generates an excruciating tension in the character.

It is Coriolanus' assumption that his nobility is inherent to his nature and not dependent on the citizens' judgement. The conflict arises from a disagreement with what constitutes virtue and whether this is an inalienable feature of the subject, as Coriolanus contends, or not.

Forced to beg the people and convince them of his own natural worth, Coriolanus asks his mother: "Why did you wish me milder? Would you have me|False to my nature? Rather say I play|The man I am" (3.2.14–16). Volumnia's reply,"O, sir, sir, sir,|I would have had you put power well on|Before you had it worn it out" (3.2. 16–18), reveals how differently mother and son understand Coriolanus' virtue and how each of them perceives Coriolanus' identity. While Coriolanus equates it with military prowess, Volumnia assesses her son's *virtus* also in a political sense, as public service (Dollimore 1989, 221). In fact, the patricians see Coriolanus as an agent to serve the interests of their social class. In this respect, Volumnia's and Coriolanus' interpretation of true nobility and what constitutes Coriolanus identity are radically opposed. While Coriolanus insists on asserting his inherent *virtus* and his belief in the possibility "to stand|As if a man were author of himself| And knew no other kin" (5.3.35–37), there are many hints as to the fact that his identity as well as his power are not essential qualities to his being, but are now bound up with his capacity to act politically.

It is not only Coriolanus' identity that is defined in an intersubjective manner. Similarly, the patricians' identity is determined by their abuse of the plebeians. Yet, while other members of his class have understood the usefulness of politics and the need to comply with state law, Coriolanus, chosen to represent patrician authority in their struggle for supremacy, refuses to act politically: "Must I with my base tongue give to my noble heart|A lie that it must bear? (3.2.100–102). Coriolanus' naive question underscores the fact that his worth in Rome is defined in an intersubjective manner. Volumnia and the other patricians are aware of the fact that Coriolanus' military virtue is not enough to prove his worth. Despite Volumnia's attempts to persuade her son of the honourability of humbling oneself in public ("I would dissemble with my nature where|My fortunes and my friends at stake required|I should do this in honour." (3.2.63–65), to Coriolanus acting politically implies submitting to an unbearable act of violence: relinquishing his own nature. His unalienable essence and his autonomy are being attacked. Admitting the political dimension of his identity would turn Coriolanus into a political pawn of the Roman state. Coriolanus' disdainful references to play acting, especially in 3.2, signal the character's resistance to renouncing his individual sovereignty.

In his interpretation of *Coriolanus*, Dollimore remarks (1989, 229) on the constructedness of subjectivity against the essentialist notion of the self that Coriolanus defends, and which humanist critics have underlined as the redeeming feature of the Roman warrior. Coriolanus' naive principles about moral and ethical integrity are shattered by his mother's political awareness. Volumnia perfectly understands the social and political nature of self identity since Coriolanus' reputation, and as a result his power in Rome, no longer depends on his courageous actions on the battlefield but mainly on the recognition of his merits by the citizens of Rome. Consequently, when Coriolanus uses his power against Rome "there emerges a contradiction which reveals both reputation and state to be prior to and in some sense constitutive of *virtus*" (Dollimore 1989, 218). As a result, Coriolanus' final destruction seems unavoidable, for he conceives his place in the world in terms of absolute values. In fact, Coriolanus fears the dissolution of his own self if the patricians mingle with the fragmented, shapeless mass of plebeians: "[…] my soul aches | To know, when two authorities are up, | Neither supreme, how soon confusion | May enter 'twixt the gap of both and take | The one by th'other" (3.1.109–12). However, to the more politically-minded patricians the absolute has already been displaced by a "social network of relative interactions, one in which intervention not essence is determining" (Dollimore 1989, 219).

Yet, after his expulsion from Rome Coriolanus still declares "There is a world elsewhere" (3.3.137), believing in the myth of innate worth and self-autonomy of the subject and the possibility of surviving outside Rome. However, Aufidius' failure to recognise his enemy provides new evidence that self-identity and social recognition are thus inextricably related. Neither Aufidius nor his men can recognize their arch-enemy because the network of social and power relationships that served to determine his identity in Rome has collapsed. As a result, Coriolanus turns into an anomic subject outside Rome:

> AUFIDIUS Whence com'st thou? What wouldst thou? Thy name?
>   Why speak's not? Speak man. What's thy name?
>
> CORIOLANUS   If, Tullus,
>   Not yet thou know'st me, and seeing me dost not
>   Think me for the man I am, necessity
>   Commands me name myself. (4.5.50–54)

Coriolanus ingenuously equates his identity with his name, wrongly assuming that those are inalienable properties of the subject.[5] Yet, the Volsces can only identify the man as their most feared adversary. The name given to him by Rome for his service allows for the recognition of the anonymous individual as the heroic figure that "l[ed] them like a thing|Made by some other deity than Nature,|That shapes men better" (4.6.91–93). Yet, alienation from Rome dispossesses the man of his socially constructed identity which, in Dollimore's view (1989, 229), is the only identity that is meaningful. The events in acts IV and V provide further evidence that without Rome Coriolanus' identity becomes unstable.

The incongruity of Coriolanus' self-proclaimed absoluteness becomes more visible when he attempts to harmonize his contrary allegiances after having joined the Volsces, where he contemplates his situation in the soliloquy pronounced at the doors of Antium (4.4.12–24). The oxymoronic combinations in "My birthplace hate I, and my love's upon|This enemy town" (4.4.23–24) expose the internal inconsistencies of a literally dislocated character. Further evidence of the inevitable collapse of what Coriolanus assumes to be his essential nature appears in act 5. Although he has claimed to be loyal to his former adversaries, he finally spares the Romans and betrays Aufidius, feeling compelled to confirm his reputation among his men: "You must report to th' Volscian lords how plainly|I have borne this business" (5.3.3–4). At this point, Coriolanus' identity has been dashed to pieces. His capitulation to the citizens of Rome lays bare the inconsistencies of an absolute, fixed self. First of all, it is impossible to claim to be both a Roman and a Volscian warrior at the same time. Moreover, it is his agreeing to negotiate a peace agreement that invalidates his claim to an essentially unalterable martial nature. I agree with Dollimore that "Coriolanus […] is constituted by the contradictions inherent in the martial ideal: though identified in terms of an innate superiority he is in fact the ideological effect of powers antecedent to and independent of him" (1989, 218). Sicinius' remark about the sudden alteration of "the

---

[5] Calderwood (1966) discusses the radically opposite connotations evoked by the name of "Coriolanus." While for the warrior, the name has "his own private meaning and remains true to that, to his own conception of nobility" (219), events prove that in actual fact "Coriolanus" is not the property of the man, but a name given by the people of Rome, endowed with public meaning, and hence a symbol of Roman pride and reputation.

condition of man" (5.4.10) seems to contest the immanence of virtue and the inalterability of the subject's identity.

The play, as Dollimore suggest, is concerned with the fact that self-identity is determined by historical contingency and change (1989, 229). As Coriolanus' final concession proves, his identity is determined by external circumstances, and, I would further argue, by the nature of the ethical relationships he eventually establishes with the other. As Dollimore's politically-oriented reading suggests, Coriolanus ends up succumbing to the power of external elements competing for his loyalty. It is that surrender of the character, which Dollimore essentially deems as acceptance of "civic duty" and the emergence of political awareness that I intend to examine in the next section of this essay.

I will now consider the Roman play from a slightly different perspective, congruent with the materialist scepticism about claims to subjective autonomy I have outlined, but also taking into account theoretical developments on community theory and the area of biopolitics.

Ethical engagement with the "other": the singular being and community in *Coriolanus*

As with most other classical plays, the main source for the story of *Coriolanus* was Thomas Norton's famous translation of Plutarch's *Lives of the Noble Grecians and Romans* (1595).[6] Since it was the exemplary nature of the tales that made this ancient material especially valuable to writers of the early modern period, I contend that Shakespeare pictured the Roman warrior as a dignified figure, although not so much for his pretensions to superiority and self-integrity but, as I will argue, just for the opposite — the character's vulnerability. In my view, it is the ethical gesture of opening up to community in the face of the impending finitude of other beings that makes Coriolanus such a model of humanity, despite claims to the contrary. Therefore, in the final part of my essay I intend to support an ethical reading of *Coriolanus* that complements cultural materialist

---

[6] Bliss states that Shakespeare probably followed the 1595 edition with some changes "in the expanded roles of Menenius, Volumnia, the tribunes and Aufidius, all of whom become not only actors but commentators on the protagonist" (2010, 10).

interpretations of this tragedy. My reading focuses on the nature of the "singular being" and the "inoperative community" as argued by Nancy (1991). Following Butler's analysis of vulnerability as the ethical basis on which to define humanity, I contend that Coriolanus is a worthy epitome of humanity as he makes the ethical choice of entering a community of vulnerable and mortal beings in act 5. As will be argued, this engagement with other exposed, finite beings is only possible in a situation of discourse where singular beings communicate and share their human limitations as common loss.

As argued above, the illusion of boundedness of the subject actually collapses when Coriolanus faces his closest kin who make a plea for mercy. Coriolanus' interlocutors are thus exposed as mortal beings. This revelation of the others as finite individuals thrusts Coriolanus to the limits of a community where all beings share something in common, their being equally vulnerable and finite.

Yet, in order to properly justify this statement, I must first clarify what exactly is the nature of community presented here. What *community* means, and whether its existence is possible at all, is a question to which several thinkers have offered responses, which has resulted in an engaging body of literature in the area of biopolitics with profound ethical implications. Thus, Nancy in "The Inoperative Community" (1991) has come to the conclusion that the idea of community is a broken myth from which society materialized. Nancy claims that the existence of community is a utopian ideal and as such unfeasible. Instead "community, far from being what society has crushed or lost, is *what happens to us* —question, waiting, event, imperative— *in the wake of* society"(11). Therefore, it is rather the thought of community that comes about as a result of the drive for human transcendence and immortality, as the possibility of fusion with others. Yet, to Nancy such possibility is delusive because we all tend to assert our being, even if we wish "to be" in common with others:

> Community is what takes place always through others and for others. It is not the space of the *egos* —subjects and substances that are at the bottom immortal— but of the I's, who are always *others* (or else nothing). If community is revealed in the death of the others it is because death itself is the true community of I's that are not *egos*. It is not a communion that fuses egos into an Ego or a higher We. It is the community of others. The genuine community of mortal beings, or death as community, establishes their

> impossible communion. Community therefore occupies a singular place: it assumes the impossibility of its own immanence, the impossibility of a communitarian being in the form of a subject. In a certain sense community acknowledges and inscribes —this is its peculiar gesture— the impossibility of community. (1991,11)

Nancy's *community* is inoperative because it does not fulfil the natural desire for immanence and transcendence; quite the opposite, it undoes the subject. Subjectivity as autonomy from others and self-containment, as Coriolanus intends it to be, vanishes within society as well as within community, for the "being-in-community" is no longer in possession of his own self but somehow loses himself to others. As argued above, Coriolanus' insistence on distinguishing himself from others, on claiming full agency, makes him believe in the possibility to "author himself." Hence, he despises the idea of community, of being in common with others, with all, except with Aufidius.

At first sight, it would seem that it is Coriolanus' obstinacy and his non-compliance with Roman custom that brings about the warrior's self-alienation. However, I would argue, following Nancy's understanding of community, that even when he is acknowledged in Rome for his military achievements, he is not yet a "singular" being or a "being-in-community." The events in acts 1 to 3 show that what operates in Rome is a society of interest in which the supreme law of the state is imposed over the rights of individual subjects. Coriolanus' refusal to show his scars –visible signs of his vulnerability– confirms the character's lack of awareness of the self as a member of a community of interest that we call society. Instead, convinced of his innate superiority and self-sufficiency, Coriolanus claims independence of Roman citizenship, rebels against any form of subjection, and resists the law of that community. Coriolanus' self-assertion generates a perverse "state of exception" by virtue of which the law may be applied not to protect individual sovereignty but just to reduce it in favour of the preservation of the commonwealth. The concept of state of exception is developed by Giorgio Agambem in *Homo sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life* (1995) to account for Nazi totalitarianism, but this being a notion worked out from the analysis of the archaic Roman figure of the *homo sacer*, I agree with Kuzner (2007) that it may be suitably applied to Coriolanus' situation in Rome. The banishment forces Coriolanus to abandon the community of Rome but even before that Coriolanus is a *homo sacer*, a "human

life […] included in the juridical order solely in the form of its exclusion (that is, of its capacity to be killed)" (Agambem 1998, 12). Coriolanus may still be alive but he is politically excluded from Roman life, from qualified life as opposed to bare life.

Even after being expelled from Rome, Coriolanus insists on the need to "stand, | As if a man were author of himself | and knew no other kin" (5.3.35–36) on the assumption that to be virtuous is "to be obstinate" (5.3.26). Yet, it is right after being addressed by Virgilia that Coriolanus manages to control the narcissistic instinct that compelled him to claim his singularity on the basis of his "innate" superiority and self-autonomy. It is precisely in 5.3 that Coriolanus starts to approach the community by opening his being to it.

Throughout the play several characters, including Coriolanus himself, portray the Roman warrior as an invulnerable being, "a thing of blood," a "God that leads the Romans," highlighting his "natural" inhumanity. Perhaps this should be viewed as a defensive strategy by Coriolanus to avoid political subjection, since undergoing exposure would involve recognizing the sovereignty of the state over that of the individual, and hence, admitting that his life in Rome is "bare life." The awareness of such limitations to his citizenship and his free will provokes an obvious resistance to the law on Coriolanus' part and his eventual banishment from Rome. The notion of bare life, developed by Agambem in his discussion of *homo sacer* (1995), is closely related to that of "precarious life" in Butler's work (2006). In a deep and insightful reflection on the role of the Humanities at present, Butler advocates an ethics of non-violence as a new form of humanism and guiding principle for our being members of a community called humanity.

Thus if we read *Coriolanus* closely against this notion of bare or precarious life, it becomes obvious that from a political point of view Coriolanus' life is in fact nothing other than subjection to the state: in Rome he is not a sovereign subject, free to choose his own course of action, as events prove. Having been framed as a warrior, he is serviceable as a weapon against Rome's adversaries. As a matter of fact, he is metonymically identified with a sword that is employed to inflict violence on others. In Rome Coriolanus lives in a "state of exception" for the law limits his sovereignty by imposing on him obligations, some of which he is used to and willing to perform, but others —publicizing his wounds, which implies exposing his

vulnerability as a mortal being— seem utterly unbearable. By resisting self-subjection to the law of Rome, he paradoxically becomes an enemy of Rome.

This reticence to admit his subjection also reveals a clear resistance, deafness to the appeal of otherness: "Wife, mother, child, I know not […] Therefore begone.|Mine ears against your suits are stronger than|Your gates against my force" (5.2.76–83), he replies to Menenius' humble plea. Other critics (Calderwood 1966) have noted Coriolanus' failure to communicate effectively with others.[7] However, this is not the result of speaking two different languages. In my view, this flaw in communication is patent not only when he confronts the citizens of Rome, whom he despises, but even when his friends and relatives address him. Yet, Coriolanus recoils from others. He does not wish to be in lieu of the Other so as to avoid being moved: "Fresh embassies and suits,|Nor from state nor private friends, hereafter| Will I lend ear to" (5.3.16–18). This open refusal to approach community, by idealistically asserting the subject's independence and denying human bonds, may again be read as a strategy for self-defence since the character avoids exposure of any kind, whether this be physical, verbal, or emotional. Being exposed to others implies in a sense accepting one's flaws, one's limitations. It is only when he listens to Volumnia's speech (5.3.131–82) that the appeal of the other does transform him, shattering Coriolanus' pretensions to self-containment. As Butler states:

> The situation of discourse consists in the fact that language arrives as an address we do not will, and by which we are in an original sense, if not, in Levinas's terms held hostage. So there is a certain violence already on being addressed, given a name subject to a set of impositions, compelled to respond to an exacting alterity […]. To be addressed is to be, from the start, deprived of will, and to have that deprivation exist as the basis of one's situation in discourse. (Butler 2006, 139)

---

[7] Calderwood (1966) considers this failure derives from the differences between Coriolanus' "private language," which is used in a futile way to communicate, and hence the impossibility of a genuine verbal transaction between him and others. However, this interpretation focuses rather on Coriolanus' exchanges with the plebeians at large.

Therefore, in his conference with the Roman embassy, being addressed as "son", "husband" and "father" Coriolanus is inadvertently pushed into community, admitting his bond to others. Esposito in *Terms of the Political: Community, Immunity, Biopolitics* (2012, 15) declares that "the law of community is inseparable from the community of law, debt, guilt." Volumnia readily reminds Coriolanus of his debt to others: "Say my request's unjust, | And spurn my back. But if it not be so, | Thou art not honest, and the gods will plague thee | That thou restrain'st from me the duty which | To a mother's part belongs" (5.3.164–68). As a result, when Coriolanus eventually tries to effect community by negotiating a peace treaty, that community "inevitably ends up turning it[self] into its exact opposite —a community of death and the death of community" (Esposito 2012, 15). As Coriolanus states, opening up to community necessarily entails an undoing of the subject, and hence death:

> CORIOLANUS   O mother, mother!
>   What have you done? Behold, the heavens do ope,
>   The gods look down, and this unnatural scene
>   They laugh at. O my mother, mother! O!
>   You have won a happy victory to Rome;
>   But for your son – believe it, O believe it –
>   Most dangerously you have prevailed,
>   If not most mortal to him. But let it come. –   (5.3.183–90)

By acknowledging the face and the grief of the Other —mother, wife, child— Coriolanus actually acknowledges what they share as members of the inoperative community— their being exposed to lack and loss. It is only then, when the seemingly imperturbable warrior comes to realise the vulnerability and finitude of his loved ones, that he comes to accept his own. It is only then that Coriolanus becomes, using Nancy's formulation, "a singular being in community." The martial self-bound Coriolanus admits his weakness: "Aufidius, though I cannot make true wars, I'll frame convenient peace. Now, good Aufidius, | Were you in my stead, would you have heard | A mother less? Or granted less, Aufidius?" (5.3.191–94)

Certainly, there are scholars who have already examined this tragedy from a communitarian perspective. Kuzner has argued that in *Coriolanus* the playwright "represents the birth of Roman republicanism as the birth of a state that, in the name of securing personal borders, uses law to place individuals outside the law thus

making life within the city what Agamben calls 'bare life'" (2007, 173). For Kuzner the play advances the possibility of establishing a community "outside the state of exception, directing us toward a specifically sexual 'world elsewhere'" (3.3.136).[8] Although I can appreciate his argument, where he resorts to queer theory to assert the possibility of a community of gay outlaws, I propose instead that Coriolanus' singularity and coming into community is brought about "on the basis of vulnerability and loss" epitomized in the precariousness of life he perceives in Volumnia, Virgilia and his son, and by extension in the citizens of Rome.

In *Precarious Life: Violence, Mourning and Politics* Butler raises a central question that may help us to decide what humanity is all about and apply her notion to our interpretation of *Coriolanus*. In her discussion Butler enquires "who counts as human? Whose lives count as lives?" to conclude, echoing Hamlet, that "loss has made a tenuous 'we' of us all" (2006, 20). Accordingly, the idea of community would surface when we become conscious of our own human limitations and we share this sense of vulnerability with others:

> This means that each of us is constituted politically in part by virtue of the social vulnerability of our bodies —as a site of desire and physical vulnerability, as a site of a publicity at once assertive and exposed. Loss and vulnerability seem to follow from our being socially constituted bodies, attached to others, at risk of losing those attachments, exposed to others, at risk of violence by virtue of that exposure. (2006, 20)

And it is exposure precisely that Coriolanus shuns until the final act, when he confronts the impending death of his loved ones. It is in that instant that Coriolanus for the first time seems willing "to undergo a transformation", by making a crucial ethical choice. It is as a result of this choice that he becomes a singular being, possessed with a vulnerability, which makes him look the more human.

---

[8] Coriolanus does not really identify with anyone, except with his greatest rival, Aufidius. This is probably due to the fact that they have reached a point of identification, having been both physically exposed to one another in several battles. As a result, they may have come to recognise their own vulnerability and their common mortality. However, I do not perceive Aufidius' emerging awareness of community as recognition of finitude and vulnerability as I see it happening to the Roman warrior in the last act.

To Coriolanus being dispossessed of self-autonomy and community seems at first a temporal condition and he believes that joining Aufidius and his men may afford him a new sense of belonging. In other words, when he joins his former enemies he does so thinking that somehow, as Butler states, "mourning will be over and some restoration of prior order will be achieved"(2006, 22). However, once deprivation is experienced, "something about who we are is revealed, something that delineates the ties we have to others, that shows us that these ties constitute what we are, ties and bonds that compose us" (22). For Butler, grief reveals a sense of "community of a complex order" and this is effected "by bringing to the fore the relational ties that have implications for theorizing fundamental dependency and ethical responsibility" (22).

Although Butler is concerned with the contribution of the Humanities to make the current world a more ethically responsible one, I consider her argument to be relevant to an ethical interpretation of this Shakespearean tragedy, one in which politics and ethics are brought to the fore. Therefore, I contend that it is a sense of ethical responsibility that makes Coriolanus abandon an ethics of war for an ethics of non-violence when he is begged to spare Rome. It is only in the last act that he assumes his dependency from community and his moral responsibility towards others, even if that entails self-annihilation.

As Butler points out, grief displays a challenge to the notion of self-contained beings because the body

> implies mortality, vulnerability, agency: the skin and the flesh expose us to the gaze of others, but also to touch and violence, and bodies put us at the risk of becoming the agency and instrument of all of these as well. Although we struggle for rights over our own bodies, the very bodies for which we struggle are not quite our own. (2006, 26)

Butler's words offer a glimpse of human nature much more despairing than essentialist humanism has offered in the past. What is posited here is the possibility of a humanist community that "affirms relationality not only as a descriptive or historical fact of our formation, but also as a normative dimension of our social and political lives, one in which we are compelled to take stock of our interdependence" (2006, 27). This assertion highlights the ethical dimension of the relationship of the individual self with the

community and this, I think, is applicable to a communitarian interpretation of *Coriolanus* by suggesting non-military solutions against physical violence.

The final act of recognition of the Other, whose survival depends on an ethical act on Coriolanus' part, makes him approach community which, although inoperative for it crushes the human longing for transcendence and self-containment, presents the subject in its "singularity", as an admirable being.

Esposito, in trying to establish the difference between a political and an ethical community, points out that "care, rather than interest, lies at the basis of community. Community is determined by care, and care by community." Following Heidegger, Esposito claims that "the duty of community (providing, yet not conceding, that there is one) is not to liberate us from care, but instead to protect it as the sole thing that renders community possible" (2012, 26). The type of care he is referring to is not a concern for self-survival but "care for the other", which entails being open to otherness. This is the only instance in which community may accordingly be fulfilled.

Wishing the possibility of an ethical community to come true, Butler also identifies the recognition of the other– what Esposito calls "care for the other"– as the only possible foundation for community to exist. Certainly, Coriolanus is involved in a situation "that dislocates [him] from his former position, [his] subject-position, and allows [him] to see that community itself requires the recognition that we are all, in different ways, striving for recognition" (Butler 2006, 44).

Conclusion

An ethical reading of this late Shakespearean tragedy encourages an understanding of human nobility and virtue as "singularity of being." As has been noted, the singular being is one who accepts his own vulnerability and humanity by virtue of perceiving his own finitude and that of others. Therefore, this humanist interpretation of *Coriolanus* seems to me utterly compatible with the cultural materialist reading Dollimore endorses, for it allows us to understand subjectivity as a problematic notion, by combining a political with an ethical analysis of subjectivity and community. As

Dollimore points out, the character of Coriolanus is decentred by contingent forces which make the self unstable. His being a member of Roman society deprives him of his individual sovereignty and makes of him a *homo sacer* leading a bare life.

However, I would further argue that far from being an epitome of inhumanity as most characters remark, what is stressed in this process of dislocation of the subject is, above all, his own vulnerability and his limitations as a human being. The character of Coriolanus is revealed as a worthy figure mainly because he discards the myth of transcendence and humbly accepts his own precariousness as a mortal human being. At the end of the play, Coriolanus is no longer the absolute being other characters as well as he himself have asserted him to be. By opening up to the address of others and recognizing their precariousness Coriolanus turns into a caring, compassionate being. This entails a painful process of identification with utter loss and grief which takes places in the closing act. The meeting with the Roman embassy reveals his weakness – he cares for the Other. So even though Coriolanus has claimed freedom from community, the fact is that he is moved by the exposure, the vulnerability and the potential loss of other beings. Consequently, he makes a responsible choice to recognize his bond to the inoperative community which eventually turns out to be a self-destructive move. It is only when the being is moved by equally exposed and vulnerable beings that the inoperative community emerges and Coriolanus' singularity of being is finally disclosed.

Esposito further argues that the political and the ethical community are not one. "Politics is not a widening but a reduction of freedom, and such is a consequence, not a contradiction, of the absoluteness of freedom itself. This is precisely because the essence of freedom resides in being unlimited, and the task of politics is to limit freedom with its opposite–an irresistible power" (2012, 21). While Coriolanus rejects the idea of being in the political community, he nevertheless comes to accept his share in an ethical one where moral choices are available to the singular being. In this sort of community or "being-in-common" Coriolanus can choose between preserving his own life or, alternatively, caring for others by accepting impending death at the hands of the Volsces. The transformation the character undergoes reveals that, after all, being in community is what makes beings more human, and that human

care and recognition of the other are the ethical bases of such community.

References

Agambem, Giorgio. 1998 (1995). *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*. Standford: Standford University Press.

Arnold, Oliver. 2007. *The Third Citizen: Shakespeare's Theatre and the Early Modern House of Commons*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press.

Belsey, Catherine. 1980. *Critical Practice*, London: Routledge.

Bliss, Lee. 2010. "Introduction." William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*. 1-121. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bradley, A.C. 1991 (1904). *Shakespearean Tragedy: Lectures on Hamlet, Othello, King Lear, Macbeth*. London: Penguin.

Butler, Judith. 2006. *Precarious Life: The Powers of Mourning and Violence*. New York: Verso.

Calderwood, James. 1996. "*Coriolanus*: Wordless Meanings and Meaningless Words." *SEL: Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 6: 211–224.

Dollimore, Jonathan. 1989 (1984). *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*. Hempstead: Prentice Hall.

Esposito, Roberto. 2012. *Terms of the Political: Community, Immunity, Biopolitics*. Translated by Rhiannon Noel and introduction by Vanessa Lemm. New York: Fordham.

Goddard, H. C. 1960 (1951). *The Meaning of Shakespeare,* vol. 2, University of Chicago Press: London.

Hadfield, Andrew. 2005. *Shakespeare and Republicanism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heinemann, Margaret. 1994. "How Bretch Read Shakespeare." In *Political Shakespeare: Essays in Cultural Materialism*, edited by Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, 226–255. Manchester: Manchester University.

Knight, G. Wilson. 1947. *The Crown of Life: Essays in Interpretation of Shakespeare's Final Plays*. London: Methuen.

———. 1995 (1930). *The Wheel of Fire: Interpretations of Shakespearean Tragedy with Three New Essays*. London: Routledge.

Kuzner, James. 2007. "Unbuilding the City: Coriolanus and the Birth of Republican Rome." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58 (2):174–199.

McDonnell, Myles. 2006. *Roman Manliness: Virtus and the Roman Republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mousley, Andy. 2007. *Re-Humanising Shakespeare: Literary Humanism, Wisdom and Modernity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Patterson, Annabel. 1989. *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Nancy, Jean-Luc. 1991. *The Inoperative Community*. Edited by Peter Connor. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.

Shakespeare, William. 2010 (1623). *Coriolanus*. Edited by Lee Bliss. Updated edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

More than an Indian teen shrew:
Postcolonialism and feminism in *Isi Life Mein*[*]

&

Más que una fierecilla india adolescente:
poscolonialismo y feminismo en *Isi Life Mein*

Rosa M. García-Periago
Universidad de Murcia, Spain

ABSTRACT

This essay explores a Bollywood movie entitled *Isi Life Mein* (dir. Vidhi Kasliwal, 2010), which exploits *The Taming of the Shrew* as a play-within-the-film for the first time in Bollywood, and even as an intertext on some occasions. Although apparently a mere teen movie, this article sheds light on the importance of the Indian location, which invites postcolonial readings of the text. From a postcolonial perspective, it is the aim of this essay to rethink how *The Taming of the Shrew* is caught up and shaped in another culture. The film experiments with, and offers a parody of Shakespeare and his text, to the extent that they are both "reborn." The movie also reflects on Indian modernity characterized by endless migration and diaspora. This essay equally explores the significance of using *The Taming of the Shrew*, since cultural debates concerning gender relations are involved. The movie adds to the multiple cultural products that rewrite the play's ending. One of *Isi Life Mein*'s main attractions lies in its ability to challenge patriarchy explicitly. Interestingly, postcolonialism and feminism are intertwined in *Isi Life Mein*, providing new understandings of the Shrew and, ultimately, the Bard.

KEYWORDS: Shakespeare; adaptation; *The Taming of the Shrew*; India; Bollywood cinema.

RESUMEN

Este artículo explora una película bollywoodiense llamada Isi Life Mein (dir. Vidhi Kasliwal, 2010), que utiliza La Fierecilla Domada como obra teatral dentro de la película por primera vez en Bollywood e incluso como intertexto en algunas ocasiones. Aunque parezca aparentemente una simple película de adolescentes, este artículo enfatiza la importancia del lugar en que transcurre la acción, India, pues invita a lecturas postcoloniales del texto. Siguiendo un marco postcolonial, el objetivo primordial de este artículo es volver a pensar sobre cómo La Fierecilla Domada se puede adaptar a otra cultura. La película experimenta con Shakespeare e incluso parodia al escritor y al texto, hasta el punto que ambos se reescriben. Isi Life Mein también reflexiona sobre la modernidad en la India caracterizada por la migración y la diáspora. Pero este artículo sobre todo explora la importancia de utilizar La Fierecilla Domada en este contexto, ya que los debates sobre género son inevitables. Es necesario añadir este derivado a los productos culturales existentes que reescriben el final de la obra. Una de las características de Isi Life Mein es su capacidad de desafiar explícitamente la sociedad patriarcal. Lo curioso es que el post-colonialismo y el feminismo van de la mano en esta película para proporcionar una nueva forma de entender la obra y, en última instancia, Shakespeare.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Shakespeare; adaptación; *La Fierecilla Domada*; India; cine de Bollywood.

Of Shakespeare's comedies, *The Taming of the Shrew* is the most problematic because its interpretation is —to say the least— ambiguous. Although there are critics that highlight Katherine and Petruchio's marriage as a companionate one, the play most often tends to be read as a "misogynist reinforcement of patriarchal ideology" (Vanita 2007, 84). Considered "archaic and benighted in its social assumptions" (Henderson 2006, 155) by many scholars and audience members, the number of times it continues being performed on stage and on screen cannot but strike us. It is probably the frisson of uncertainty that accounts for the popularity of *The Taming of the Shrew*.

The *Taming the Shrew* has always been extremely appealing to Indian audiences. According to Rajiva Verma, the popularity of the theme should not be surprising "considering the fact that there are several Indian analogues to the story of the play (which is possibly of Indian origin as well), as also the markedly patriarchal nature of Indian society" (Verma 2006, 253). The first encounter the Indian elite had with the play was not via the Shakespearean source text, but through Garrick's adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew* entitled *Catherine and Petruchio*. *The Taming of the Shrew* was also staged into several Indian vernacular languages, such as Kannada and Gujarati. If *The Taming of the Shrew* theme started with British companies, it gained considerable importance in Parsi theatrical companies, a hybrid theatre during the Indian colonial period. Appropriating the Western canon, they "Indianised" the plays by inserting song and dance sequences and by staging them in Indian vernacular languages. With the entrance of the Bombay talkies in the 30s and 40s, some of the flourishing plays of the Parsi theatre were re-adapted for the screen. Such is the case of the stage Urdu play *Hathili Dulhan* (*The Taming of the Shrew*, 1932), which became a box-office success. The popularity and influence of the play was already evident in the early stages of commercial Hindi cinema, and the play increased its reputation in the subsequent period of Bollywood cinema. It is a favourite topic in Bollywood cinema of the 70s and 80s, in the context of a patriarchal society where women were supposed to abide by their fathers' and husbands' rules, and had to be submissive and well-behaved.[1] The *Taming of the Shrew* boom

---

[1] I do not use the term Bollywood cinema to refer to Indian cinema, but to allude to commercial and popular movies made in Hindi in Mumbai. My use differs from

included works such as Raja Nawathe's *Manchali* (1973), Rahul Prayag Raj's *Ponga Pandit* (1975), Manoj Kumar's *Purab Aur Pachhim* (1979), Rahul Rawail's *Betaab* (1983), Rajkumar Kohli's *Naukar Biwi Ka* (1983), and Manmohan Desai's *Mard* (1985). In Kannada language, there are also adaptations of *The Taming of the Shrew,* such as *Bahaddur Gandu* (A.V. Sheshagiri Rao, 1976) and *Nanjundi Kalyana* (dir. M.S. Rajashekar, 1989) (Trivedi 2007, 151).[2]

Given the importance the Shakespearean play has always had in India, it is the aim of this essay to focus on the postcolonial and feminist issues raised by a Bollywood offshoot of the *Shrew* entitled *Isi Life Mein* (dir. Vidhi Kasliwal, 2010), a film that includes a performance of the play for the first time in Bollywood cinema. Although the movie can be initially regarded as another teen adaptation, the gender and power dynamics of *Isi Life Mein* suggest that the film is far from naïve. The postcolonial location seems to facilitate the parody and experimentation with Shakespeare. It is also a film that depicts the endless migration undergone by diasporic Indians. Ultimately, *Isi Life Mein* also embraces a treatment of gender and identity that differs from misogynist and conservative readings of the play. Thus, *Isi Life Mein* does not reinforce patriarchy, but constructs a new and alternative Katherine, a different play, and promotes a re-birth and appropriation of the Bard in India. Not surprisingly, *Isi Life Mein* —apart from re-interpreting the Shakespearean play— inevitably alludes to and validates aspects of the socio-political environment of 1990s and 2000s India in light of globalization. Consequently, Kasliwal's movie explores Shakespeare as much as present-day India.

Dwyer and Pinto's usage of the term, since for them the term "Bollywood" refers to post 1990s Hindi movies targeted at diasporic audiences (2011, xiii).

[2] See Burnett on *Nanjundi Kalyana* (2013, 84). Burnett claims that the film did not travel much outside India. *Nanjundi Kalyana* is perhaps the most faithful adaptation of the Shakespearean play in India. With a localised Indian background, the plot retains the presence of a shrew who is not interested in marriage, but is finally obliged to marry the Petruchio Indian counterpart. Instead of there being only two sisters (Bianca and Katherine), *Nanjundi Kalyana* adds one more.

Postcolonial Shakespeare

Isi Life Mein is a Bollywood movie that incorporates the Shakespearean teen movie with the play-within-the-film. Set in a high school that the main female character called Rajnandani Khandelwal ("RJ") attends —without her father's awareness— *Isi Life Mein* follows in the footsteps of the "late 1990s films" that "offered teen-based versions" (Davis 2006, 52) of Shakespeare's plays, such as *Never Been Kissed* (1999) —based on *As You Like It*— *10 Things I Hate About You* (1999) —a rewriting of *The Taming of the Shrew*— and a basketball-based *Othello* entitled simply *O* (2001). The film also emerges as the first Bollywood film that introduces *The Taming of the Shrew* as a play within the film, rather than as a mere intertext. In spite of the fact that in the 1970s and 1980s the formula of the *Shrew* played a crucial role in Bollywood cinema in movies like Rahul Prayag Raj's *Ponga Pandit* (1975), Manoj Kumar's *Purab Aur Pacchim* (1979), or Rahul Rawail's *Betaab* (1983), the plot was never acknowledged. The use of the play-within-the-film genre allows an understanding of *Isi Life Mein* in postcolonial terms. Kasliwal's film takes part in the popular tradition of including this genre in Indian Shakespearean adaptations (Burt 2011, 73). Instances include *Shakespeare Wallah* (dir. James Ivory, 1965), *In Othello* (dir. Roysten Abel, 2003), which include renditions of *Othello*, and *1942: A Love Story* (dir. Vidhu Vinod Chopra, 1996), which inserts a performance of *Romeo and Juliet.* Common to all of them is the lack of success or even the impossibility of performing the Shakespearean plays, as if Shakespeare was still the epitome of colonialism and, thus, incapable of succeeding among the audience.

Isi Life Mein grounds its particular negotiation with the colonial period via education. RJ has to move from her village to Mumbai, where she must register for extracurricular lessons and decides to enrol in a drama company, directed by the male protagonist Vivaan. Apart from being studied as part of the curriculum, Shakespeare is even embraced by the theatrical group when having to choose a playwright and a play for an Intercollege national competition. During colonization, English literature in general —and Shakespeare in particular— became a very useful tool —and even an ally— of colonial administrators to control the colonized subjects. Indian colleges were "devoted to the study of the Western humanities" (Kapadia 2001, 107), and Shakespeare was the long-time favourite

author. His plays were suited to privilege the colonizers' culture "among the English expatriates as well as the elite Indians" (Singh 1989, 449), since the aim was to produce citizens who were "Indian in blood and colour but English in tastes, in opinion, in morals and intellect" (Macaulay qtd. in Cutts 1953, 839). Despite this colonial background, the Indian members of the drama company know that they have to move away from colonial readings of the play and put their stamp on a new interpretation of Shakespeare. They are aware of the fact that they have to negotiate —or rather, renegotiate— with the Bard to challenge the British Empire.

The scene of the choice of play reveals the web of discourses regarding Shakespeare in postcolonial India. Vivaan's desire to perform a Shakespearean play emerges as the best solution from the beginning, which hints at his knowledge of the Bard. Several Shakespearean plays are contemplated, among them *Romeo and Juliet*, *Julius Caesar*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *A Comedy of Errors* or *As You Like It*. Curiously enough, Vivaan alludes to *The Taming of the Shrew*, which makes the audience wonder about the necessity to go back to a play that seems to reinforce and reiterate patriarchy. The reaction of the members of the drama school company when Vivaan mentions the play manifests the status of Shakespeare in Bollywood cinema, for nobody seems to have encountered *The Taming of the Shrew* before. Although the Shakespearean influence had been consistent and ongoing, it was not frequently acknowledged. As Poonam Trivedi claims, the bond between Shakespeare and Bollywood is characterized by "an unnoticed and unacknowledged presence —a unique appropriation, intertextuality and absorption of Shakespeare in the Indian film" (2007, 48). In spite of the fact that the drama students may have watched films inspired by Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, such as *Betaab* (dir. Rahul Rawail, 1983), they certainly did not know the original source text, as their reactions suggest.

Isi Life Mein highlights the need to rework a play with such a troublesome content, and offer a parody of Shakespeare. In the making of the film documentary, apart from suggesting the necessary erasure of the misogynistic ending of the play, Vivaan equally utters a very interesting sentence: "No offence, Mr.

Shakespeare, but we will do it our own way."[3] Such an assertion involves complicated strands which veer towards a postcolonial project. In spite of performing a play of the Western canon, Vivan highlights experimentation, reinterpretation and, obviously, postcolonial mimicry. For Homi K. Bhabha, the colonised being imitates and emulates the colonizer and becomes similar, but still preserves his "otherness" (1994, 122). Articulated as both "resemblance and menace," (Bhabha 1994, 122) mimicry is frequently political. In the case of the drama company, they do not activate colonial mimicry, but postcolonial camouflage. Although they use a Western play, they reinterpret it in the postcolonial period. It is the first time that *The Taming of the Shrew* is acknowledged and performed in Bollywood cinema, and the play appears as the ideal focus for experimentation. In fact, the Shakespearean play is entitled *The Taming of the Shrew (Reborn)* in *Isi Life Mein*. The title evidences a desire for change, and also proclaims a new conception of the Shakespearean play, and even of Shakespeare in general in Bollywood cinema and present-day India.

The use of language for the performance of the play-within-the-film equally becomes an issue to discuss among the members of the drama company. Interestingly, they all agree that English should not be the language to employ, but Hinglish —a combination of English and Hindi. Given that Shakespearean plays were performed in English during the colonial period for the Indian *bhadralok* —elite Indians— and the English diaspora, Shakespeare needs to be completely deprived of "its English habitus" (Appadurai 1996, 113) in *Isi Life Mein* to resist and circumvent the former colonial and imperial oppressions. The decision to embrace *The Taming of the Shrew* in Hinglish is in tune with the desire to experiment with the Shakespearean text. The hybridity of the language alludes to the hybridity of the play-within-the-film in which the Western canon needs to be "Indianised," and even to the hybridity of the members of the drama company, who easily intermingle Western and Eastern traits. But performing *The Taming of the Shrew* in Hinglish also has to be understood in the context of the globalization of Bollywood

---

[3] The close-up of Vivaan winking at the audience while uttering this sentence immediately reminds us of *Angoor* (dir. Gulzar, 1982) —based on *The Comedy of Errors* — in which an image of Shakespeare also winks at the audience as if approving of the parody the film makes of the Shakespearean play.

cinema. In the words of Daya Kishan Thussu, "chasing crossover audiences has led to the advent of a new kind of cinema, a hybrid cultural product that fuses the language of Hollywood with the accent, slang, and emotions of India" (Thussu 2008, 107). Consequently, current Bollywood movies mix the two languages to target diasporic audiences, Non-Resident Indians.

The engagements with *The Taming of the Shrew* in *Isi Life Mein* manifest instances of hybridity; the film fuses Indian and Western rewritings of the play. Close-ups of different editions of the Shakespearean play abound. The camera zooms into the famous film adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew* with Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton (dir. Franco Zeffirelli, 1967), suggesting the possibility that this adaptation may become one of the source texts the drama company is going to use to prepare for the rehearsals. But there are more engagements with the *Shrew* apart from the Burton and Taylor version. Some of these screen versions are the Hindi movies *Aan* (dir. Mehboob Khan, 1953) and *Betaab* (dir. Rahul Rawail, 1983) —loosely based on the Shakespearean text— and Western adaptations, namely *10 Things I Hate about You* (dir. Gil Junger, 1999). In tracing the interaction with diasporic clienteles, *Isi Life Mein* reveals itself as part of a "mediascape" (Appadurai 1996, 18) that provides a complex and hybrid repertoire of images for "imagined communities."

This rewriting of *The Taming of the Shrew* is consciously "shaped by a concern with diaspora" (Appadurai 1996, 18) and deterritorialization. The film prioritizes migration, which is one of the concerns in present-day postcolonial India. In this sense, the movie takes part in the *genre* of diasporic Indian films started by *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* (dir. Aditya Chopra, 1995) or *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai* (dir. Karan Johar, 1995). In the 1990s, there was a clear reorientation of government policy towards a diasporic market. "The increasing media presence of South Asians in the West" and "Indian's growing significance as a global economic power" (Dwyer 2014, 409) shifted the focus and themes in Indian films, to the extent that the NRI —Non-Resident Indian— was either implicitly or explicitly present on the Indian screen, or even in Western movies made by diasporic filmmakers, such as Mira Nair, Gurinder Chadha or Deepa Mehta. This change of paradigm affected the representation and portrait of the West, which no longer appeared as

a material and corrupt place, but was depicted as a place where local and global traits were fused, and where the local still played a crucial role. In *Isi Life Mein*, when the rehearsals have finished and the performance of the play is soon to come, RJ has to endure a forced mobility to her hometown. There is a quadruple mobility in *Isi Life Mein*, from Ajmer, in the state of Rajasthan, to Mumbai, from Mumbai to Ajmer, back again to Mumbai and, then, to New York. The day on which RJ is transformed and "Westernised" —she wears a short red dress, fashionable hairdo and glittering earrings— she goes to her aunt's house with her friends and encounters her father, who did not even know that his daughter was studying in Mumbai, and thought she was taking cooking lessons to prepare for her imminent arranged marriage. RJ has no choice but to obey her father and return to her hometown. The rural setting provides a wide range of traditions and customs, which localize the Bollywood movie; the village is the location where "Indianisation" plays a pivotal role. For RJ, her hometown entails lack of independence since she has to face an arranged marriage there. The village simultaneously suggests the clash between Indian and Western values and clothes, and argues for the necessity to transcend the classical negative stereotype about the West as a sinful place. It is in the village that RJ's father is helped by the members of the drama company, and changes his view of "Westernisation." They all return to Mumbai to perform the play and RJ will finally leave for New York, becoming a diasporic being herself. Migration is then one of the thematic conventions of *Isi Life Mein*. Consequently, this rewriting of *The Taming of the Shrew* not only talks about Shakespeare, but is also concerned with the demands and issues of postcolonial India.

The performance of *The Taming of the Shrew* takes place at the end of the movie, and has to be understood as a hybrid product. It manages to establish bonds between RJ and Vivaan's families, and between the Western and Eastern interpretation of Shakespeare. At the beginning, the performance uses a very clear Elizabethan *décor* and wardrobe, but the play is performed in Hinglish. The camera constantly mixes medium shots of the audience with close ups of the central couple to highlight the funny and comic tone of *The Taming of the Shrew*. The Indian Petruchio and Kate intermingle text with music, following in the footsteps of the film *Kiss Me Kate* (dir. George Sidney, 1953), based on Cole Porter's musical. Just like in *Kiss Me Kate* the protagonists are lovers, so are RJ and Vivaan. In fact, when

Kate asks Petruchio why he tells her such beautiful words like sweet and lovely wife, he then says that he loves her. In saying so, the re-birth of Kate commences. The onscreen couple fuses with the onstage characters, and *The Taming of the Shrew* is transformed into a love story, which was certainly the subtext of *Isi Life Mein* before. The film departs from the Shakespearean play considerably. The unequal and misogynistic ending of *The Taming of the Shrew* gives way to a companionate marriage based on equality. But the play-within-the-film does not simply show a progressive interpretation of the *Shrew;* it also reinterprets the play in a new genre, blending the Western flavour with a Bollywood touch. In a classical Bollywood love song with lip sync, glamorous and shifting outfits, lavish production and endless close-ups, the couple declares their love. As in typical Bollywood movies, they do not kiss on the lips when the song ends. The song has the purpose of providing an additional commentary on the story, and gives the audience the information that Kate is reborn because she is in love. Kate and Petruchio depart and give way to the typical love story with a happy ending à la Bollywood. But the re-birth of Kate and RJ cannot simply be understood in connection with her requited love for Petruchio/Vivaan, as the song suggests. RJ is equally reborn as an independent woman, no longer obedient, but with self-esteem, and a new identity, and showing her love for Vivaan in front of the whole audience. The Shakespearean play is also reborn in a different country with a different aesthetics, in which the song and dance interlude is more prominent. Thus, the method of appropriating Shakespeare in India is dominated by parody, experimentation and, above all, "Bollywoodisation."

The performance of the Shakespearean play also paves the way for more mobility. The song and dance interludes inserted in *The Taming of the Shrew (Reborn)* establish RJ's skills and talent for choreography, and she is finally sent to New York in order to continue developing her natural talent. *Isi Life Mein* closes with an interesting scene at the airport in which RJ is seen off by her relatives and husband to be Vivaan. The film then constantly foregrounds migration and displacement. The "foreignness" of Shakespeare in India has to be associated with the "foreignness" and displacement of RJ in Mumbai and, then, in the West. The Shakespearean text provides a means of exploring the characters' interaction with the

West, but also offers a frame for a re-interpretation and "Bollywoodisation."

Feminism

The Taming of the Shrew presents a problematic gender politics. According to Ann Thompson, it is a problem play for the majority of today's Western societies (2003, 41). The infamous speech at the end of the play in which "the supposedly tamed shrew, Katherine, announces her subservience to her husband, Petruchio" (McLennan 2014, 2) can be considered an enforcement of patriarchy, since Kate ends up as a silent, obedient woman endorsing an abusive husband. But the ambiguous ending is capable of multiple interpretations. Margaret Jane Kidnie (2006) has distinguished three main readings posed by Katherine's final speech. The first strand emphasizes the irony of the speech. Kate's notorious final speech celebrating female submissiveness would then be read as Kate's flamboyant act of out-witting Petruchio. The second line highlights how Kate is beaten down by Petruchio's terrible methods. The third line is more positive and sheds light upon Katherine's desire for a mutually fulfilling marriage in which theatricality should be taken into account (Burns 1986; Daniell 2002). Whether Kate is understood to be tamed or not, the dynamics of female conformity and circumscription of woman's place in the play may account for the endless reinterpretation.

Curiously enough, contrary to what might be expected, the trajectory of *The Taming of the Shrew* on screen is not so promising as far as gender dynamics are concerned.[4] Although it is certainly true that the transformation across media brings new perspectives to the play, the critical interpretations are still highly conservative. Barbara Hodgdon for instance cannot be more pessimistic concerning the rewritings of the Shrew, which constantly "make and remake new patriarchies and new cultural myths with which to negotiate her use" (1992, 543). The first Shakespeare talkie with Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks "exploits the fame of the central couple" and "self-consciously juxtaposes the visual with the verbal, the silent film with the talkie" (Cartmell 2010, 137). The movie undermined

---

[4] *The Taming of the Shrew* has recently been studied in other cinematic cultures such as the Egyptian one which does not deny, but promotes and reinstates male supremacy and patriarchy. See for instance Khoury (2010).

Pickford's confidence on and off screen to the extent of turning her into a spitting little kitten instead of a forceful tiger-cat.[5] For Barbara Hodgdon and Diana Henderson, the cruel treatment on the part of Fairbanks towards his wife —known as America's sweetheart at the time— ruined Pickford's confidence and turned Fairbanks into an onscreen and off-screen Petruchio. Franco Zeffirelli's 1966 *Shrew* equally functions as a vehicle for the star couple Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton. As Hodgdon claims, Burton overpowers Taylor, just as Fairbanks overpowered Pickford. The 1966 *Shrew* finishes with Taylor uttering the well-known misogynistic speech confirming her wifely duty and fidelity to her husband. The endless problems Taylor had had in her marriage to Burton as well as their impossibility of having children have been regarded as the main causes for her to make such a pledge at the end. Like Taylor's movie, Zeffirelli's *Shrew* also highlights male dominance and superiority, instead of challenging this view. Equally troubling for Hodgdon would be the *Moonlighting* episode based on *The Taming of the Shrew* entitled "The Big Finale." In spite of the apparently feminist ideas, the episode is also problematic reinserting the text into a patriarchal society. Most of the criticism on *10 Things I Hate about You* revolves around the conservatism promoted by the movie, very much attuned to the play. According to Pittman, the movie does not renovate "Shakespeare's play with updated and enlightened notions of self and gender," but "silences questions on both topics and assigns agency in the most traditional of ways" (2004, 148). Only Rachel McLennan (2014) regards *10 Things I Hate about You* as a progressive derivative in which Kate does not relinquish her identity and does not conform to a patriarchal society. The well-known poem at the end of the film, which stands for the famous speech of the play, is interpreted by McLennan as a challenge on the part of Kate. Interestingly, *Isi Life Mein* explicitly challenges the typical interpretations of the play.

The film potentially offers a window onto the Shakespearean play and Indian society. At first sight, comparisons between Kate and RJ seem to be out of place. RJ is obedient, calm, and naïve whereas Kate is impulsive, and not at all vulnerable. However, the analysis of RJ in

---

[5] In contrast, Russell Jackson (1994) argued that Mary Pickford's wink to Bianca at the final speech became a powerful gesture that empowered Katherine while Petruchio was the one duped.

depth reveals several nuances in her character/personality that may be overlooked at first. The first sequence of the film confirms RJ is far from submissive. After school, she has fun with a friend and does not do what she is supposed to do. Besides, instead of remaining at home to prepare her dowry and get ready for her subsequent marriage, she decides to go to college to continue with her studies. As may be imagined, this information has to be hidden from her father, who thinks RJ is going to Mumbai to receive cooking lessons. Nonetheless, it is Mumbai that becomes a vehicle for the "Westernization" and liberation of the heroine. In Bollywood cinema, "bad" equates to "individualism and hedonism, concepts often conveyed symbolically by association with Western decadence: smoking, drinking, dancing in nightclubs and falling in and out of love quickly" (Sharma and Savery 2014, 154). The character of the vamp —the unruly woman on the Indian screen— was associated with frivolousness, Westernization and disobedience to the parents.[6] However, the growing of the middle class, consumerism and diaspora as the main target audience changed the view of the West as a sinful place, and blurred the boundaries between the heroine and the vamp. The first encounter between father and daughter in Mumbai takes place when RJ is wearing a glamorous, Westernized and revealing outfit, to her father's surprise and disgust. Therefore, RJ's father relates Westernization to the shift in his daughter's behaviour and disobedience, and obliges her to go back to the village where she grew up in order to adopt the traditional customs again. The father aims to "tame" his daughter into the long-held values of the village to marry her to a wealthy suitor, and prosper economically.

Once in Ajmer, RJ's father embodies a perfect Baptista whose only obsession is to marry RJ to the chosen suitor, who resembles Shakespeare's Petruchio to the letter.[7] The anxiety of RJ's father is due to the pressure fathers have in India to fulfil the duty to marry their daughters well, and satisfy all the demands of the marriage market. Thus, the patriarchal society is highlighted in this context,

---

[6] This is precisely the case of Preeti in *Purab Aur Pacchim*.

[7] Interestingly, *Isi Life Mein* eliminates completely Bianca's subplot. The filmmaker probably preferred a shrew who was an only child because it would make much more sense in present-day India, where suitors would go for women without siblings to inherit all the property. See for instance Vanita (2007).

especially through the preparations for the arranged marriage. The Shakespearean play is really well transposed to the Indian setting, and better understood there since dowries and arranged marriages still remain normative. As Ruth Vanita claims, "with the virtual disappearance of dowry and family arranged marriage from the modern West, most Euro-Americans do not have first-hand experience of marriage as a nakedly monetary transaction" (2007, 86). The Ajmer Petruchio asserts his "supremacy" by asking for more money for the dowry. The behaviour of RJ's suitor makes the audience think of Petruchio, since he humiliates RJ and her kin on the wedding day criticizing the wedding arrangements. Given that the amount of money for the dowry is impossible to reach for RJ's family, they are helped by RJ's Mumbai friends, who had gone to Ajmer to take RJ back to Mumbai to perform *The Taming of the Shrew (Reborn)* in the Intercollege Drama contest. In this context, RJ's identity is totally destroyed since she has to abide by her father's rules and commands. The would-be husband and father are trying to tame the Westernized RJ to reinsert her into this patriarchal culture.

But this *Shrew* actually challenges Shakespeare's comedy to validate aspects of the changing socio-political environment of 1990s and 2000s India, extremely different from the Nehruvian era in which class battles dominated the screen. *Isi Life Mein* follows in the footsteps of the 1990s' romance films that asserted "the individual's rights against feudal strictures associated with vested familial interests: the authority of the father, the state, and the unwritten rules of endogamy operating within class and community" (Virdi 2003, 181). The "shrew" in *Isi Life Mein* is a complex and sophisticated character, who "tames" other characters. Curiously enough, it is finally RJ's father —the onscreen Baptista— who is finally "tamed." At the moment of giving away his daughter, RJ's father changes his feelings and ideas, and gives preference to his daughter rather than the marriage market. A tiny detail usually overlooked has to do with the presence of a father for the onscreen Petruchio/Vivaan. This is a significant departure from Shakespeare's play, in which the father is not even mentioned. Of course, the film's premise —apart from women's agency and power— is also the restoration of family values. Given the considerable changes in Bollywood cinema promoted by the liberalization of the economy and the growing number of Non-Resident Indians, the figure of the heroine could be Westernized since the West was no longer regarded

as a sinful place, and the parents had to modify their attitude and behaviour. In this sense, *Isi Life Mein* follows in the footsteps of *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge* or *Kabhi Kushi Kabhi Gham*, clearly targeted at diasporic audiences. Like *Dilwale Dulhania Le Jayenge, Isi Life Mein* negotiates with romantic love and family values and manages to preserve both.

Interestingly, *Isi Life Mein* aims to even out the balance of power between men and women. The play-within-the-play in *Isi Life Mein* pares down considerably Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, reducing it to the story that revolves around the main couple Katherine and Petruchio. The tone of the play is comic, and spotlights the moments in which Kate shows her hatred towards men. If *The Taming of the Shrew* is actually known for its lack of dialogue for women, RJ steals the show with her performance shouting, exaggerating her role as Katherine so that the audience cannot stop laughing. Vivaan as the on screen Petruchio also retains the comic aspect of the play combined with another intertext for them, *Kiss Me Kate*. The final wedding-banquet sequence is removed entirely, dismantling the misogynistic reading of the play. The last scene performed by Vivaan and RJ from the play depicts the couple at Petruchio's house in the process of "taming." Curiously enough, there is no taming as such, but a promotion of Katherine's self-esteem on the part of Petruchio. Kasliwal's *Shrew* simply gives the text a gender spin by turning the actors into real life lovers, internalizing the play and rewriting it via their love story. Trying to understand Petruchio, Kate asks him why he uses so many lovely words to address her. He then claims he worries about Katherine's confidence and equally says he loves her. For this *Shrew*'s narrative solution does not come through the endurance of patriarchy but through equality between men and women achieved through love. Vivaan/Petruchio looks forward to making RJ/Katherine see her power. It is worth noting that after the Bollywood song, Vivaan asks RJ to kiss him, and she does not do it; it is as if she did not want to do what she was ordered. The last scene at the airport sheds light on mobility and gender equality. The last shot of the movie is a close-up that zooms into the onscreen Katherine and Petruchio —RJ and Vivaan. Vivaan commands RJ to kiss him uttering the sentence "Kiss me Kate" and then, Kate/RJ holds Petruchio/Vivaan by the shirt and kisses him, as if implying that she is only going to kiss him when and how she desires. Thus, the film attempts a levelling

between Vivaan and RJ. RJ's vulnerability paves the way for self-esteem and confidence.

Conclusion

The Taming of the Shrew becomes a key site of contestation and negotiation in *Isi Life Mein*. On the one hand, this Indian Shrew alludes to the colonial period via the importance of the Bard in the Indian curriculum, but intrinsically thematises a parodic process regarding Shakespeare. The members of the drama company articulate the need to reinterpret *The Taming of the Shrew* in postcolonial India via the use of parody, Hinglish and the "Bollywoodisation" of the play. On the other hand, any tinges of misogyny or gender inequity have been removed in the face of the romance between RJ and Vivaan. This onscreen Katherine becomes more visible and empowered, and the marriage favoured is a "fifty-fifty" one. Simultaneously, *Isi Life Mein* singles out the sociocultural aspects of India, such as transnationalism or diaspora.

It is actually striking that Indian cinema is responsible for probably the first progressive and challenging *Shrew* on screen. The movie attempts to deconstruct images of women on and off screen in Indian society. Indian women are inherently seen as oppressed by their cultural traditions. However, this adaptation emphasizes bourgeois feminism or transnational feminism favoured by movies dealing with diasporic beings or targeted at this audience. The young female Indian filmmaker has the freedom to experiment via Shakespeare and makes radical comments on the profound complexities of the nature of being female in contemporary India. But the film is more than that. If according to Sunaina Maira, the "youth are the locus of deep anxieties about the local, national, and global processes and their impact on the nation" (2013, 39), *Isi Life Mein* deals with diaspora and mobility. The movie becomes a powerful means of reflecting and commenting on current social and political conditions. The film is more than a mere teen movie, for *Isi Life Mein* —via the adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*— promotes interesting debates about gender and political issues. Kasliwal's film allows the audience to learn as much about Shakespeare as about India.

References

Abel, Roysten, dir. 2003. *In Othello*. Perf. Roysten Abel, Sheeba Chaddha, Adil Hussainand Barry John. ANB Pictures.Film.

Appadurai, Arjun. 1996. *Modernity At Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization.* Minnesota: Minnesota University Press.

Bhabha, Homi K. 1994. *The Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge.

Burnett, Mark. 2013. *Shakespeare and World Cinema*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Burns, Margie. 1986. "The Ending of the Shrew." *Shakespeare Studies* 18: 41–64.

Burt, Richard. 2011. "All that Remains of Shakespeare in Indian Film." In *Shakespeare in Asia: Contemporary Performance*, edited by Dennis Kennedy and Yong Li Lan, 73–108. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Caron, Glenn Gordon, dir. 1985. *Moonlighting*. Perf. Bruce Willis and Cybill Shepherd. ABC Circle Films and Picturemaker Productions. TV series.

Cartmell, Deborah. 2010. "The First Adaptation of Shakespeare and the Recovery of the 'Renaissance' Voice: Sam Taylor's *The Taming of the Shrew*." In *The English Renaissance in Popular Culture: An Age for All Time*, edited by Greg Colón Semenza, 129–42. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Chopra, Aditya, dir. 1995. *Dilwale Dulhaniya le Jayenge*. Perf. Shahrukh Khan, Kajol and Amrish Puri. Yash Raj Films. Film.

Chopra, Vidhu Vinod, dir. 1994. *1942: A Love Story*. Perf. Anil Kapoor, Jackie Shroff and Manisha Koirala. Vinod Chopra Productions. Film.

Cutts, E. H. 1953. "The Background of Macaulay's Minute." *American Historical Review* 58: 824–53.

Daniell, David. 2002. "The Good Marriage of Katherine and Petruchio." In *The Taming of the Shrew. Critical Essays*, edited by Dana E. Aspinall, 71–84. New York and London: Routledge.

Davis, Hugh H. 2006. "I was a Teenage Classic: Literary Adaptation in Turn-of-the-Millennium Teen Films." *The Journal of American Culture* 29 (1): 52–60.

Desai, Manmohan, dir. 1985. *Mard*. Perf. Amitabh Bachchan, Amrita Singh and Nirupa Roy. Film.

Dwyer, Rachel, and Jerry Pinto. 2011. *Beyond the Boundaries of Hindi Cinema*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

Dwyer, Rachel. 2014. "Bollywood's Empire: Indian Cinema and The Diaspora". In *Routledge Handbook of the South Asian Diaspora*, edited by

Joya Chatterji and David Washbrook, 409–18. London and New York: Routledge.

Garrick, David, dir. 1754. *Catherine and Petruchio: A comedy, in three acts*. Play.

Gosnell, Raja, dir. 1999. *Never Been Kissed*. Perf. Drew Barrymore, David Arquette and Michael Vartan. Fox 2000 Pictures, Bushwood Pictures and Flower Films (II). Film.

Gulzar, dir. 1982. *Angoor*. Perf. Sanjeev Kumar, Moushumi Chatterjee, Deven Verma. A.R. Movies. Film.

Henderson, Diana. 2003. "A Shrew for the Times, Revisited." In *Shakespeare, the Movie II. Popularizing the Plays on Film, TV, Video, and DVD*, edited by Lynda E. Boose and Richard Burt, 120–40. London and New York: Routledge.

———. 2006. *Collaborations with the Past: Reshaping Shakespeare Across Time and Media*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Hodgdon, Barbara. 1992. "Katherina Bound; or, Play(K)ating the Strictures of Everyday Life." *PMLA* 107 (3): 538–53.

Ivory, James, dir. 1965. *Shakespeare Wallah*. Perf. Jennifer Kendal, Shashi Kapoor, Felicity Kendal and Geoffrey Kendal. Merchant Ivory Productions. Film.

Jackson, Russell. 1994. "Shakespeare's Comedies on Film." In *Shakespeare and the Moving Image*, edited by Anthony Davies and Stanley Wells, 99–120. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Johar, Karan, dir. 1998. *Kuch Kuch Hota Hai*. Perf. Shah Rukh Khan, Kajol and Rani Mukerji. Dharma Productions. Film.

———, dir. 2001. *Kabhi Kushi Kabhie Gham*. Perf. Shah Rukh Khan, Kajol and Amitabh Bachchan. Dharma Productions. Film.

Junger, Gill, dir. 1999. *10 Things I Hate About You*. Perf. Julia Stiles, Heath Ledger and Joseph Gordon-Levitt. Touchstone Pictures, Mad Chance and Jaret Entertainment. Film.

Kapadia, Parmita. 2001. "The Politics of Choice: English Language Shakespeare Productions in India." *The Upstart Crow* 21: 105–16.

Kaswalil, Vidhi, dir. 2010. *Isi Life Mein*. Perf. Akshay Oberoi, Sandeepa Dhar, Mohnish Bahl. Filmistan Studios. Film.

Khan, Mehboob, dir. 1952. *Aan*. Perf. Dilip Kumar and Nimmi. Mehboob Productions. Film.

Khoury, Yvette K. 2010. "*The Taming of the (Arab-Islamic) Shrew*: Fatin 'Abdel Wahab Re-frames Shakespeare's Comedy for the Egyptian Screen." *Literature/Film Quarterly* 38 (2): 147–61.

Kidnie, Margaret Jane. 2006. "The Taming of the Shrew": A Guide to the Text and Its Theatrical Life. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Kohli, Rajkumar, dir. 1983. Naukar Biwi Ka. Perf. Agha, Rajeev Anand, Raj Babbar. Nishi Productions. Film.

Kumar, Manoj, dir. 1979. Purab Aur Pacchim. Perf. Ashok Kumar, Saira Banu, Manoj Kumar. V.I.P. Films. Film.

Madan, J.J., dir. 1932. Hathili Dulhan. Perf. Abbas, Khurshid Begum, Mukhtar Begum. Madan Theatres Ltd. Film.

Maira, Sunaina. 2013. "Citizenship and dissent: South Asian Muslim youth in the US after 9/11." In Transnational Feminism and Global Advocacy in South Asia, edited by Gita Rajan and Jigna Desai, 39–54. London and New York: Routledge.

McLennan, Rachel. 2014. "To Count as a Girl: Misdirection in 10 Things I Hate About You." Borrowers and Lenders The Journal of Shakespeare and Appropriation 9 (1) Accessed September 15, 2016. http://www.borrowers.uga.edu/1215/show

Nawathe, Raja, dir. 1973. Manchali. Perf. Sanjeev Kumar, Leena Chandavarkar and Nazima. Precept Enterprises. Film.

Nelson, Tim Blake, dir. 2000. O. Perf. Julia Stiles, Mekhi Phifer and Martin Sheen. Chickie the Cop, Daniel Fried Productions and FilmEngine. Film.

Pittman, Monique. 2004. "Taming 10 Things I Hate About You: Shakespeare and the Teenage Film Audience." Literature/Film Quarterly 32 (2): 144–52.

Raj, Prayag, dir. 1975. Ponga Pandit. Perf. Randhir Kapoor, Neeta Mehta, Danny Denzongpa. Amar Chhaya Production Company. Film.

Rajashekar, M. S., dir. 1989. Nanjundi Kalyana. Perf. Raghavendra Rajkumar, Girija and Lokesh Malashri. Parvathamma Rajkumar Films. Film.

Rao, A.V. Sheshgiri, dir. 1976. Bahaddur Gandu. Perf. Arathi, Balkrishna, Rajkumar. Srikanth & Srikanth Enterprises. Bikram Singh Dahal Company. Film.

Rawail, Rahul, dir. 1983. Betaab. Perf. Shammi Kapoor, Nirupa Roy, Prem Chopra, Sunny Deol and Amrita Singh. Vijeta Films. Film.

Sharma, Rekha, and Carol A. Savery. 2014. "Bollywood Marriages: Portrayals of Matrimony in Hindi Popular Cinema." In Heroines of Film and Television: Portrayals in Popular Culture, edited by Norma Jones, Maja Bajac-Carter and Bob Batchelor, 147–62. New York and Plymouth: Rowman & Littlefield.

Sidney, George, dir. 1953. Kiss Me Kate. Perf. Kathryn Grayson and Howard Keel. Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer. Film.

Singh, Jyotsna. 1989. "Different Shakespeares: The Bard in Colonial/Postcolonial India." Theatre Journal 41 (4): 445–58.

Taylor, Sam, dir. 1929. *The Taming of the Shrew*. Perf. Mary Pickford and Douglas Fairbanks. Elton Corporation and Pickford Corporation. Film.

Thompson, Ann. 2003. "Introduction." William Shakespere, *The Taming of the Shrew*, edited by Ann Thompson, 1–49. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thussu, Daya Kishan. 2008. "The Globalization of 'Bollywood'— The Hype and Hope." In *Global Bollywood*, edited by Anandam P. Kavoori and Aswin Punathambekar, 97–116. New York: New York University Press.

Trivedi, Poonam. 2007. "Filmi Shakespeare." *Literature/Film Quarterly* 35 (2): 148–58.

Vanita, Ruth. 2007. "When Men and Women are Alone. Framing the Taming in India." *Shakespeare Survey* 60: 84–101.

Verma, Rajiva. 2006. "Shakespeare in Hindi Cinema." In *India's Shakespeare: Translation, Interpretation and Performance*, edited by Poonam Trivedi and Dennis Bartholomeusz, 269–90. New Delhi: Pearson Longman.

Virdi, Jyotika. 2003. *The Cinematic Imagination. Indian Popular Films as Social History*. New Brunswick, New Jersey and London: Rutgers University Press.

Zeffirelli, Franco, dir. 1966. *The Taming of the Shrew*. Perf. Elizabeth Taylor and Richard Burton. Film.

Database-oriented annotation of early modern plays: A proposal[*]

✎

Anotación orientada a bases de datos para obras teatrales de la modernidad temprana: una propuesta

Jesús Tronch
Universitat de València, Spain

ABSTRACT

This essay proposes that the electronic texts of plays constituting a database-collection (in this case early modern drama) should be "annotated" by marking up not only its structural components but also the editorial annotations about a given feature or aspect of the play (usually included in the commentary notes of print editions), and that these annotations should be conceived having in mind the functionalities of a database. By marking up both the text's structural components and editor's information they constitute related data to be processed by the computer for searches and statistical analysis. This implies that texts should not be annotated individually and independently from the other anthologized works, but rather as part of an organized collection of data that, adequately encoded, will allow users to make queries into the whole database. A second section of the essay discusses three encoding mechanisms, based on the Guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative, necessary to mark up these "annotations," and possible *ad hoc* extensions of the TEI schema in order to represent the annotated features. Finally, a third section comments on practical examples showing how to encode a set of features: scene location, image, theme, allusion, proverb, wordplay, grammar, swearing expression, address form, as well as features covered by the TEI Guidelines such as roles, stage directions, names and place-names, verse form and textual issues.

RESUMEN

Este trabajo propone que los textos electrónicos de obras teatrales que forman parte de una colección en una base de datos (en este caso de teatro de la época moderna temprana) se deberían "anotar" marcando no sólo sus componentes estructurales, sino también las anotaciones editoriales con respecto a una característica o aspecto de la obra (generalmente incluidos en los comentarios anotados en las ediciones impresas), y que esas anotaciones deberían concebirse teniendo en cuenta las funcionalidades de la base de datos. Al marcar tanto los componentes estructurales del texto como la información del editor, se crean unos datos relacionados que se pueden procesar informáticamente por medio de búsquedas y análisis estadísticos. Esto implica que los textos no deberían anotarse individualmente y de forma independiente del resto de las obras de la antología, sino como parte de una serie organizada de datos que, con la codificación adecuada, permitirán a los usuarios hacer búsquedas en toda la base de datos. La segunda parte del artículo discute tres mecanismos de codificación, basados en las directrices de la Iniciativa para la Codificación de Textos (TEI), necesarios para marcar estas "anotaciones", así como las posibles extensiones *ad hoc* del esquema TEI con el fin de representar las características anotadas. Finalmente, la tercera sección comenta algunos ejemplos prácticos que muestran cómo codificar determinados aspectos: localización de la escena, imagen, tema, alusión, proverbio, juego de palabras, gramática, juramentos, tratamiento, así como otras características recogidas por las directrices TEI, como los papeles, las direcciones escénicas, nombres y lugares, tipo de verso y aspectos textuales.

In this essay, I explore the idea of annotating the electronic text of early modern plays collected in a database so that a search for a given annotation could retrieve the corresponding segments in the play-texts. Although I refer to English plays of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, I do not envisage any actual database project for a specific corpus of plays; rather I reflect generally and theoretically on the concept of database-oriented annotation, which involves both interpreting aspects of the play (such as the use of proverbs, allusions, oaths, images, etc.) and associating these interpretations with the electronic text by encoding them in Extensible Markup Language (XML) conformant to the Guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI). To this reflection, I devote a first section of this essay. Although I imagine users querying a database online, I am not concerned with defining a database management system, any specific database-driven web application or any user interface, but limit the technical description to discussing three TEI-conformant markup mechanisms, including possible *ad hoc* extensions of the TEI encoding scheme, for tagging texts that would be either transferred into, or already hosted in, a database. This discussion is the subject of a second section. Finally, in a third section I comment on examples of several aspects amenable to database use and that might be annotated using any of the three TEI-complying procedures described.

I. The concept of database-oriented annotation

Among the benefits of the new digital tools in textual scholarship is the fact that texts, as sets of data, can be compiled and interrelated in a database, a computerized arrangement of structured data that allows easier and faster search and retrieval of information than in printed collections of data. In that sense, a digital database-collection of early modern plays proves print-based collected editions to be limited. Users of *Open Source Shakespeare* (Johnson 2003–) can carry out searches for words or phrases in Shakespeare's works, and restrict their queries to specific genres or dates, in a speedier and

more convenient way than in printed concordances: for instance, in less than five seconds users can find which pre-1600 plays, or which tragedies, use the word "love" most. Readers of a database-collection of Shakespeare's plays, such as *Internet Shakespeare Editions* (Best and Jenstad 1996–), can easily and rapidly make complex searches not only in the main text of all the Shakespeare plays but also in selected works, Shakespearean and non-Shakespearean, as well as within fields such as stage directions, speech prefixes, titles and headers, marginalia, front and back matter, page markings, compositors and document metadata. However, at present, the text of the annotations ("notes and commentary") cannot be searched. Users of *Richard Brome Online* have search options for keywords in the "entire text," "speech," "stage directions" and in the "notes and glosses." If one is interested in, for instance, the proverbs used by Brome, a search for the term "proverb" in the "notes and glosses" field returns 30 results (in all the plays).[1] Yet, this is misleading because the individual editors also used phrases such as "proverbial" and "proverbially" to annotate the use of a proverb or a variant of it. A more thorough search needs to insert the string "proverb*" (with the asterisk indicating a wildcard), which results in 169 hits. However, the results do not discriminate between an annotation on a proverbial phrase and an allusion to the biblical Book of Proverbs[2] since the search engine looks for matches for the queried string "proverb*" in the content of the note and not for a category of the annotated content. For querying a specific type of content across the collected plays, annotating a play (in the latter example, a Brome play) would entail that some kinds of annotation (in this case, proverbial uses) need to be "database-oriented," that is, conceived and encoded having in mind that the play belongs to a database.

Similarly, if one is interested in finding occurrences of the musical instrument "recorder" used as a stage property, a search for "recorder" in the three digital resources mentioned above returns instances that do not refer to a prop, as in Hippolyta's "like a child

---

[1] The results are displayed in groups of ten per page, with each occurrence showing the co-textual segment and a hyperlink to the segment in the corresponding modern edition, although the new page opens at the beginning of the act in which hit occurs rather than at the exact point (or speech) in the text.

[2] As in gloss number 1638 and note 372 for "I never was a gadder" in *Convent Garden Weeded*, 1.1.speech58.

on a recorder" (*Midsummer Night's Dream*, TLN 1920–1921), or "Go back to the recorder's" (in Brome's *The Demoiselle*, 2.1.speech224), where the "recorder" is a magistrate or judge.[3] The term "recorder" should be annotated having in mind its category as a prop, a category that should have a stable identifier (e.g. the name "prop") for the computer to link it to similar items in the same category in the rest of the collected plays.

The idea of database-oriented annotation I propose in this essay is different from the conventional annotation found in commentary notes of critical editions in that the latter implies that a note or a gloss is generally phrased (and, in the case of digital-born editions, electronically encoded) to be read and used with reference to the specific point in the play-text being annotated, whereas the former understands that the play-text is related to other play-texts in a database and that the usefulness of the annotation increases because of database functionalities such as searching, quantifying and organizing related information and obtaining statistics.

In this context, I am using the term "annotation" both as the editorial analysis and interpretation of a given segment of the play-text (information usually expressed —but not always— in some commentary notes in "single-work-oriented" annotated editions) and as the encoding or markup of the electronic text (the process of inserting tags). These two activities of analysis and codification are not necessarily to be performed by the same person, but I envisage an annotator that would both decide on the interpretative aspects and insert markers or tags with their respective category identifiers in an electronic text, either by means of an XML editor, a text processor, or a user-friendly interface, if the text is to be transferred into a database, or by means of a user interface if the text is already hosted in the database.[4]

---

[3] Also Buckingham's "to be spoke to but by the Recorder," in Shakespeare's *Richard III* (TLN 2243), where "Recorder" means the "officer appointed by the Mayor and Aldermen of London to regulate and preserve the City's customs and institutions" (Jowett 2001, 268).

[4] The digital editors of the database-collection of Early Modern European Theatre (EMOTHE), which is being developed by the ARTELOPE research group at the University of Valencia, mark up an electronic text by first inserting preliminary tags of their own in a text or word processor, then introducing the pre-tagged text in a FileMaker-run database, which translates this preliminary markup into TEI-conformant XML. On the database, by means of a user-friendly interface, EMOTHE

To the question as to what kinds of annotations and what aspects of a play can be processed in a database-oriented way, an initial answer would be any aspect that the editors of the database-collection would consider worth investigating in relation to the rest of collected plays in the computerized corpus. In this essay I am considering some that are amenable to being searched and quantified by means of a database. Many of these aspects are already dealt with in commentary notes. For instance, a query could aim to find instances of a recurrent image (e.g. Fortune's wheel, as Mardock explains in his note to Pistol's "Fortune's furious fickle wheel," TLN 1477, in Shakespeare's *Henry V*), of culture-bound concepts such as the four elements (as Mardock annotates "O for a muse of fire" in the first line of *Henry V*), allusions to a given work (as Ostovich annotates "in the pig's palace of pleasure" in Brome's *Jovial Crew*, 3.1.speech367, an ironic allusion to Painter's *The Palace of Pleasure*), specific linguistic uses (of swearing expressions, forms of address, discourse markers, grammatical traits of early modern English, etc.), or uses of a given prop. Databases are more effective when searches or queries can combine different parameters: for instance, when the database is asked to find plays containing tyrants and that were written/performed/published before 1603; or plays containing non-Christian exclamations and non-European characters with scenes located in battlefields; or quotations in Latin, or more specifically quotations from Seneca, that are used in tragedies; or to find verbs with an -s inflection agreeing with plural subjects in plays that were written and/or performed and/or published after 1603.

Since the development of a database presupposes that the information must be organized and structured on the basis of pre-established unique identifiers, the kinds of annotations would also depend on the extent to which the database editors were able to build a taxonomy of categories and subcategories prior to the "annotation" of the plays for the database.[5] Linguistic phenomena are well studied and classified, but other aspects such as images,

---

editors continue to fine-tune their markup and are able to insert notes of various types (all with the TEI <note> element). The editors do not actually key in TEI tags manually at any stage in this process.

[5] The taxonomy of categories also needs to be standardized, in the sense that if, for instance, an image is to be called "Fortune's wheel" as an item in the database, it should be "Fortune's wheel" throughout and not "the wheel of Fortune."

culture-bound concepts or even motifs or themes are bound to be problematic, especially if the database contains a large corpus of early modern drama. The task of structuring a list of images, themes and motifs may well be a never-ending endeavour (and a vulnerable one, as it would be based on subjective judgements on which two editors may not agree),[6] but a project could limit itself to a selection of the most recurrent images or motifs.[7]

As can be immediately inferred, the scope of the database-collection, as well as the human and technical resources devoted to the project, are elements that would condition the type and number of "annotations." A corpus of relatively few plays, such as the 16 plays in *Richard Brome Online* or the 39 plays in the *Internet Shakespeare Editions* (which also plans to edit Shakespeare's poems) would be able to include more and more detailed annotations than a larger one (for instance, Tudor drama, or Restoration comedy). The development of a database of *all* the extant early modern plays in English would certainly need so many editors/annotators and so much time as to question the feasibility of the project.

However, these limitations should not be a hindrance to our entertaining, in a conceptual exploration, a possible database of marked up play-texts and to our discussing specific tagging procedures for them.

It should also be stressed that I am considering a database of marked up play-texts, and not only a database of information about plays. One could raise the objection that to have a play's component such as "prop" searchable in a database, one could simply list it in a general metadata section describing each play without the play-texts themselves, as if, for instance, the Lope de Vega database (Oleza *et al.* 2012–) would include "props" as another searchable item in its

---

[6] I owe this comment to one of the anonymous referees of the *SEDERI* journal.

[7] The editors of the Lope de Vega database began identifying motifs in the circa 400 plays in the collection but their classification proved so difficult that eventually this aspect was dropped. A complicated alternative in a project that would annotate images and other interpretations in a large collection of plays would be to develop the taxonomy synchronously to the annotation of the play-texts, that is, that an annotator that spots an image that is not included in the pre-established taxonomy would propose its inclusion to the project's editor(s), who should decide on its adequacy, its standardization, should update the information in the project's schema, and should revise already annotated plays that may have not contemplated that particular image.

"characterizations" section; or even more clearly, as it is expected in the announced electronic edition of Martin Wiggins's *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*. In the present print-edition, Wiggins registers, for each play, its uses of props (further differentiated into categories such as musical instruments, weapons, money, food and drink, small and large portable objects, etc.)[8] and provides a reference to the scene in which the term appears, although not the specific line in the scene. Ideally, the future electronic edition of this catalogue will allow searches for these items. But there are two answers to this objection. First, the aspects of interest to be annotated are not limited to those organized in the Lope de Vega database and in Wiggins' catalogue, but can include other aspects usually covered in scholarly editions (such as recurrent images, culture-bound concepts, allusions, parallel instances in proverbial lore, as listed and exemplified above), or aspects, such as placenames or discourse markers, that are not usually dealt with in the commentary notes of in critical editions. Secondly, I am concerned with the annotation and markup of the electronic *text* of the plays, so that a search for an aspect of interest in a database may also retrieve the segment of text involved.[9]

An example from a line in Shakespeare's *Hamlet* may be useful to explain the notion of database-oriented annotation (and its encoding) in more detail:

> HAMLET Ah ha! Come, some music! Come, the
>   recorders! (3.2.283–84)[10]

The commentary note from Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor's Arden edition reads as follows:

> 284 **recorders** wind instruments, flutes. Hamlet calls for music again at 287; the players eventually appear with recorders at 336.1. (If casting allows, an attendant should presumably leave the stage

---

[8] Props are part of the "theatrical" broad group of components, also including staging needs, music and sound effects, costumes, and make-up (Wiggins 2012-2014, vol. 1, xxii–xxxix).

[9] If the electronic version of Wiggins' catalogue merely reproduces the information in the print edition, readers will miss not only the full line number reference but also the text's lines that contain the term or aspect in question.

[10] Reference keyed to Thompson and Taylor's Arden edition (2006).

> to convey Hamlet's request, but it has not been customary to add a
> SD.) (2006, 318)

In order to represent this line and its note in an electronic text, a specific standard or format of markup language is necessary, as explained in the next two paragraphs (which readers already familiarized with markup languages or with the TEI Consortium Guidelines may skip). The typographical layout of this line and its note as printed contains tacit or implicit codes that allow readers to understand that (a) the line is the beginning of a character's speech, in this case Hamlet's, a fact indicated by (b) the speech prefix "hamlet," in small capitals and slightly separated from the rest of the line; (c) the line "Ah ha! . . . " is a prose line because it does not start on a separate typographical line below its predecessor; (d) "284" is the line number to which the annotation is keyed; (e) "**recorders**" points back to the same word in that line of dialogue; and (f) "wind instruments, flutes" is the gloss explaining "recorders." As human readers in a given culture, we have learned to read an annotated edition of a play so that we can distinguish what a speech prefix is, what a prose line is, and so on; we have learnt the cultural codes of text genres and the typographical layout implicit in the graphic representation of this line. But computers need to be informed of these codes in order to process an electronic text; we inform computers by means of markers inserted in the digitized text that make explicit these implicit codes. Otherwise processors would render digitized texts as "nothing but a sequence of undifferentiated bits" ("About these Guidelines").[11]

The TEI Guidelines recommend representing this line with explicit markers that tell the computer what segments of the text constitute structural components and other implicit features of the play-text:[12] for instance, in order to signal when a speech prefix

---

[11] Or as Alan Galey puts it, "a structured series of alphanumeric symbols that most humans never see, and that few would wish to see, but which we rely on machines to manage the drudgery of processing" (2004, par. 3). In his "A gentle introduction to the TEI markup language," Mueller usefully reminds us "computers do not think, do not talk, and do not understand anything. They are machines that carry out instructions to the letter" ("A very gentle").

[12] The Guidelines "make recommendations about suitable ways of representing those features of textual resources which need to be identified explicitly in order to facilitate processing by computer programs. In particular, they specify a set of markers (or tags)

begins, TEI uses the <speaker> element (elements are enclosed in angular brackets <>), with a start-tag "<speaker>" and an end-tag "</speaker>" framing the segment in question ("hamlet"):

Example no. 1:

<sp>

<speaker>hamlet</speaker>

<p>Ah ha! Come, some music! Come, the recorders!</p>

[. . .]

</sp>

The markers "<sp>" and "</sp>" enclose the whole speech, and the tags "<p>" and "</p>" enfold a prose line.[13] It should be pointed out that this is very basic TEI markup for performance texts. In a fuller codification, <sp> and <p> would contain values associated to attributes indicating the person to whom the content of the element <sp> is ascribed (a @who attribute) and a unique identifier for the element (an @xml:id attribute): e.g. <sp who="#Hamlet">, <p xml:id="HAM_3.2.284">. However, in some examples I will omit these units for the sake of clarity.[14]

As for the commentary note on "recorders," TEI recommends the <note> element, inserted either after the word(s) in question or elsewhere (with appropriate linking markers), as explained in chapter 3.8 (also in 11.3 and 12.1) of the TEI Guidelines.

Example no. 2

<sp>

<speaker>hamlet</speaker>

which may be inserted in the electronic representation of the text, in order to mark the text structure and other features of interest" ("About these Guidelines," par. 2).

[13] If the line division of the printed text is to be represented, the TEI element <lb/> can be inserted between "the" and "recorders." A visualization on a computer screen of this encoded text could have the same appearance as in a print-based edition. The tags are invisible. The tags are like "secret annotations" inserted by the digital editor that speak to the computer, but not to human readers.

[14] For instance, the identifier used in the Folger digital text of *Hamlet* for the prose line "Ah ha! Come, some music! […]" (3.2.317) is "xml:id="ftln-2218" n="3.2.317". The encoded xml file for *Hamlet* is freely available at http://www.folgerdigitaltexts.org/downloadsourcecode.html.

> <p>Ah ha! Come, some music! Come, the recorders!<note
> n="3.2.284" type="commentary"><term rend="bold">recorders
> </term><gloss>wind instruments, flutes</gloss>. Hamlet calls for
> music again at 287 […] </note></p>
>
> […]
>
> </sp>

However, the database-oriented annotation I propose does not simply involve this operation of encoding the content of a note by using <note>. If Thompson and Taylor's edition of *Hamlet* is encoded as in the above example, the computer would know that the note is a "commentary" (as different from a textual note, for instance) and that the note contains a "gloss" of the term "recorders"; but the computer would not know that this word is a call in the dialogue for a stage property or prop (as recorders eventually are brought onstage at 3.2.336.1); that the prop in question belongs to the category of "musical instruments"; or that the phrase could be interpreted as an implicit stage direction for an attendant to "leave the stage to convey Hamlet's request" (Thompson and Taylor 2006, 318). For the purpose of turning an editor's annotation into categorized data for a database, the content of the note should be marked up. But, as pointed out earlier, I am concerned with the play-text itself. If the text to be encoded were an electronic transcript of the Second Quarto of *Hamlet*, or a modern-spelling edition without any commentary notes, the category or interpretation of "prop" attached to the word "recorders" should still be encoded. Besides, it is more efficient to provide specific tags for each aspect of interest than to subsume all the specific issues of the editor's annotation into just one note whose content only human readers can process. In the case of "recorder," the categories "prop," "musical instrument," and "implicit stage direction" need to be codified in order to be part of the markup code so that the computer can process this data. An encoding of this sort would allow searches for all props in the plays collected in the database (and would return the text involved as a result), searches for all musical instruments used as a prop, and for other instances of "recorders" or "flutes" used as a prop.[15]

---

[15] If the search is restricted to the text of the stage directions and is performed in a database of English drama between 1580 and 1642, the results would similar to the ones compiled by Alan C. Dessen and Leslie Thomson (1999).

II. Encoding mechanisms

In this section, I discuss possible TEI-conformant procedures to encode the "annotations" by using the example of "recorders" in *Hamlet* 3.2.284 as a prop.

The TEI Guidelines do not include "prop" as an element, but as a value of the @type attribute in the <tech> element (e.g. <tech type="prop">recorders</tech>), but <tech> is used for technical and special-purpose stage-directions that are not meant for the actors.[16] For an aspect that is not covered in the TEI Guidelines, the elements <ab> (anonymous block) and <seg> (arbitrary segment) constitute "two neutral or 'anonymous' elements to which the encoder can add any meaning not supplied by other TEI defined elements," thus "extending the semantics of the TEI markup scheme" (chapter 16.3). Since "recorders" is, on one level, just a string of characters below the "chunk" level, <seg> should be used, as in

Example no. 3:

<p>Ah ha! Come, some music! Come, the <seg type="prop" subtype="musical_instrument"ana="#in-call">recorders</seg>!</p>

Here I have represented the call for a prop as the value "in-call" of the analysis attribute (@ana).

A more direct encoding could be achieved if "prop" becomes an element in itself. In fact, the *Internet Shakespeare Editions* guidelines do include a tag for props and account for the possibility of describing that element by means of a "desc" attribute, and of distinguishing whether the prop is mentioned or implied (Best 2014, 4.4.10). Adapted to TEI style, a <prop> element could be used as in the following example:

Example no. 4:

<p>Ah ha! Come, some music! Come, the <prop type="musical_instrument" subtype="recorder" desc="flute" ana="#in-call">recorders</prop>!</p>

---

[16] See http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/ref-tech.html.

This encoding does not conform to the TEI Guidelines, but their recommendations are expressed in terms of XML, and one of the advantages of XML is that it is, precisely, "extensible." In the course of this essay I will be using TEI elements (<>), attributes (@) and values, but also pointing out situations in which the Guidelines might be extended in order to better represent certain implicit features and therefore facilitate the functionalities of a database of early modern plays.[17]

In example no. 4, I have dealt only with the marking-up of the prop "recorders" mentioned in the play-text. If a <note> element for a conventional commentary note were inserted instead of a <prop> element, the text would be excessively cluttered. One solution is to insert this <note> not at its point of attachment, as I did in example no. 2, but at its point of appearance in the printed source edition (see TEI, 3.8 and 16.2). Another elegant way around the matter is to place the "annotations" elsewhere in the document (even in a different document as "stand-off markup")[18] with a mechanism to secure the linking of the annotation to the exact point or segment of the text in question (see TEI, sections 3.8, 16.2, and 17.3). This system of separate annotations has certain advantages: a single annotation may cover several segments of text occurring at different points, and different "annotators" may work simultaneously on different kinds of annotations on the same textual segment (TEI, 16.9); and if categories are modified, they could be more easily altered if grouped together rather than scattered throughout the play-text. The XML files of *Folger Digital Texts* use stand-off markup to encode interpretations such as emendations, verse/prose, and stanzas: the <back> section of the file contains grouped interpretation elements (<interp> within <interpGrp>) defining the kinds of emendations, lines and stanzas; then pointer elements (<ptr/>) contain the @ana value identifying the interpretation, and the @target value identical to the @xml:id value of the textual segment in question; in the case of emendations, these <ptr/> are grouped with a subdivision element

---

[17] Prior studies have pointed out how the TEI model fails to answer adequately all the encoding demands posed by early modern dramatic texts. See, among others, Ian Lancashire's *Renaissance Electronic Texts: Guidelines for Encoding* (1994) and Galey's "Dizzying the Arithmetic of Memory" (2004, par. 1, 2 and 22).

[18] One of the anonymous readers for *SEDERI* has pointed out that this method has the advantage of allowing for multiple annotations of the same word or passage, besides being the cleanest way to do the kind of annotations proposed in this essay.

(<div>), while in the case of verse and stanzas, <ptr/> are placed in the running text.

A stand-off annotation following the Folger model could mark the word "recorders" with a <seg> element, as in this example:

Example no. 5:

<sp>

<speaker>hamlet</speaker>

<p>Ah ha! Come, some music! Come, the <seg xml:id="**HAM_3.2.317_8**"> recorders</seg>!</p>

</sp>

and in the <back> section,

<interpGrp type="prop">

<interp xml:id="musical_instrument">any musical instrument used as a stage property</interp>

<interp xml:id="in-call">a call in the dialog for a prop</interp>

</interpGrp>

<div type="prop">

<ptr type="prop" ana="#**musical_instrument #in-call**" target="#**HAM_3.2.317_8**"/>

<ptr type="prop" ana="#**musical_instrument**" target="#**HAM_3.2.373.1 #HAM_3.2.374_3**/>

Note that <div> contains another pointer to other instances of "recorders" (in the stage direction at 3.2.373.1 and in Hamlet's line 374) with their respective @target values and that this pointer does not include "in-call."

The three encoding procedures described so far can be classified by using two binary oppositions: in-line or stand-off annotation; with TEI-compliant elements or with newly created *ad hoc* elements.

	in-line	stand-off
TEI element	(1) <seg type="prop"> </seg>	(3) <interpGrp type="prop"> <interp xml:id=" "> <div type="prop"> <ptr type="prop"/>
ad hoc element	(2) <prop> </prop>	

III. Examples of "annotations"

I will comment on examples of several aspects of a play that might be annotated with a view to being searched and quantified in a database by specifying how they could be represented in the markup, characterized into types or values that would be part of a taxonomy of category identifiers.[19] I will first discuss aspects whose encoding require *ad hoc* extension of the TEI schema. Then I will tackle those that are, in one way or another, included in the TEI Guidelines (roles, stage directions, names and place-names, verse form and textual issues).

III.1

For aspects that would need extending the TEI recommendations, I will discuss alternative markup procedures. For the sake of economy I will omit examples of tagging, but these can be imagined if the terms in bold heading each paragraph are taken, unless otherwise stated, as *ad hoc* categories to be encoded as

– (1) the @type value in the <seg> or <ab> elements,

– (2) the name of the *ad hoc* element created;

– or (3) the @type value in <interpGrp> and <div>, if a stand-off markup is chosen.

Then the subcategories that I will specify will constitute

---

[19] As the TEI Guidelines indicate, the values should be taken from a pre-established taxonomy, preferably listed in the TEI header (http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/ref-att.typed.html).

– (1) the @subtype value of <seg> or <ab>;

– (2) the @type, @subtype and/or @ana values of a presupposed new element;

– or (3) the @xml:id value of <interp> element, and the @ana value of <ptr/>.

Scene location: In many critical editions, the first commentary note for a scene defines its location, a practice also indicated in the ISE guidelines (Best 2014, 5.2.10). For instance, in Wray's Arden edition of *The Tragedy of Marian*, the beginning of the first commentary note is "1.1 Location: a public space in Herod's palace in Jerusalem." At least four components in this note deserve annotation. Three of them are geographical: in descending order of their relative size, a city ("Jerusalem"), a building ("palace"), and a specific area in this building ("a public space"). Implied in the notion of city are larger geographical units such as country or region. The fourth component is the person with which the building is associated ("Herod"). But the characteristics of the scene location, while not stated in this commentary note, may well include binary oppositions such as public/private, urban/rural, outdoors/indoors, imaginary/real, or implied/explicit. Having these characteristics in a database may allow analyses of the kinds of space used in a play, group of plays, or in the whole corpus, combined with aspects such as genre, plays dealing with specific kinds of characters or certain themes, plays by a given author, plays written, produced, or published within a certain period, etc. Thus, a database-oriented annotation that defines the first scene in *The Tragedy of Mariam* as taking place in a "public" space will allow connections with similar scenes and contrasts with scenes in "private" spaces, such as Pheroras's room in 2.1, or in a "palace." Identifying the palace as being associated with "Herod" would allow searches for similar scenes in *Mariam* (all scenes except 2.3, 2.4, 4.1, 4.6, and 4.8) and in other plays featuring Herod.

TEI provides detailed descriptions (markers) of the components of a place or location, but their markers are at the level of elements, which are units that have to frame content of the text indicating the place.[20] While often this content is absent (in the form of a heading or

---

[20] Elements such as <place>, <location>, <placeName>, <country>, <region>, <settlement>, <district>, <geoName>, <geoFeat>, <locale>. Another complication lies in the incompatibilities to nest certain elements within other elements.

a stage direction). Even in the case of explicit locations (e.g. in the stage direction *"Enter a Soldier in the woods, seeking Timon"* [Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, 5.3.0]), the annotation refers to a whole scene and not to the textual segment describing this location. These situations prompt me to propose "scene_location" as a category to be encoded as attribute values in the different markup methods explained above, with the characteristics I have just pointed out as subcategories. If stand-off annotation were used, the @target value of <ptr/> could refer back to an @xml:id value identifying the <div1> or <div2> element that frames the scene in question.

Image: The analysis or interpretation of a textual segment as an "image" is covered in chapter 17.3, "Spans and Interpretations," in relation to <span> and <interp>, not to <seg>, but nothing explicitly prevents us from inserting the category "image" as the @type value of a <seg> element. Let us consider Rosencrantz's image of "a massy wheel […] when it falls" in 3.3.12–15, which George Hibbard annotates in his Oxford edition of the play as:

> The main idea here is that of Fortune's wheel, also referred to at 2.2.484–88. The relation between kingly power and the caprices of Fortune is a common theme in Shakespeare. See especially *Lear* 2.4.71–73 and *Timon* 1.1.66–97. (1987, 271)

Hibbard's note points out the interrelationship of the image in question to other instances in the play and in other Shakespeare plays, but not to other early modern plays, such as *The Spanish Tragedy* (3.1.5) or *The Tragedy of Mariam* (4.4.48).[21] The specificity of "Fortune's wheel" as a sub-category could be represented, as indicated above, in the values of @subtype attribute of the <seg> element, of the xml:id attribute of the <interp> element, or of the analysis attribute (@ana) of the <ptr> element. Further distinctions as to the association of this image to royal power as different from other values such as "the vanity of success and the folly of self-

---

[21] To which could be added Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine, Part One*, (1.2.174), John Webster's *Duchess of Malfi* (3.5.94); *A Cure of a Cuckold* (4.1.401) by John Webster and William Rowley, possibly with Thomas Heywood; and William Alexander's *The Alexandrian Tragedy* (M3v), among others. For the sake of economy, it is very likely that Hibbard's note could not include other Shakespearean instances of this theme, such as in *Henry VI Part 3* (4.3.48–49), *Henry V* (3.6.27), *As You Like It* (1.2.31–32), and *Antony and Cleopatra* (4.14.88–89, 4.15.51).

advancement" could well be left outside the scope of the database (Wray 2012, 162).

Theme: I use the term "theme" since this is included as one of the sample values of the @type attribute in chapter 17.3 of the TEI Guidelines, together with "image," "character," and "allusion." Motifs could also be considered under this term, or perhaps a new element or value could be created *ad hoc*. (In section I of this essay I comment on the practical difficulties of encoding this aspect if the database were to include a large corpus of plays.) I will discuss an example related to the phenomenon of suicide as part of the action of a play. The term "suicide" could be encoded as a subcategory associated with scenes, passages, and lines in *The Spanish Tragedy*, in *Hamlet*, in *The Tragedy of Mariam*, etc. Specific contrasts of aspects of suicide could be obtained if further characteristics (for instance, the gender and age of the suicidal characters) are considered in the categorization. Characteristics could be taken from Bernard Paulin's *Du couteau à la plume*. This comprehensive study of suicide in English literature from 1580 to 1625 distinguishes the moral approval or disapproval of suicide (even if it is ambiguous), motivations for suicide,[22] method and instruments of suicide,[23] if it is shown onstage or reported,[24] as well as cases of intended and failed suicides. Within the TEI schema, these subcategories could be represented as @ana values.

Allusion: This is another value, mentioned in chapter 17.3 of the TEI Guidelines, of the <span> and <interp> elements and its associated grouping elements. Allusions are usually dealt with in commentary notes, as with the *Hamlet* line "For if the King like not the comedy" (3.2.319), taken as an echo of "And if the world like not this tragedy […]" in *The Spanish Tragedy* (4.1.188). This indirect intertextual reference could be marked-up so as to allow searches

---

[22] "guilt" or "remorse" in the case of the Butler in *Mariam*, or Homes in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*, Atis in *Croesus*, Dymnus in *Philotas*, etc.; "revenge" in Isabella in *The Spanish Tragedy*, although "madness" could also be attributed to Isabella, as in the case of Ophelia in *Hamlet*; "love" in the case of Bel-imperia in *The Spanish Tragedy*.

[23] "hanging" in *Mariam* and in the case of Fronto in *Caesar and Pompey*, and perhaps Homes in *Sir Thomas Wyatt*; "drowning" in Ophelia; "dagger" in Bel-imperia.

[24] "reported" in *Mariam*, as is the case of Ophelia in *Hamlet*, 2 Consuls in *Caesar and Pompey*, or of Roxane in *Alexandrian Tragedy*. Isabella, Bel-imperia, and Hieronimo commit suicide onstage in *The Spanish Tragedy*.

for, and quantifications of, other allusions in *Hamlet* to *The Spanish Tragedy*, all allusions used in *Hamlet*, and allusions to *The Spanish Tragedy* in all the plays of the database. If the allusions are subcategorized as parodic, neutral, or questionable, these parameters could also be included in the query. In contrast to image and theme, the annotation of the allusion has to include an intertextual reference to the alluded instances. TEI provides the <ref> and <ptr> elements for cross-references, which can be used to point to texts other than the current text (3.6 and 16.1). It should be noted, however, that <ref> and <ptr>, cannot be contained by <interp>, <interpGrp> and <ptr>. One solution is to include the cross-reference nested in <seg> surrounding the textual segment in question:

<l><seg xml:id="HAM_3.2.319"> <ptr type="allusion" ana="#parodic" target="**#SPAN_TRAG_4.1.188**"/>And if the world like not this tragedy</l>

Here I have used @ana for the subcategory "parodic." As an alternative to @target, the canonical reference atribute (@cRef) could be used,[25] with references defined in the TEI header of the corpus. As with the case of images (and also themes), a project undertaking the annotation of a corpus of plays should be ready to centralize information and decisions and to update references and identifiers to be used throughout the collection.

Proverb: Hibbard annotates the use of proverbial language for "a thousand pound" in Hamlet's "I'll take the Ghost's word for a thousand pound" (3.2.278–79), and for Rosencrantz's "you deny your griefs to your friend" (3.2.330). If encoded with database-oriented annotation in mind, proverbs can be searched, quantified and related to uses in other plays in the corpus, such as "a thousand pound" being also used in *Much Ado About Nothing* 1.1.88, or *Arden of Faversham* 8.137, and the proverbial notion of grief becoming lessened when imparted to others being also used in *The Spanish Tragedy* (1.3.32). Since we have a typology of proverbial language in Dent's index, its conventional references ("T248.1" in the case of "a thousand pound," and "G447" in the second case) could well be used as the value of a @n attribute. Besides, since Dent regards "a thousand pound" as of questionable relevance (2) or "doubtful

---

[25] If this is reserved for canonical works such as the Bible, perhaps an @iRef attribute (for intertextual or indirect reference) could be created.

legitimacy" (43) and Rosencrantz's "you deny your griefs to your friend" as sententious, this status could be specified as a subcategory.

Wordplay: A regular issue in editors' commentary notes is to point out the meanings involved in puns. For instance, Thompson and Taylor annotate "distempered" in *Hamlet* (3.2.328), distinguishing the sense "out of temper," as intended by Guildenstern, and "drunk" as taken by Hamlet (319). Users of the database could quantify, for instance, the punning habits of different characters or different genres. Wordplay could be subcategorized by using types of wordplay (for instance, defined in eight categories and seven functions by Delabastita 1993, 78–86, 137–51) and by indicating if the secondary meaning contains a sexual innuendo or a recurrent topic (e.g., "drunkenness").

Grammar: Grammatical features peculiar to early modern English, such as the use of the verbal -s inflection agreeing with plural subjects (Blake 2002, 4.4.2; Hope 2003, 2.1.8a) or the use of "double comparative" (Blake 2002, 3.2.3.4; Hope 2003, 1.2.4), are generally dealt with in commentary notes. In a database-oriented annotation, these features could become subcategories with the terms used by either Blake or Hope as identifiers in the taxonomy.

Oath: Most editors gloss the interjection "perdie" in Hamlet's "Why then belike he like it not, perdie" (3.3.286), in the sense of "certainly," "indeed," and as derived from the French word "*pardieu*" (*OED* pardie, *int.*). In a database, the use of "perdie" could be analyzed in connection not only to other asseverations meaning "indeed" in other plays, but also to other oaths, and within this category, to emphatic expressions swearing by God and His attributes, and to constructions using an introductory "by" (here in French-derived "per") followed by the sworn phrase. The search would bring out not only expressions in *Hamlet*, such as "faith" (1.5.150), "God willing" (1.5.208), "For God's love" (1.2.205), "by Gis" (4.5.63), "by my fay" (2.2.284). These might be possible to include as cross-references in a gloss or commentary note, although they are usually not included —but also in other plays, e.g., "perdie" in *King Lear* (2.4.91), *Comedy of Errors* (4.4.76); "God's will" in *Henry V* (4.3.26, 76), *Spanish Tragedy* (3.12A.76); "by my faith" in *As You Like It* (3.5.43, 4.1.23, 5.4.65), *Henry IV Part 1* (1.2.144, 2.1.94, 4.1.135, 5.4.125), *Henry V* (3.7.112), and *The Spanish Tragedy* (4.1.59). The TEI

Guidelines (chapter 17.1) provide markers for the word class "interjection" as a @type attribute in units down to the word level (sentence <s>, clause <cl>, phrase <phr>, and word <w>). Given the subcategorization of the exclamation in different values, it would seem appropriate to create an element for each lexical word class (<noun>, <verb>, <adjective>, etc.) in order to allow for type and subtype attributes to specify categories and subcategories respectively: for instance, <oath>; then, swearing by Christian terms (type="Christian"), Non-Christian terms, human notion; then, within swearing by Christian terms, expressions swearing by God (subtype ="God"), by Christ, by Mary, etc., as David Crystal and Ben Crystal classify them (2009, 435–39).

Address_form: Thompson and Taylor annotate "Good my lord" (3.2.322) to indicate that "Guildenstern's mode of address is carefully deferential" (319) and refer to other uses of the phrase addressed to Hamlet. Database-oriented annotations of the expression "Good my lord" would allow the display of a concordance of other uses of this form of address not only in *Hamlet* (2.2.548, Hamlet to Polonius; 3.1.99, Ophelia to Hamlet) but also in the whole collection (e.g. *Spanish Tragedy*, 4.3.5, Hieronimo to the Duke of Castile). And if the speakers involved in the exchange are encoded, and in their turn, characters are encoded with values indicating s such as their sex, age, and rank, users of the database may carry out sociolinguistic analyses of the forms of address.

A similar treatment could be given to other fixed expressions in the categories of **discourse marker**, **greeting,** and **exclamation** (not often included in commentary notes) which would allow database searches for uses of "go to" (a discourse marker in *Hamlet* 1.3.121 that Thompson and Taylor annotate "a contemptuous or dismissive expression" [199]), or "how now" (an exclamation of surprise or reproach in *Hamlet* 1.1.81) or in different situations and spoken by different characters. Crystal and Crystal provide typologies that can be used to subcategorize them (2009, 127–29, 206, 158–59).

III.2

This subsection covers aspects for which the TEI Guidelines provide a markup procedure.

Roles: Conventional editions offer commentary notes on the roles of the play, usually attached to the list of characters. Even when marking up an early text without a *dramatis personae*, the editor-encoder must define the roles, speaking and non-speaking, within the <castList> element (TEI, 7.1.4). Annotations of the play's roles in parameters such as sex, age, nationality, geographical or ethnic affiliation, socio-economic status, religion, status, or quality may be useful as criteria to select aspects to be analysed through the database. The TEI Guidelines provide for elements and attributes to mark up this information (13.3.2 and 15.2.2), which is to be included in description of the participants (<particDesc>) in the profile of the text (<profileDesc>) within the header (2.4). As the following example from the Folger *Hamlet* XML file shows, the editors include data about sex, state, and his or her death:

<person xml:id="CLAUDIUS-HAM">

<persName><name>King Claudius</name></persName>

<state><p>brother to the late King Hamlet</p></state>

<sex value="1">male</sex>

<death when-custom="ftln-4076"/>

</person>

Other kinds of information can be encoded with <age>, <state>, <socecStatus>, <nationality>, <faith>, and <trait>, or with the @role attribute of the <person> element (TEI, 13.3.2 and 15.2.2). An analysis from a feminist approach, for instance, might find it useful to have female characters categorized according to their status in a patriarchal order (maid, wife, widow, mother, mistress).

It should be noted that the @xml:id value of <person> ("CLAUDIUS-HAM" in the above example) is the specific identifier for a given role. This same identifier is to be used

(1) in <castList>, as the @xml:id value of <role> (TEI, 7.1.4)

<castList>

<castItem>

<role xml:id="CLAUDIUS-HAM">King Claudius</role>...

 (2) in every speech the role speaks, as @who value in <sp> (TEI, 7.2.2)

```
<sp xml:id="sp-0191" who="#CLAUDIUS-HAM">

<speaker>KING</speaker>
```

And optionally (3) in identifications of the role's participation in a stage action, usually as the @ana value of a stage direction in the <stage> and <move/> elements (TEI, 7.2.4), as in the first stage direction in the second scene of *Hamlet* as encoded by the *Folger Digital Texts* editors:

```
<stage xml:id="stg-0190.2b" type="entrance" ana="#CLAUDIUS-
HAM     #GERTRUDE     #POLONIUS     #LAERTES     #HAMLET
#VOLTEMAND #CORNELIUS-HAM">
```

It should also be noted that the identifier for Hamlet's uncle that the *Folger Digital Texts* editors chose includes the suffix "-HAM" in order to distinguish Claudius in *Hamlet* from other Claudiuses. This is important for the purpose of database-oriented encoding, since the identifier for a given role in a given play should be unique in the whole corpus of plays. Thus, for a messenger in *Hamlet* (in 4.5.108 and 4.7.39) to be distinguished from a messenger in *The Spanish Tragedy*, we would, for instance, need identifiers such as "messenger-HAM" and "messenger-SPAN_TRAG," or in the case of various messengers in the same play, as in *Henry VI Part Three*, identifiers such as "messenger_to_Henry_VI-3H6," "1_messenger_to_Warwick-3H6," and "2_messenger_to_Warwick-3H6."[26] Decisions for defining these role identifiers presuppose that all roles in the corpus are mapped.

Stage directions: TEI provides an open taxonomy of stage directions by specifying type values of the <stage> element (7.2.4). What TEI calls "business," the *Internet Shakespeare Editions* (ISE) guidelines name "action," but they both share the terms "entrance," "exit," "setting," "location," and in part "delivery," since *ISE* uses "whoto" to indicate to whom the dialogue is addressed and for an aside (Best 2014, 4.4.5). The Lope de Vega and the *EMOTHE* collections, which follow TEI, demarcate the segment of dialogue that constitutes an "aside" by means of <seg>, with "aside" as its type:

---

[26] The *Folger Digital Texts* used the value "MESSENGERS" (established in the participants description in the header) in 4.5.108 and 4.7.39 even though only one messenger speaks.

<speaker>polonius</speaker>

<p xml:id="en-1232"><stage type="delivery"> [Aside]</stage> <seg type="**aside**">Though this be madness yet there is method in't.</seg> — Will you walk out of the air, my lord?</p> </sp>

This procedure allows highlighting of the content of the "aside" in the online display of the text. By including "aside" in the markup, a database could be able to quantify the use of this special kind of stage direction and could allow analyses in relation to the characters that use it. If the demarcation of the content of the "aside" is not carried out, I would suggest encoding "asides" more directly with the term "aside" as @type value of <stage>.[27]

If it were of interest to search for significant kinds of stage action, the directions marked-up with the "business" or "delivery" values could contain a @subtype specifying that kind, perhaps taken from the terms in Dessen and Thomson's dictionary (1999, 257–58), as in the following example from *The Tragedy of Mariam* 1.1.65–68 (here quoted from Bevington 2002):

<l>How canst thou then so faintly now lament</l>

<l>Thy truest lover's death, a death's disgrace? </l>

<l><stage type="delivery" subtype="weep"> [*She weeps.*]</stage> Ay, now, mine eyes, you do begin to right</l>

<l>The wrongs of your admirer and my lord! </l>

Names and place-names: These are usually not covered in commentary notes. For practical reasons of limited paper space, an editor of a print-based edition will not insert a note whenever a toponym, such as "Norway," "Wittenberg," or "Judaea," occurs, but these limitations do not affect the electronic text. A toponym such as "Judaea" (4.4.44) in *The Tragedy of Mariam* can be tagged with <placeName>, <country>, <region>, <settlement> and other elements related to geographical spaces (TEI, 13.2.3), and could be subcategorized to specify details, including if the place-name belongs to the action of the play (diegetic) or if it is simply alluded to:

---

[27] It would be also useful for a TEI-conformant markup to use "whoto" rather than "delivery," and the "optional" and "uncertain" values, as the ISE editions do.

<l>Thou shouldst the wonder of <placeName><country key="PS IL" type="diegetic">Judaea</country></placeName> be,</l>[28]

Verse form: The TEI Guidelines provide specific recommendations in their sixth chapter, but in the case of early modern plays, annotations could also make explicit the functions of these metrical features, such as, the conventional use of couplets signaling the end of a scene, of a soliloquy, of a speech, or of part of a set-speech.

Textual issue: Critical editions usually include comments on textual problems and editorial decisions. For instance, with respect to Guildenstern's "put your discourse into some frame and start not so wildly from my affair" (3.2.336), Thompson and Taylor explain "start" as an emendation of Q2's "stare" because "*e/t* is an easy misreading" (319). If the TEI element for emendations, <corr> in combination with <sic>, both nested in the <choice> element (chapter 12), is supplemented with attributes to indicate the type and origin of error, database users could relate this case to other errors derived from the confusion of final -t for final -e, with errors made by Roberts's compositor Y (James Roberts is the printer of the second quarto of *Hamlet*), and with other cases where the Folio (and not a modern editor) provides the received emendation. All these aspects could be combined with the selection of multiple-text plays (*Hamlet, King Lear, Othello, Richard III, Henry IV Part 2*) or single-text plays. This particular alternate reading could be represented as follows:

"[…] put your discourse into some frame and

<choice type="substitution" subtype="misreading" ana="#t-for-e-misreading">

    <sic source="HQ2" resp="Roberts-Y">stare</sic>

    <corr resp="HF1" source="Shakespeare-F1">start</corr>

</choice> not so wildly from my affair."[29]

---

[28] The values I have added in the key to identify the country are the ISO 3166 code for Palestine and Israel (see <http://www.iso.org/iso/home/standards/country_codes.htm>. This is admittedly problematic, but the ISO standard for countries follows the names given by the United Nations and does not contemplate historic countries or regions.

[29] "HQ2" is the abbreviation for the Second Quarto of *Hamlet* recommended in the *Guidelines for Editors* of Internet Shakespeare Editions (Best 2014, 7.1.1). The two compositors of Q2 *Hamlet* printed by Roberts are identified as X and Y (Brown 1955).

Conclusion

To sum up, database-oriented annotation entails, to a large extent, turning the analyses and interpretations found in some commentary notes, as well as other aspects not usually dealt with in these commentary notes, as explained in section III, into categorized marked up data that are operational for a database of play-texts. It also implies that, as the database models aspects of the "universe" of the data it collects, the types of queries users would be able to make condition the categories of annotation and the way the elements are to be marked up. In this essay, I have explained possible annotations for certain aspects in early modern plays. Of course, the set of aspects I have dealt with is not finite (linguists would perhaps like to see other aspects such as register, speech-act, etc. encoded in the text). The possibilities could be "dangerously" infinite, so it is worth taking into account John Lavagnino's warning that "Extra markup is costly, and it is essential that a project decide just which features need to be marked in order to serve its scholarly ends" (2007, par. 3). The limits are not so much in the digital media employed but imposed at best by the editors' own limitations.

References

Alexander, William, Earl of Stirling. 1994 (1607) *The Alexandrian Tragedy.* In *The Monarchic Tragedies*. London; rpt. *Recreations with the Muses*. London, 1637. In *English Verse Drama*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey.

———. 1994 (1604). *The Tragedy of Croesus*. In *The Monarchic Tragedies*. London; rpt. *Recreations with the Muses*. London, 1637. In *English Verse Drama*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey.

Arden of Faversham. 1990 (1592). Edited by Martin White. London: A & C Black.

Bevington, David, gen. ed. 2002. *English Renaissance Drama: A Norton Anthology*. New York: W. W. Norton.

Best, Michael. 2014. "Editorial Guidelines." *The Internet Shakespeare Editions*. University of Victoria. Last modified 21 March 2014. http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/Foyer/Guidelines/index.html.

———, and Janelle Jenstad, coord. 1996–. *The Internet Shakespeare Editions*. University of Victoria. Accessed September 2016. http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/

Blake, Norman F. 2002. *A Grammar of Shakespeare's Language*. Houndmills: Palgrave.

Brome, Richard. *Covent Garden Weeded*. Modern text edited by M. Leslie. Accessed 29 April 2016. http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome.

———. *The Demoiselle*. Modern text edited by Lucy Munro. http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome.

Brown, John Russell. 1955. "The Compositors of *Hamlet* Q2 and *The Merchant of Venice*." *Studies in Bibliography* 7: 17–40.

Chapman, George. 1994 (1631). *Caesar and Pompey*. In *English Verse Drama*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey.

Crystal, David, and Ben Crystal. 2002. *Shakespeare's Words: A Glossary and Language Companion*. London: Penguin. Accessed September 2016. http://www.shakespeareswords.com.

Daniel, Samuel. 1994 (1623). *Philotas*. In *English Verse Drama*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey.

Dekker, Thomas, and John Webster. 1994 (1604). *The Famous History of Sir Thomas Wyatt*. In *English Verse Drama*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey.

Delabastita, Dirk. 1993. *There's a Double Tongue: An Investigation into the Translation of Shakespeare's Wordplay with Special Reference to 'Hamlet'*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.

Dent, Robert William. 1981. *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Dessen, Alan, and Leslie Thomson. 1999. *Dictionary of Stage Directions in English Drama, 1580–1642*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Folger Digital Texts. Texts of Shakespeare's plays and poems edited by Barbara A. Mowat, and Paul Werstine. Digital text editors, Michael Poston and Rebecca Niles. Folger Shakespeare Library. Accessed September 2016. http://www.folgerdigitaltexts.org/.

Galey, Alan. 2004. "Dizzying the Arithmetic of Memory: Shakespearean Document as Text, Image, Code." *Early Modern Literary Studies* 9 (3) / Special Issue 12 (January): 4.1–28. Accessed September 2016. http://extra.shu.ac.uk/emls/09-3/galedizz.htm.

Hibbard, George, ed. 1987. *Hamlet*. By William Shakespeare. Oxford Shakespeare. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hope, Jonathan. 2003. *Shakespeare's Grammar*. London: Thomson Learning.

Johnson, Eric. 2003–. *Open Source Shakespeare: An Experiment in Literary Technology*. George Mason University. Accessed September 2016. http://www.opensourceshakespeare.org/.

Jowett, John, ed. 2001. *Richard III*. By William Shakespeare. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kyd, Thomas. 2013 (1592). *The Spanish Tragedy*. Edited by Clara Calvo and Jesús Tronch. Arden Early Modern Drama. London: Bloomsbury.

Lancashire, Ian. 1994. *Renaissance Electronic Texts: Guidelines for Encoding*. University of Toronto. Accessed September 2016. http://www.library.utoronto.ca/utel/ret/guidelines/guideline0.html.

Lavagnino, John. 2007. "Electronic Textual Editing: When Not to Use TEI." In *Electronic Textual Editing*, edited by John Unsworth, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, and Lou Burnard. Accessed September 2016. http://www.tei-c.org/About/Archive_new/ETE/Preview/lavagnino.xml.

Mardock, James, ed. *Henry V*. By William Shakespeare. Internet Shakespeare Editions. University of Victoria. Accessed September 2016. http://internetshakespeare.uvic.ca/Library/Texts/H5/.

Marlowe, Christopher. 1981 (1590). *Tamburlaine, Part One*. In *Revels Plays*, edited by J. S. Cunningham. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Marston, John. 1986. *Antonio and Mellida*. In *The Selected Plays of John Marston*, edited by MacDonald P. Jackson and Michael Neill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Middleton, Thomas. 1969 (1630). *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*. In *Revels Plays*, edited by R. B. Parker. Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Mueller, Martin. "A Very Gentle Introduction to TEI Markup Language." *Text Encoding Initiative*. Accessed September 2016. http://www.tei-c.org/Support/Learn/mueller-index.htm.

OED. 2013. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Accessed September 2016. http://www.oed.com/.

Oleza, Joan *et al.* 2012. *Base de Datos y Argumentos del teatro de Lope de Vega*. ARTELOPE. Universitat de València. Accessed September 2016. http://artelope.uv.es/baseArteLope.html.

Ostovich, Helen, ed. *Jovial Crew*. By Richard Brome. In *Richard Brome Online*. Royal Holloway, University of London, and University of Sheffield. Accessed September 2016. http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome.

Paulin, Bernard. 1977. *Du couteau à la plume: Le Suicide dans la littérature anglaise de la Renaissance, 1580–1625*. Lyon: L'Hermès & Publications de la Université de Saint-Etienne.

Richard Brome Online. Royal Holloway, University of London, and University of Sheffield. Accessed September 2016. http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/brome.

TEI Consortium. 2014 (2007). *TEI P5: Guidelines for Electronic Text Encoding and Interchange*. Ed. Lou Burnard and Syd Bauman. Oxford: TEI Consortium. Accessed September 2016. http://www.tei-c.org/release/doc/tei-p5-doc/en/html/index.html.

Thompson, Ann, and Neil Taylor, eds. 2006. *William Shakespeare: Hamlet*: *The Second Quarto Text*. The Arden Shakespeare [3rd series]. London: Thomson Learning.

Webster, John, and William Rowley (possibly with Thomas Heywood). 1994 (1661). *A Cure of a Cuckold.* In *English Verse Drama*. Cambridge: Chadwyck-Healey.

Webster, John. 2009 (1614). *The Duchess of Malfi*. Edited by Leah Marcus. Arden Early Modern Drama. London: A & C Black.

Wiggins, Martin, in association with Catherine Richardson. 2012–2014. *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue*. 4 vols. Oxford: Oxford University Press. [Vol. 1 and 2 in 2012. Vol. 3 in 2013. Vol. 4 in 2014.]

Wray, Ramona, ed. 2012. *The Tragedy of Mariam*. By Elizabeth Cary. Arden Early Modern Drama. London: Bloomsbury.

Notes

"The intolerable business":
Religion and diplomacy under Elizabeth's rule

❧

"El negocio intolerable":
religión y diplomacia en el reinado de Isabel

Susana Oliveira
Universidade de Lisboa, Portugal

ABSTRACT

Within the scope of foreign affairs between Portugal and England during Elizabeth's rule, numerous events indicate the challenges faced by the Portuguese ambassadors on their missions. Regrettably, little is known about these envoys and one rarely finds any reference to their names or their diplomatic accomplishments in Early Modern studies. This paper focuses on a diplomatic incident which involved Francisco Giraldes, a Portuguese resident ambassador in England, aiming to shed some light on "the intolerable business" that led to a confrontation with the Bishop of London, Edwin Sandys.

Attending a Catholic Mass in the context of the Elizabethan Religious Settlement involved certain challenges that should be considered. Diplomats, however, enjoyed certain immunities, including the *droit de chappelle*, and were allowed to hold Catholic services in their ambassadorial residences. But in March 1573, while Mass was being held, Francisco Giraldes's residence was raided by the Sheriff of London's men, working under the Bishop of London's instructions. The ongoing tension between the religious and the political areas of power was, thus, exposed. Two letters, written by the Bishop of London, included in the *Lansdowne Manuscripts Collection* of the British Library, registered the event. As Sandy's correspondence appears to be the single piece of surviving evidence regarding this diplomatic incident, it stands to reason that its analysis will provide significant insight into the coexistence, as well as the clash, of oppositional forces, while further contributing to an interpretation of Anglo-Portuguese affairs in Early Modern times.

KEYWORDS: Early Modern, diplomacy, religion, Anglo-Portuguese relations.

RESUMEN

En el marco de las relaciones exteriores entre Portugal e Inglaterra durante el reinado de Isabel I hay numerosos eventos que apuntan a los desafíos que soportaron los embajadores portugueses en sus misiones. Lamentablemente, se sabe poco de estos enviados y apenas se encuentran referencias a sus nombres o a sus logros diplomáticos en los estudios de la modernidad temprana. Este artículo se centra en un incidente diplomático que involucró a Francisco Giraldem, un embajador residente portugués en Inglaterra, e intenta arrojar luz sobre "el negocio intolerable" que enfrentó a este embajador y al obispo de Londres, Edwin Sandys.

Asistir a una misa católica en el contexto del Acuerdo Religioso Isabelino conllevaba ciertos desafíos que deberían tenerse en cuenta. Los diplomáticos, sin embargo, gozaban de ciertas inmunidades, incluido el *droit de chappelle*, y se les permitía celebrar misas católicas en sus residencias de embajadores. Pero en marzo de 1573, mientras se celebraba la misa, la residencia de Francisco Giraldes fue invadida por hombres del Sheriff de Londres, que estaban bajo las órdenes del obispo de Londres. De esa manera se expuso la tensión que existía entre las áreas de poder político y religioso. Dos cartas escritas por el obispo de Londres e incluidas en la *Landsowne Manuscripts Collection* de la British Library registraron el evento. Teniendo en cuenta que la correspondencia escrita por Sandy parece ser la única evidencia de este incidente diplomático que se ha conservado, parece razonable que su análisis aportará una visión muy significativa de la coexistencia, y el choque, de fuerzas opuestas, y que además contribuirá a una interpretación de los asuntos anglo-portugueses a principios de la Edad Moderna.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Edad Moderna; diplomacia; religión; relaciones anglo-portuguesas.

In her speech to the 1585 Parliament, the Queen stated: "one matter toucheth me so near as I may not overskip: religion, the ground on which all other matters ought to take root" (1806 (1585), 833). Surely, one is able to trace the significance of a spiritual ground underlying the multifaceted aspects of Elizabethan life, or rather "a social-religious-artistic complex," as T.S. Eliot observed (1975, 291). The profound and rapid changes of the sixteenth century, however, challenge our assumption of how exactly this "religious ground" could be clearly perceived as a common shared foundation "to all other matters," as Elizabeth intended.

It is in this disquieting context that one finds the Portuguese resident ambassador in England, Francisco Giraldes, an ambassador who threatened the Sheriff's men to "smite with his dagger and to kill in his rage" (1573: *Lansdowne* MS 16.25).[1] This paper focuses on the diplomatic incident concerning the ambassador's practice of his Catholic faith and on the Bishop of London's correspondence about the event, which he describes as "the intolerable business." Additionally, it is the purpose of this paper to shed light on a quite unfamiliar Early Modern ambassador, who served as Plenipotentiary of the Portuguese king in Elizabeth's court.

Essential to the analysis of any given historical period is the notion of change and how it occurs in terms of time, scale and depth. Indisputably, one should take into consideration the rhythm of change in the context of the Elizabethan Religious Settlement. As Mortimer observes, if one visited England in the 1560s, one could tell how Protestant or Catholic a given parish was by the speed with which it removed its medieval art (2013, 80). In this light, it is also interesting to note Sir Nicholas Bacon's criticism in Elizabeth's first Parliament regarding those who were either "too slow" or "too swift" to follow the laws regarding the establishment of "a uniform order in religion" (1682, 34).

Within the scope of the sixteenth century schisms, one should also reflect upon the number of sects that proliferated all over England, as put by William Bullein's 1564 fictional character: "I am

---

[1] Quotations regarding this 1573 diplomatic incident are taken from the 16th volume of the *Lansdowne Manuscripts*, at the British Library. Henceforth, the quotation will only include the reference to the *Lansdowne Manuscripts* (Lands. MS) followed by the *folio* numbers.

neither Catholic, Papist, Protestant or Anabaptist, I assure you. I am *nulla fidian* and there are many of our sect" (1888, 14).

Despite the rapid changes, matters of faith remained delicate and intricate, inscribed in the continuous construction of the self, the subject of one's most intimate and private spiritual beliefs, one's way of life and one's world view. The depth of change entailed by the Elizabethan Religious Settlement is, then, another perspective to consider in the light of this period.

Given such complexity, it would be challenging for an English Catholic to witness the persecution of formerly established religious practices. Moreover, the conflict with Catholicism —or "the old faith"— assumed immense proportions, especially after the 1569 Northern Rebellion. What had started with an open celebration of a Catholic Mass by the Earls of the North culminated with Pope Pius V's 1570 Bull, *Regnans in Excelsis*, excommunicating and deposing Elizabeth, "the pretended queen of England and the servant of crime" (Aughterson 1998, 36). The Pope pressed the "religious-political matter" even further by demanding all English Catholics to turn against their monarch and to keep their allegiance to Rome on pain of excommunication.

Implicitly embedded in the Pope's enterprise was the replacement of the Protestant Elizabeth with the Catholic Mary Queen of Scots, as clearly confirmed by the Ridolfi Plot, the following year. The foreign support for the Catholic cause gave a disturbing international dimension to spiritual affairs in England. Religion was playing an increasingly disquieting role, posing an ever-present threat to the Queen's life, as well as to the Elizabethan Settlement. Religious and political matters were, thus, inextricably intertwined. As a result, the political intolerance for Catholicism translated into severe regulation, especially after Saint Bartholomew's Massacre, on 24th August 1572. Ultimately, Catholic practices in England came to be considered as an act of treason. Those were not the times for ambiguous loyalties.

Therefore, when the Catholic Portuguese ambassador, Francisco Giraldes, arrived in London, in 1571, he stepped into a remarkably disquieting setting, the city being the "stronghold of Protestantism," as Birth observed (1907, 169). The Bishop of London was at the time Edwin Sandys, who had replaced Edmund Grindal in 1570, when

the latter was assigned the Archbishopric of York. In a letter to Archbishop Parker, Grindal recognises his successor's difficult task when he admits: "But surely he, the Bishop of London, is always to be pitied" (1843, 347). According to Birth, the bishopric of London was evidently a distinctive assignment:

> London was, from its being the centre of government, the residence of the Court and of foreign ambassadors, in a unique and peculiar position as one of the most important dioceses of the realm […] and the work of its Bishop was, therefore, especially difficult and exacting. (1907, 437)

Perhaps due to the challenges of the task ahead, Sandys initially refused Cecil's proposal to replace Grindal as the Bishop of London. Sandys had invoked questions of health, but he soon realised Cecil's discontentment and he later accepted the assignment (Birth 1907, 459). Theodore Rabb observes that Sandys was a zealous reformer, a leader in the repression of dissidents and "the chief bulwark against both Catholics and Puritans" (1998, 5). As registered in his sermons, Sandys strongly believed that "the papal stragglers, the firebrands of sedition, and the pests of the Church" were the worst kind of men, "who by too great liberty became worse, and […] fierce through impunity, [grew] boldly insolent" (1841, 441). In the Bishop's opinion, "these foxes must be removed, the further the better" and he humorously remarks "as far as Rome" (1841, 73; 55). Nonetheless, Sandys recognised that the power he could exercise as the Bishop of London relied on the secular support of the Court, as expressed in a letter to Cecil: "The world thinketh that you are my good friend […] if the Papists may learn disliking […] it will much weaken my work in God's Church" (Lansd. MS. 12. fol. 82).[2] Papists in London were inevitably associated with the Catholic resident ambassadors, as Birth observed: "Papists were numerous and […] ambassador's houses were places of resort for them" (1907, 460). Therefore, it comes as no surprise to learn that within only two years of Giraldes's arrival in London, a distressing event took place at his residence in Tower Street. Revisiting it will provide an interesting glimpse into the past.

---

[2] "Edwyn, Bp. of Worcester, to Sir Wm Cecil; his grief that his refusing the Archbishopric of London has displeased him, &c. April 26, 1570" (Lands. MS).

In March 1573, Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, wrote two letters regarding the Portuguese Ambassador's "undue encouragement of the Mass." The first letter, written on 2nd March 1573, was addressed to William Cecil, the Lord Treasurer. The second letter, written two days later, was sent to Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester. Excerpts of both Sandy's letters were published and commented in 1838, in Wright's *Queen Elizabeth and Her Times: a Series of Original Letters*, later in 1907, in Birth's *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement: A Study of Contemporary Documents*, and more recently, in 2010, in Wagner's *Voices of Shakespeare´s England*. This paper, however, proposes to analyse these letters from a rather different standpoint, one that focuses on Francisco Giraldes, as well as on the clash between religious and political interests.

In the letter to Cecil, the Bishop of London presents his case:

> I learnt that the Mayor of London has fully advertised your Lordship touching our dealings with *this* Portingale, [the medieval English spelling for Portugal] who of too much boldness and without any Color of authority, has suffered massmongers of long time in his house, to the great degradation of God's glory, the great offense of the godly and religious, and contrary to the laws of this realm. I, understanding of it [...] required the Sheriff of London, Mr. Pipe, to apprehend such as he found there committing idolatry. (fol. 25)[3]

The Portuguese Ambassador found himself, therefore, in a very delicate situation. He had been surprised by the Sheriff's men while attending and hosting an illegal Mass. As they were prohibited, the celebrations of Mass usually took place early in the morning or late at night, in absolute secret. However, the wide net of intelligence set by Elizabeth's ministers made it impossible to predict whether or not one would be caught. Informants were everywhere, after all. One might only imagine the Ambassador's state of mind when the Sheriff's men burst into his home, much like Mortimer's description of a similar situation: that "frightening moment when a stranger knocks insistently on the door and you look at the terrified faces of those around you, wondering whether you have been discovered" (2013, 85).

---

[3] "Edwyn, Bp. of London, to the Lord Treasurer; concerning the Portuguese Ambassador's undue encouragement of the Mass. March 2, 1573" (Lands. MS).

But Giraldes had been discovered, and the Bishop's letter informs that the break-in was followed by a search. Signs of "idolatry" — "the worship of the calf"— were found, as he informs Cecil: "the altar prepared, the chalice, and their bread god" (fol. 25). Four students of law were detained, although the Bishop knew that "a great number of Englishmen […] minded to hear mass […] hid in the house" (fol. 25). Again, one might picture the Ambassador's guests hurriedly looking for a place to hide, while the authorities conducted their search.

The Portuguese Ambassador, however, did not hide. The Bishop informs: "Francis Gerald, the Portingale, offered to shoot dogs, to smite with his dagger and to kill in his rage" (fol. 25). Despite the Bishop's orders, the Sheriff neither detained the Ambassador nor arrested the priest. Consequently, the Bishop reports that "this Portingale is at court to complain" (fol. 25), implicitly assuming that "*the dealings with this Portingale*" had suffered an unexpected complication. Therefore, he appeals to Cecil's influence:

> […] to see that idolatrer and godless man sincerely punished, if you will let him over to me, and give me authority, I will hand him *secundum virtutes*. Your order I look for, and that I will see executed, so far as my power will reach. (fol. 25)

Two days later, no legal action had yet been taken against the Portuguese Ambassador. As if writing to the Lord Treasurer could not get his plea close enough to Elizabeth's ears, the Bishop writes to Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, the Queen's favourite and close friend at the time. The Bishop informs Dudley that "the Portingall has complained at court as if he should have been evil used" (fol. 26).[4] In a clear behind the scenes operation, the Bishop's letter expresses how astonished he was that no consequences had come upon "this idolatrous proud Portingale" (fol. 26), who celebrated Mass in his house "daily, Sundays and Holidays" with at least "twenty of her Majesty's subjects." The Bishop further informs that "the Sheriff apprehended few of a simple sort, but he suffered the author of this evil to escape" (fol. 25). All in all, for the Bishop of London this episode had also become a power struggle between himself and the Portuguese Ambassador. He could simply not

---

[4] "Edwyn, Bp. of London, to the Earl of Leicester; he warmly pleads against tolerating the Portuguese Ambassador to hear Mass, and calls him a calf-worshipper. March 4, 1573" (Lands. MS).

concede the juxtaposition of the political and the religious matters or how the former were taking priority over the absolute need to "purge the church of idolatry and superstitions" (fol. 25).

Moreover, in both of the letters, the Bishop reminds his addressees of the all-pervasive divine punishment awaiting those who "partake" in idolatry, even if covertly. The Bishop's Latin quotation of Jeremiah in the letter to the Earl of Leicester, "*Maledictus qui facit opus Domini fraudulenter*" (fol. 26) —"cursed be he that does the work of the Lord deceitfully" (Jeremiah 48:10)— entails God's idea of retribution upon those who perform His work deviously. Nonetheless, when quoting Jeremiah, the Bishop uses the noun "*negligenter*" instead of the original "*fraudulenter*," thus emphasising that "partaking" in episodes of idolatry could assume numerous forms, including that of neglecting, or overlooking, the justified and expected punishment upon those accountable for that godly sin. Assuming a more direct approach to this matter, the Bishop reminds the Lord Treasurer that "to wink at it [this episode of idolatry] is to be partaker of it" (fol. 25) and adds: "such an example is not to be suffered, God will be mightly angry with it, it is too offensive; if her Majesty should grant or tolerate it, she can never answer God for it" (fol. 25). Casting a veiled threat, the Bishop strongly warns about the risk the Queen's soul is taking, by bringing her own salvation into consideration. The matter could not get more serious.

These missives also express, rather evidently, the Bishop's loathing towards the Portuguese ambassador's conduct, as well as his contempt for the Ambassador himself. Such a conclusion is suggested by the numerous times Sandys uses the expression "*this* Portingale" or "*this* idolatrous and proud Portingall" [my emphasis]. The use of the demonstrative adjective "this" to qualify the noun "Portingale" gives the expression a further negative connotation. Moreover, in these quite elaborate and extensive missives, the Bishop writes the Ambassador's name only once in each of the letters: the letter to Cecil contains the anglicised forms of both the name and the surname "Francis Gerald" (fol. 25), but in the one to Dudley the surname "Gerald" sufficed (fol. 25). Thus, in his correspondence, the Bishop denies the Portuguese ambassador his primary and most significant designation of identity, his name. Additionally, in the Bishop´s letter to the Lord Treasurer, he never addresses the subject of his letters by his public office —the

Portuguese Ambassador— even though he mentions the Mayor of London and the Sheriff of London (fol. 25). In the Sheriff's case, the Bishop also mentions his surname, preceded by the honorific title "Mr.": "Mr. Pipe."

A closer examination of the manuscripts reveals two different sets of singular hand-writings, which might be explained by the use of secretaries. Another explanation might be found in the final lines of both the letters, indicating that they were "scribbled [...] in haste" (fols. 25, 26). Whatever the reason, the designation "Portingale" appears with two different spellings in the same manuscript ("Portingale" and "Portingall") a detail that cannot be explained in view of the author's learning, confirmed by the several passages in Latin in both letters (fol. 25). Although one should take into account the evolution of the spellings of the word Portugal, one might also read between the lines and include this (mis)spelling detail as yet further evidence of the Bishop's disregard of Giraldes. According to Annabel Patterson, reading between the lines in the Early Modern period was also "*writing* between the lines" (2004, 7). Ultimately, although articulating the author's idiosyncrasies, the analysis of such correspondence allows the reader to perceive how the Portuguese ambassador's *persona* was construed within a circle of very eminent people.

Notwithstanding the Bishop's appeals, the records show that in this clash of religious and secular forces, diplomacy did win. As an experienced ambassador, Francisco Giraldes had already established his reputation in Elizabeth's court as a skilful and resourceful negotiator, qualities that De Callières would later consider fundamental requirements for an ambassador (1716, 19–48).

Precisely due to Giraldes's celebrated authority as an ambassador, King D. Sebastião of Portugal had sent Giraldes to London, from his assignment in Flanders, to solve the commercial breakdown between the two nations, which had started in 1569 (Santarém 1865, cxliii). In fact, for more than a decade several other Portuguese ambassadors and envoys had been sent to England to solve the commercial differences that opposed the two nations, particularly concerning what the Portuguese government considered the illegal English trade in Portuguese territories, such as in Mina. As the diplomatic negotiations failed, the Portuguese government ordered all English ships arriving in Portuguese ports to be seized,

their cargo apprehended, their crew imprisoned, and all English ships navigating without Portuguese permission in Portuguese waters to be sunk (Santarém cxxxv). The commercial affairs between the two nations ceased and their friendly Alliance, which had lasted for almost 200 years, was broken. Consequently, a great deal depended on Giraldes's diplomatic abilities for both the nations, economically and politically. As the King of Portugal's Plenipotentiary, Giraldes worked closely within the inner circle of the English administration and he also had private audiences with the Queen, who favoured him. Giraldes's conduct must have been the embodiment of the Renaissance diplomat, someone who "understood that his job was to win and hold the confidence and respect of the people among whom he worked" (Mattingly 1955, 109). Apparently, the Bishop of London failed to realise how significant the Portuguese ambassador's role had become. The English Queen was simply not willing to initiate an additional disturbance in foreign affairs with Portugal, confirming Mattingly's observation that in the end most of the conflicts between ambassadors and local authorities "were settled by the intervention of the prince, who took less account of the principles of […] law than […] of the importance of the power [the ambassador] represented" (1955, 265).

Furthermore, one should also consider that the modern form of diplomatic immunity was being shaped by the time of this diplomatic incident. According to McClanahan, "the privileges and immunities of resident ambassadors in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were something of a new situation" (1989, 26), which meant that theorists were forced to adapt the familiar concept of the law of nations —*jus gentium*— into "a law among nations, a *jus inter gentes*," as Mattingly also noted (1955, 270). What had been accepted in the Middle Ages as "international law" was being questioned in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries with the creation and the later proliferation of resident embassies throughout a religiously divided Europe. Throughout the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Commonwealth of Christendom shared a common body of law, which "feudal customs, Christian moral, and Roman juristic thinking had inextricably and almost imperceptivity interwoven" (Mattingly 1955, 22). According to Watkins there are dialogues of continuity between the Medieval and the Renaissance periods that undermine Mattingly's "vision of a pre-eminently secular Renaissance

diplomacy carried out by increasingly professionalized residents that was later compromised by post-Reformation sectarism" (2008, 3). Notwithstanding these different perspectives, Europe had, as Butler points out, changed irrevocably:

> As Roman Catholicism, once the religion of the Western Europe, was replaced in certain countries by other forms of obedience — Lutherans, Calvinistic, Anglican and others— liberty in the choice of adequate representatives could only be secured to states by mutual exemption of the diplomatic corps from an obligation of conformity to the state religion. This practice grew slowly and was not established till men had begun to think as naturally in political as they did in religious terms. (2003, 89)

Consequently, in order to allow resident ambassadors to hold religious services in countries contrary to their faith, the *droit de chapelle* was progressively added to the immunities already granted to sixteenth century diplomatic envoys.[5] A practical problem had emerged from the way host governments should act towards resident ambassadors, which meant that a compromise between medieval theory and "modern" diplomatic practice had to be found. By the end of the seventeenth century, De Callières would refer to what was then a universally accepted right of diplomatic agents:

> Tous les Ambassadeurs, les Envoyez & les Residens ont droit de faire librement dans leurs maisons l'exercice de la Religion du Prince ou de l'Etat qu'ils servent, & d'y admettre tous les sujets du meme Prince qui se trouvent dans le pais ou ils resident. (1716, 101)

Therefore, regarding the Sheriff's invasion of the Portuguese ambassador's residence in Tower Street, one has to call to mind that the latter was under the recently and progressively attained *droit de chapelle*. According to McClanahan:

> First to grant this privilege were France and England, reluctantly followed a great deal later by Catholic Spain and Italy and Protestant Scandinavia and The Netherlands. In the end, tolerance for "heretical" chapels was gradually conceded. Because of the

---

[5] The others related to diplomatic immunity of ambassadors in transit, the immunity for debts contracted before the ambassador's diplomatic mission and the immunity from civil and criminal jurisdiction (Mattingly 1955, 257–261). McClanahan identifies the three major theories of diplomatic immunity from the sixteenth century onwards as personal representation, exterritoriality and functional necessity (1989, 27–34).

delicacy of the subject, the toleration was tacit rather than written. (1989, 27)

Nevertheless, it is important to consider that this right involved the questions as to "what kind of services could be celebrated in an ambassador's chapel and who might attend [them]" (Mattingly 1955, 266). As Mattingly points out, the answer to the first question is that ambassadors "as a mark of loyalty […] insisted on worshipping according to the rights of their homeland" (1955, 267). The answer to the second question relates to the principle enshrined in the 1555 religious Peace of Ausburg, *cuius region, eius religio* (whose realm, his religion), a principle that, as Brady points out, "made rulers responsible for the religious welfare, and ultimately consciences, of their subjects" (1994, 352). In this light, Giraldes and his embassy staff were allowed to hear Mass in the chapel of the ambassadorial residence in Tower Street, but that right was denied to the English subjects found there, whose religious practices had to conform to the Queen's. However, in Mattingly's opinion, "every ambassador was obliged, as a point of honour and evidence of his faith, to try to secure for near-by compatriots, as well as co-religionists, the privilege of attending his chapel" (1955, 267). That is why so many raids conducted by local authorities on ambassadorial residences are recorded: the arrest of English subjects attending Mass in Catholic ambassadors' chapels provided the "required" legal justification. That was the case with the invasion of the Spanish ambassador's residence in 1562, when De La Quadra was living in Durham Palace.[6] That was also the case with the Portuguese ambassador Manoel d'Alvares's infringement of diplomatic rights when his London house at Hoxton was raided on 26th October 1568. In this distressing situation, Alvares was aided by the Spanish and French ambassadors, who helped solve the disagreement with the London constables (Hume 1982–89, 80; Birth 1907, 455). Instances abound regarding the violation of what was then the growing axiom of "exterritoriality," a doctrine of diplomatic immunity that raised additional problems, as Barker admits:

> This theory [exterritoriality] asserted that not only was an ambassador and his retinue considered to be outside the jurisdiction of the receiving state but also, by some fiction, they

---

[6] Nonetheless, this episode was also strongly political. See Birth (1907, 449-452).

were considered actually to be outside the territory of that state.
(2006, 43)

As previously stated, the Privy Council had already established a legal resolution to overrule the inviolability of these "little islands of alien sovereignty," a designation coined by Mattingly (1955, 268). Consequently, these diplomatic incidents involved the opposition between the legal, political and religious local authorities, on the one hand, and, on the other, the international law that endowed the ambassadors with new immunities. But in the end, the outcome of the diplomatic incident opposing the Bishop of London and the Portuguese ambassador proves that the English government did not want to risk a diplomatic breach with Portugal (266).

Portuguese records do not offer any evidence as to whether Francisco Giraldes informed his sovereign about this incident, although we have to take into account that many invaluable documents —including much of the Portuguese diplomatic correspondence— were lost in the 1755 Lisbon earthquake and fire. Likewise, the State Papers Foreign do not include any reference to the diplomatic incident under analysis. Another valuable source of information, the Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs kept mainly at the Archives of Simancas, does not provide any further detail as to what occurred in this particular diplomatic incident (Hume 1982–89). The Bishop of London's letters seem to constitute, therefore, the single piece of evidence that allows this glimpse into the event. Nevertheless, if we consider Giraldes's surviving correspondence on other matters, together with additional records that outline his personal character and professional profile, we can speculate about what followed the 1573 raid on the Portuguese embassy.

Sandys refers to the Portuguese ambassador's vigorous protests, which included shouting at and threatening the trespassers. Ever adaptable, as diplomats need to be, Giraldes was well aware that in the sphere of politics, one acts on a stage of appearances. A public outburst of indignation limited the Sheriff's actions —much to the Bishop's disappointment— but it enabled Giraldes to present his case later in court, directly and in person. As Black observes, inscribed in the roles of diplomacy one also finds the art of "misleading opponents" (2010, 12). Once at court, in the presence of the Queen and the monarch's display of power, Giraldes certainly

engaged in a different *modus operandi*, undoubtedly more discreet but equally assertive or, in Giraldes's own words, an audience with the Queen that was an "occasion of soliciting skilfully and warmly" (*SP* 12, 464–82).[7] Such a performance was precisely in accordance with what Wicquefort would later recommend, bearing in mind that the court was, in fact, the most illustrious theatre stage:

> Mais comme le plus habile acteur n'est pas toujours sur le theatre, & change the maniere d'agir aprés que le rideau est tiré, ainsi l'Ambassadeur qui a bien jouer son rolle dans les fonctions de son caractere, doit faire l'honneste homme lors qu'il ne joue pas la comedie. (1689, 3–4)

The Portuguese ambassador had managed to come out of an unfavourable situation without risking his most important diplomatic mission, which was, as Barber noted, "the peaceful management of international relations" (1979, 6). That Giraldes continued to enjoy the Queen's favour long after this diplomatic incident is clearly demonstrated in a letter that the Portuguese ambassador wrote, on 9th December 1575, to D. Duarte Castelo Branco, in which Giraldes refers to the ship that the English Queen had offered him, so that his wife could sail under Elizabeth's protection and join him from Flanders (*Embaixada* fol. 124).

The Bishop of London, on the other hand, was appointed Archbishop of York in 1576. Rabb notes that Sandy's zeal and radicalism significantly declined over the years (1998, 5). One may wonder how the Bishop's failures in power struggles like the "intolerable business" with Giraldes contributed to soften his attitude.

And yet, further evidence suggests that Catholic ceremonies went on continuously in the Portuguese Ambassador's residence in London, until in 1576, when Giraldes was living in Charter House another incident occurred. As Hampton observes, "late sixteenth century England was the site of several important developments in diplomatic history, both theoretical and practical" as a consequence of the religious conflict, which resulted in a reconsideration of diplomacy (2009, 138). In this light —and despite the veil of oblivion that rests upon the Portuguese Ambassadors and their missions— it is significant to consider how the 1573 diplomatic incident involving

---

[7] *Calendar of State Papers Foreign: Elizabeth.*

Francisco Giraldes could somehow have contributed to the improvement and establishment of diplomatic privileges.

References

Aughterson, Kate, ed. 1998. "Papal Bull." In *The English Renaissance: An Anthology of Sources and Documents*, 36–37. London and New York: Routledge.

Bacon, Nicholas. 1682 (1559). "The Journal of the House of the Lords: Proceedings in the House of the Lords, in the Parliament holden at Westminster A° I° Regin. Eliz. A. D. 1558 & 1559." In *The Journals of All the Parliaments During the Reign of Queen Elizabeth both of The House of Lords and House of Commons*, edited by Paul Bowes, 31–35. London: John Starkey.

Barber, Peter. 1979. *Diplomacy: The World of the Honest Spy*. London: Longwood.

Barker, Craig J. 2006. *The Protection of Diplomatic Personnel*. Hampshire and Burlington: Ashgate Publishing.

Birth, Henry Norbert. 1907. *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement: A Study of Contemporary Documents*. London: George Bell.

Black, Jeremy. 2010. *A History of Diplomacy*. London: Reaktion Books.

Brady, Thomas A. *et al*, eds. 1994. *Handbook of European History 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*. Leiden, New York: Brill.

Bullein, William. 1888. *A Dialogue against the Feuer Pestilence*. Edited by Mark W. Bullen and A. H. Bullen. London: Early English Text Society by E. Trübner.

Butler, Geoffrey, and Simon Maccoby 2003 (1928). *The Development of International Law*. New Jersey: The Lawbook Exchange.

De Callières, François. 1716. *De la manière de négocier avec les Souverains*: *de l'utilité des négociations, du choix des ambassadeurs et des envoyez, et des qualitez necessaires pour réussir dans ces emplois*. Amsterdam: pour la Compagnie.

Elizabeth I. 1806 (1585). "The Queen's Speech at Proroguing the Parliament." In *The Parliamentary History of England, from the Earliest Period to the Year 1803*, edited by William Cobbett, Vol. 1, 833–34. London: T.C. Hansard, Peterborough-Court.

"Elizabeth: January 1578, 21–31." 1901. In *Calendar of State Papers Foreign, Elizabeth, Volume 12, 1577–78*, edited by Arthur John Butler, 464–82. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Eliot, T.S. 1975 (1939). "The Idea of a Christian Society." In *Selected Prose of T. S. Eliot*, edited by Frank Kermode, 285–291. London and Boston: Faber and Faber.

Embaixada e Governo de D. Duarte Castelo Branco 1571-1581 Vol. IV. Manuscritos da Biblioteca da Ajuda, Palácio Nacional da Ajuda. *Fols*. 123-125.

Grindal, Edmund. 1843. *The Remains of Edmund Grindal, D.D.: Successively Bishop of London and Archbishop of York and Canterbury*. Edited by Rev. William Nicholson. Cambridge: University Press.

Hampton, Timothy. 2009. *Fictions of Embassy: Literature and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press.

Hume, Martin A. S. ed. 1892-1899. *Calendar of Letters and State Papers relating to English Affairs preserved principally in the Archive of Simancas*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode.

Lansdowne Manuscripts. "Edwyn, Bp. of Worcester, to Sir Wm Cecil; his grief that his refusing the Archbishopric of London has displeased him, &c. April 26, 1570." MS British Library, Lansdowne 12. *fol*. 82.

———. "Edwyn, Bp. of London, to the Lord Treasurer; concerning the Portuguese Ambassador's undue encouragement of the Mass. March 2, 1573." MS British Library, Lansdowne 16. *fol*. 25.

———. "Edwyn, Bp. of London, to the Earl of Leicester; he warmly pleads against tolerating the Portuguese Ambassador to hear Mass, and calls him a calf-worshipper. March 4, 1573." MS British Library, Lansdowne 16. *fol*. 26.

Mattingly, Garrett. 1955. *Renaissance Diplomacy*. Middlesex and Victoria: Penguin.

McClanahan, Grant V. 1989. *Diplomatic Immunity: Principles, Practices, Problems*. London and Washington DC: C. Hurst & Co. Publishers.

Mortimer, Ian. 2013. *The Time Traveller's Guide to Elizabethan England*. London: Bodley Head.

Patterson, Annabel. 2004. *Reading between the Lines*. London: Routledge.

Rabb, Theodore. 1998. *Jacobean Gentleman: Sir Edwin Sandys, 1561–1629*. Princeton and West Sussex: Princeton University Press.

Sandys, Edwin. 1841. *The Sermons of Edwin Sandys, D. D., Successively Bishop of Worcester and London and Archbishop of York: To Which Are Added Some Miscellaneous Pieces by the Same Author*. Edited by John Ayre. Cambridge: Printed at the University Press.

Santarém, Manuel Francisco de Barros e Sousa, Visconde de, ed. 1865. *Quadro elementar das relações politicas e diplomaticas de Portugal: com as diversas potencias do mundo, desde o principio da monarchia portugueza até aos nossos dias.* Vol. 15. Lisboa: Academia Real das Ciências.

The Holy Bible. 2003 (1611). Authorized King James Version. NP: Thomas Nelson, Inc.

Wagner, John A. 2010. *Voices of Shakespeare´s England; Contemporary Accounts of Elizabethan Daily Life.* Santa Barbara: Greenwood.

Watkins, John. 2008. "Toward a New Diplomatic History of Medieval and Early Modern Europe." *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 38 (1): 1–14.

Wicquefort, Abraham de. 1689. *L'Ambassadeur et ses Fonctions.* Vol. 2. Cologne: chez Pierre Marteau.

Wright, Thomas. 1838. *Queen Elizabeth and her Times: a Series of Original Letters, Selected from the Inedited Private Correspondence of the Lord Treasurer Burghley, the Earl of Leicester, the Secretaries Walsingham and Smith, Sir Christopher Hatton, and Most of the Distinguished Persons of the Period.* Vol. I. London: Henry Colburn.

"The Mobile Shall Worship Thee": Cant language in Thomas Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688)

❧

"El populacho os adorará": Lenguaje "cant" en *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688), de Thomas Shadwell

Paula Schintu
Universidad de Salamanca, Spain

ABSTRACT

The dramatic increase in criminality in sixteenth-century England was behind the emergence of a new type of literary work known as "rogue literature," which dealt with the life and activities of beggars and lawbreakers. These rogues' language, cant, became a major concern for many authors, who attached glossaries to their works for the benefit of those who were not familiar with it, marking the beginning of canting lexicography. It is within this framework that Thomas Shadwell (1640–1692) wrote his famous *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688), which is the focus of this study. This paper explores the use of cant language in this celebrated play from a linguistic and lexicographic point of view, arguing that its profuse employment of canting terminology, much of which is first documented in the play, made a significant contribution to studies in canting lexicography and proved its reliability as a historical portrait of seventeenth-century English cant.

KEYWORDS: canting lexicography, Thomas Shadwell, *The Squire of Alsatia*, cant language, seventeenth century.

RESUMEN

El drástico aumento de la criminalidad en la Inglaterra del siglo XVI causó la aparición de un nuevo tipo de obras literarias conocidas como literatura picaresca, que narraba la vida y actividades de vagabundos y criminales. El lenguaje de estos pícaros, el cant, se convirtió en una cuestión de interés para muchos autores, que incluían glosarios en sus obras en beneficio de aquellos lectores que no estuvieran familiarizados con él, marcando así los inicios de la lexicografía cant. Es en este contexto cuando Thomas Shadwell (1640-1692) escribió su famosa *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688), foco de este estudio. Este trabajo explora el uso del lenguaje cant en esta célebre obra desde un punto de vista lingüístico y lexicográfico, sosteniendo que su abundante uso de esta terminología, mucha de la cual se documenta por primera vez en la obra, constituye una importante contribución a los estudios de lexicografía cant y demuestra su fiabilidad como testimonio histórico del cant inglés en el siglo XVII.

PALABRAS CLAVE: lexicografía "canting"; Thomas Shadwell; *The Squire of Alsatia*; lenguaje "cant"; siglo XVII.

1. Cant Language or the Language of Thieves: Socio-historical Background

In 1567, Thomas Harman (*fl.* 1547–1567) published his *Caveat or Warening for Commen Cursetors* in an attempt to warn his contemporaries about the dangers of the growing number of rogues and criminals that threatened to take over English streets. In order to reveal their tricks, he provided his readers with a short glossary

containing words of "the leud, lousy language of these lewtering Luskes and lasy Lorrels" (qtd. in Gotti 1999, 117) which constituted the first record of this secret underworld speech in the history of the English language, and made him, inadvertently, the founder of canting lexicography. From Harman's list onwards, many glossaries and dictionaries devoted to cant have appeared which have received extensive scholarly attention (Blank 1996, 33-68; Gotti 1999; Coleman 2004).

The term *cant*, most likely deriving from the Latin verb *cantare* 'to sing', was first employed in the sixteenth century to refer to the whining tones of English rogues and criminals' speech. Thomas Harman's work, as Gotti explains, constitutes the earliest written evidence of the word in this sense, being defined as "a unknowen toung onely but to these bold, beastly, bawdy Beggers and vaine Vacabondes, being halfe myngled with Englyshe" (qtd. in Gotti 1999, 117).[1] Similarly, more modern definitions describe cant as "the dialect of a criminal underworld" (Blank 1996, 53), or "the language used by beggars and criminals to hide their dishonest and illegal activities from potential victims" (Coleman 2004, 4).

From a historical perspective, however, the definition of *cant* has not always been clearly demarcated. As Julie Coleman explains, early modern dictionary compilers argued that cant was not a variety of English but a separate language since "*The Dictionary of the Canting Tongue* is a more compelling title than *A Selection of Words used by Thieves and Beggars*" (2004, 5). Furthermore, English rogues and Gypsies were often confused in the period: in John Shirley's (*fl.* 1685–1688) words, "[Gypsies] are no others than English beggars, thieves and vagabonds, that discolour their faces, necks and hands with bacon-grease and soot in the Winter, and with green shells or husks of walnuts in the Summer" (qtd. in Coleman 2004, 6). Consequently, Gypsies' language, Romany, and cant were confused, commentators treating cant as a distinct language instead of considering it a variety of English. Moreover, according to Blank (1996, 54), cant appears to have been identified with another register of English, jargon, given the fact that both of them were used by specific social groups to speak about their own issues, excluding

---

[1] Thomas Harman's work provides the first documentation for the word *cant* in the *OED*. However, the term is recorded as a verb, *to cant*, with the meaning 'to speak in the whining or singsong tone used by beggars; to beg'.

outsiders, who were not able to understand their "secret language." However, Coleman makes a very clear distinction between jargon and cant: whilst jargon is used by professionals or people with similar interests to speak accurately about technical concerns, cant is used specifically by rogues and criminals, and its main function is deception and concealment (2004, 4).

Then, as reflected in Coleman's definition (2004, 4), cant in early modern England was the variety chosen by beggars and criminals to perform their illegal activities and try to hide them from the rest of society. It is not a language different from English; it is a register, or rather a sociolect since it is used by a distinct social group. As a result, this sociolect creates and shapes what is called an in-group, a social group to which its members feel emotionally attached. Through cant, early modern English rogues created alternative communities, subcultures, in-groups, which had their own rules, manners and lifestyles (Gaby 1994, 401).

Cant language became noticeable in the sixteenth century as a result of the significant distress caused by the increase in vagrancy and criminality that took place in the period. As reported in many documents of the time, by the second half of the century, the number of rogues and unemployed men had reached around 13,000 people in the country (Gotti 1999, 6). This sudden rise was due to certain socio-economic and demographic factors, the most important of which was an outstanding growth of the population, which rose from three to four million inhabitants between 1500 and 1600. Together with the enclosure of agricultural land that affected around 35,000 rural English families between 1455 and 1637, this increase in population led to an influx of people towards the cities, especially to London, whose population grew six-fold, from 60,000 in 1550 to almost 400,000 in 1650 (Gotti 1999, 8–10). This led to unemployment, impoverishment and its most immediate consequence: vagrancy and crime (But 2011a, 3). London became a haven for criminals:

> The very size of London and the heterogeneity of its population greatly helped the discreditable, who found a safe refuge there, particularly in some poor and densely-populated suburbs (especially in the district called 'Alsatia' and in the Southwark area), where the risk of being caught was low and social protection high. (Gotti 1999, 11)

Consequently, from the sixteenth century on, the population in England, especially in London, was divided into the ordinary working class and a menacing underworld composed of numerous rogues, beggars and criminals (Staves 1993, 692).

As a result of this increase in criminality, there was a growing feeling of anxiety among the population, who became obsessed with rogues and crime. Many writers reacted to this concern and started writing about the underworld and its practices (But 2011b, 3). One of the first to do so, as previously noted, was Thomas Harman in his *Caveat or Warening for Commen Cursetors* (1567), who tried to reflect his contemporary situation as accurately as possible (Gaby 1994, 403), and started recording the words that rogues used in order to warn the population about their dangers. Interestingly, many early modern English writers saw in this prevailing concern about the criminal underworld and its language a source of personal profit since people also seemed to be fascinated by and attracted to the dangerous unknown. Authors took advantage of the "fictional possibilities and the extraordinary popularity of the material" (Noyes 1941, 469), and booksellers exploited the appealing market opportunities of the growing concern with crime (Coleman 2004, 185). As a consequence, the dangerously appealing rogues, their lifestyle and their language soon started to populate early modern writing and the emerging cant and slang glossaries associated with it (Coleman 2004, 19).

2. Thomas Shadwell and *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688)

Among the early modern English writers who obtained great success through the use of rogue literature was Thomas Shadwell, born in Norfolk around 1640. Shadwell was one of eleven children born in a well-to-do family, so he received a good education. He started writing at an early age, and, in 1668, his first play, *The Sullen Lovers*, was premiered. In 1681, he was involved in a controversy sparked by *The Lancashire Witches and Teague O'Dively, the Irish Priest*, which was an anti-Catholic satire. The text had been censored, but Shadwell decided to print it uncut, leading to his silencing as a playwright until 1688, when he presented *The Squire of Alsatia* with enormous success (Bennet). One of the most interesting features of Shadwell's writing is his skill with depicting different linguistic

varieties, which can be demonstrated in the pages of some of his plays, such as *The Lancashire Witches* (1682), in which he depicts the Lancashire dialect and Irish English. Similarly, in *The Squire of Alsatia* it is possible to observe not only the standard variety of English used at the time, but also the northern dialect and, most interestingly, cant language.

The source of his familiarity with this underworld variety is not very clear, but it may derive from his years of education. As William Hand Browne explains (1913, 258–59), Shadwell was a Templar, that is, a law student in the Middle Temple in London. Templars had a close relationship with "the lawless crew that infested the adjoining purlieus of White Friars." This area, which bordered the Thames, was nicknamed 'Alsatia', after Alsace, a district between France and Germany with unstable law jurisdiction that served as a shelter for rogues and criminals. The Temple, where law students like Shadwell lived, was separated from White Friars only by a wall, which established a peculiar alliance between the students and the lawbreakers, who used to help each other when needed. In addition, he lived in London for a long time and was aware of the criminal environment of the period. It is probable that Shadwell used both his experiences and the knowledge of the underworld he gained during his studies at the Temple and his stay in London to write *The Squire of Alsatia*, which depicts the early modern English criminal underworld and its canting speech.

3. Canting language in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688): Lexicographic Notes

Due to the need to facilitate intelligibility to an audience that was not usually familiar with the register,[2] *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688) was first published with a short glossary annexed in which the author included the cant terms used in it. This short list has become an object of study for lexicographers, and one of the sources for many

---

[2] As noted by Coleman (2004, 185), it is generally accepted that the main audience of roguish works such as Shadwell's play ranged from the highest social classes, (as the epistles to the reader found in many of them suggest), to the middle class, including tradesmen and other lower rank professionals who were not familiar with cant and went to the theatre in search for entertainment or a general understanding of this secret language and its speakers.

dictionaries on the subject. The glossary is arranged by semantic fields and it includes forty-eight entries that are not arranged alphabetically. The entries consist of the cant term used by the rogue characters in the play followed by a simple definition that attempts to provide an equivalent in Standard English. The entry for *sealer*, for example, reads: 'one that gives bonds and judgments for goods and money'. However, these forty-eight cant words are not the only ones that appear in *The Squire of Alsatia*; there are words which are not listed in the glossary but are used in the dialogue of the play. To undertake this study, a corpus of sixty-three cant terms used in the play has been compiled so as to analyse the type of words used and their lexicographic potential assessed by comparing the results found in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth *OED*) and the *Lexicons of Early Modern English* (henceforth *LEME*) database. In this manner, I explore the reliability of the text as a portrayal of the early modern English canting tongue. The corpus has been divided into several categories in which the terms have been classified according to semantic criteria to comment on the most relevant examples from a lexicographic point of view (terms which are first documented in the play, for example). Since "canting language was expressive of the disorderly conduct of its speakers" (Blank 1996, 54), all the terms appearing in *The Squire of Alsatia* are concerned with the rogues' interests: clothing, food and drink (or the state of being drunk), insults, prostitutes, money, running away, trickery, and violence; which coincide with the glossary semantic fields.

3.1. Clothing

Cant term	Definition[3]	OED[4]	LEME
Famble	'A ring'	1688	1673
Joseph	'A long cloak'	1659	1699
Rigging	'An item of clothing; (more usually) clothing, dress'	1664	1688

---

[3] In what follows, all definitions have been taken from the *OED* unless otherwise indicated.

[4] Detailed information about the exact *OED* and *LEME* references for the terms can be found in the appendix below.

Rumm Nab	'A good beaver'[5]	–	1688
Scout	'Used allusively for 'watch'= pocket timepiece'	1688	1673
Tattler	'A striking watch, a repeater; a watch in general'	1688	1688

Table 1: Cant terms related to clothing in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

Table 1 shows the cant terms for both clothing and jewelry. It includes six terms for which *The Squire of Alsatia* is quoted as the first documentation or first recorded use in English for *tattler* both in the *OED* and *LEME*. The words *rigging* and *rumm nab* are also interesting from a lexicographic point of view: although the *OED* first cites *rigging* in 1664, before the publication of Shadwell's play, it does not label it as a cant or slang word. In addition, it does not include *rumm nab* on its records. By contrast, *LEME* does include the two words, and the first citation for both of them belongs to *The Squire of Alsatia*, where they are specifically listed as a cant word.

3.2. Food and Drink (or the state of being drunk)

Cant term	Definition	*OED*	*LEME*
Bowsy	'Showing the effects of boozing or intoxication, influenced or affected by much drinking'	1529	1688
Bumper	'A cup or glass of wine etc., filled to the brim, esp. when drunk as a toast'	1677	1699
Clear	'Very drunk'	1688	1688
Facer	'A large cup or tankard esp. such a cup filled to the brim'	1527	1699
Prog	'Food; esp. provisions for a journey, (also) a quantity of food, a meal'	1655	1688

Table 2: Cant terms related to food, drink, or the state of being drunk in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

---

[5] The definition for *rumm nab* has been extracted from the glossary in *The Squire of Alsatia*.

The lexicographic importance of *The Squire of Alsatia* is likewise manifested when we consider some of the words in Table 2. *Bowsy*, which is not considered cant in the *OED*, and *clear* are first documented as part of this specific variety in the play; and *bumper* has also some interesting aspects worth remarking. Whilst the *OED* does not mark this term as a cant word, neither through labelling nor by relating it to any canting work, *LEME* quotes it for the first time in *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (1699), attesting to its belonging to the underworld variety. This suggests that the play antedates the records found for this word as characteristically cant in the *OED* since *The Squire of Alsatia* constitutes its first recorded use as part of the canting tongue, thus contributing to the studies on canting lexicography.

3.3. Insults

Cant term	Definition	OED	LEME
Bubble	'One who may be or is 'bubbled'; dupe, a gull'	1668	1688
Bully	'The 'gallant' or protector of a prostitute; one who lives by protecting prostitutes'	1706	1699
Caravan	'An object of plunder'	1688	1688
Cod	'A slang appellation applied to persons, with various forces'	1699	1699
Mobile	'The mob, the rabble; the common people, the populace'	1676	1699
Prig	'A dandy, a fop'	1676	1673
Prigster	'An excessively precise or particular person; (also more generally) an objectionable person'	1688	1688
Put	'A stupid or foolish person, a blockhead'	1688	1699

Table 3: Cant terms related to insults in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

The Squire of Alsatia gives the first documentation for three of the words in Table 3: *caravan*, *prigster* and *put*. Moreover, although the *OED* does not label *bully*[6] and *mobile* as cant, *LEME* cites them in *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (1699), acknowledging its canting nature. Besides, the term *cod* is also first documented in both the *OED* and *LEME* in *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (1699). As a result, these three words, just like *bumper* in the previous group, antedate the records of these two dictionaries since the terms could be observed already in 1688 in *The Squire of Alsatia.*

3.4. Prostitutes

Cant term	Definition	*OED*	*LEME*
Blowing	'A wench, trull'	1819	1688
Buttock	'A common strumpet'	1673	1688
Convenient	'A mistress, concubine'	1676	1688
Natural	'A mistress'	1674	1688
Peculiar	'A man's wife or mistress'	1615	1699
Pure	'A kept mistress'	1688	1688
Tackle	'A mistress'	1688	1699

Table 4: Cant terms for 'prostitute' in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

The most remarkable words in Table 4, which includes the terms used for 'prostitute' in the play, are *blowing*, *convenient*, *natural*, *pure* and *tackle*, words that, again, are first attested in *The Squire of Alsatia*,

---

[6] Although the term *bully* ('the 'gallant' or protector of a prostitute; one who lives by protecting prostitutes') is first documented in the *OED* in Defoe's *Jure Divino* (1706), the word had semantic nuances in different contexts, and thus, it is also reflected in a different entry which quotes it in Shadwell's *The Bury Fair* (1688) with the meaning 'a blustering 'gallant'; a bravo, hector, or swash-buckler'.

since *convenient* and *natural* are not labeled as cant or slang in the *OED*.

3.5. Money

Cant term	Definition	*OED*	*LEME*
Cole	'Money'	1673	1673
Darby	'Ready money'	1682	1688
Decus	'A crown-piece'	1688	1688
Equip	'In slang or jocular use, o present with a sum of money''	1699	1688
George	'A coin, spec. a half-crown'	1660	1688
Hog	'A shilling'	1673	1673
Meggs	'A guinea'	1688	1688
Rag	'A small or the smallest possible amount of money; (cant) a farthing'	1592	1699
Ready	'Ready money, cash'	1684	1688
Rhino	'Money'	1628	1688
Rhinocerical	'Wealthy, rich'	1688	1688
Sice	'Sixpence'	1660	1688
Smelts	'A half-guinea'	1635	1688

Table 5: Cant terms related to money in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

The semantic field shown in Table 5 is the largest one; the terms concerning money are among the most used and repeated in Shadwell's work. This shows the importance that rogues gave to money in the play, and, presumably, in seventeenth-century England. Similar to previous cases, this group also contains terms which are recorded for the first time in *The Squire of Alsatia* by the *OED* and *LEME*: *decus*, *equip*, *meggs*, and *rhinocerical*.

3.6. Running away

Cant term	Definition	OED	LEME
Rubb	'To run away'[7]	1673	1688
Scamper	'To run away'	1687	1688
Scoure	'To run away'	1592	1673

Table 6: Cant terms related to running away in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

Table 6 contains the terms that Shadwell's rogues use as a synonym for 'run away'. Whilst the use of *rubb* and *scoure* in this play does not make a significant contribution to the study of canting lexicography since they appear attested as part of this variety in previous works, the word *scamper* deserves attention. Although its first citation in the *OED* dates from 1687, one year before *The Squire of Alsatia* appeared, this term is not labelled as a cant word. Nevertheless, *LEME* shows that *scamper* was used in cant language by citing it in *The Squire of Alsatia*, so its first documentation as a cant word is actually Shadwell's play.

3.7. Trickery

Cant term	Definition	OED	LEME
Banter	'A pleasant way of prating, which seems in earnest, but is in jest, a sort of ridicule'[8]	1688	1699
Cut a Sham	'To play a Rogue's trick'	1700	1673
Doctor	'A false or loaded dice'	1697	1688
Sealer	'One that gives bonds and judgments for goods and money'	1688	1688
Sharper	'A cheat, swindler, rogue; one who lives by his wits and by taking advantage of the simplicity of others;	1681	1688

---

[7] The definitions for *rubb*, *scamper* and *scoure* are taken from the glossary in *The Squire of Alsatia*.

[8] The definitions for *banter* and *to cut a sham* are taken from *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (1699). The definition for *sealer* has been extracted from the glossary in *The Squire of Alsatia*.

	esp. a fraudulent gamester'		
Tatt	'Dice; esp. false or loaded dice'	1688	1699
Tatmonger	'Sharper who uses false dice'	1688	1688

Table 7: Cant terms related to trickery in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

The Squire of Alsatia provides the first citation for five of the words in Table 7: *banter*, *doctor*, *sealer*, *tatt*, and *tatmonger*. As in previous cases, although *sharper* first appears in 1681 in the *OED*, it is not considered a cant term, so its first documentation as such is, again, provided by Shadwell's play in *LEME*.

3.8. Violence

Cant term	Definition	*OED*	*LEME*
Lugg out	'To pull, give a pull to give, to pull by (the ear, hair, etc.)'	1684	1688
Porker	'A sword'	1688	1688
Sock	'A blow; a beating'	1699	1699
Tilter	'A rapier or sword'	1688	1688
Whip	'To pierce with a sword-thrust, to run through'	1699	–

Table 8: Cant terms related to violence in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

Table 8 includes terms for violent actions and the objects used to undertake them —swords. Here, both *porker* and *tilter* are first quoted from the play both in the *OED* and *LEME*, thus acknowledging the relevance of *The Squire of Alsatia* in cant studies. In addition, two of these terms are first documented in *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (1699): *sock* and *whip*. However, these words were already used by Shadwell in *The Squire of Alsatia* in 1688, thus again, antedating the findings of both *OED* and *LEME*.

3.9. Others

Cant term	Definition	*OED*	*LEME*
A Bolter of White-Fryers	'One that does but peep out of White-Fryers, and retire again like a rabbit out of his hole'[9]	1699	1688
Alsatia	'The precinct of Whitefriars in London, where debtors and criminals were immune from arrest'	1676	1688
Crump	'One that helps Sollicitors to Affidavit-men'	1699	1699
Ogling	'The action of ogle v.; the giving of admiring, amorous, flirtatious, or lecherous looks'	1682	1699
Sharp	'Subtle'	–	1688
Smoaky	'Quick to suspect or take note; shrewd, sharp, suspicious'	1688	1688
Trout	'A confidential friend or servant'	1661	1699

Table 9: Other cant terms in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688)

Finally, Table 9 includes seven terms which do not fit in any of the previous semantic fields. The expression *a bolter of White-fryers* and the words *sharp* and *smoaky* are documented for the first time in *The Squire of Alsatia*. In addition, *crump* and *ogling* antedate the records in the *OED* and *LEME*; both of them appear documented as cant terms in 1699, (since the *OED* does not label *ogling* as cant), when Shadwell had already used them in his rogue play.

5. Conclusions

In this study, I have proposed a linguistic and lexicographic approach to cant language in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688). By means of the analysis of the canting lexical repertoire used in this play, it has been possible to gain valuable insight into seventeenth-century

---

[9] The definition for *a bolter of White-Fryers* has been taken from the glossary in *The Squire of Alsatia*, whilst the one for *crump* has been extracted from *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (1699).

canting tongue in England, as well as acknowledging the importance of Shadwell's play in studies on canting lexicography. The survey of the data has shown that the relevance of *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688) lies not only in the amount of cant terms that it contains, but also in the important number of earliest lexicographic documentations that the play provides for many of them. Of a total of sixty-three, up to thirty-seven terms such as *tattler, clear, caravan, blowing*, etc., are first attested in the play: 58.7% of the total number of cant words used by Shadwell. Furthermore, of these first documented terms, eight of them —*bully, bumper, cod, crump, mobile, ogling, sock* and *whip*— antedate the records found in the *OED* and *LEME*, shedding further light on the historical conception of this underworld variety. Remarkably, all the words employed in the play appear documented in other works, either in previous or later citations, such as Richard Head's *The Canting Academy* (1673) and B.E.'s *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (1699). That, together with the author's knowledge of the register, undoubtedly demonstrates the reliability of the play as a representation of early modern English cant and reinforces its importance and validity in cant studies. Taken together, these facts show the relevance of *The Squire of Alsatia* to canting lexicography and, more importantly, make a significant contribution to the study of cant language in early modern England, filling some existing gaps that may allow us to undertake more comprehensive studies in the field.

6. Appendix

Clothing

Cant term	*OED*	*LEME*[10]
Famble	sv. famble n^1. 2	*TCA*
Joseph	sv. joseph n. 2	*DTCC*
Rigging	sv. rigging n^2. 3	*TSA*
Rumm Nab	–	*TSA*

[10] In what follows, the acronyms *TCA*, *TSA*, and *DTCC* will be used for Richard Head's *The Canting Academy* (1673), Thomas Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688), and B.E. *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* (1699), respectively.

Scout	sv. scout n[4]. 4.b	*TCA*
Tattler	sv. tattler n. 2	*TSA*

Table 10: Cant terms related to clothing in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

Food and Drink (or the State of Being Drunk)

Cant term	*OED*	*LEME*
Bowsy	sv. boozy adj[1]. 1	*TSA*
Bumper	sv. bumper n[1]. 1	*DTCC*
Clear	sv. clear adj. A. V. 24	*TSA*
Facer	sv. facer n. 2	*DTCC*
Prog	sv. prog n[2]. 2.a	*TSA*

Table 11: Cant terms related to food, drink, or the state of being drunk in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

Insults

Cant term	*OED*	*LEME*
Bubble	sv. bubble n. 5	*TSA*
Bully	sv. bully n[1]. II. 4.	*DTCC*
Caravan	sv. caravan n. 1.b	*TSA*
Cod	sv. cod n[5]. 1	*DTCC*
Mobile	sv. mobile n[2].	*DTCC*
Prig	sv. prig n[3]. A. II. 3	*TCA*
Prigster	sv. prigster n. 2	*TSA*
Put	sv. put n[3].	*DCTT*

Table 12: Cant terms related to insults in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

Prostitutes

Cant term	OED	LEME
Blowing	sv. blowen n.	TSA
Buttock	sv. buttock n. 5	TSA
Convenient	sv. convenient n. B. 3	TSA
Natural	sv. natural n¹. II. 8.b	TSA
Peculiar	sv. peculiar n. B. 3.d	DTCC
Pure	sv. pure n. C. 4	TSA
Tackle	sv. tackle n. 7	DTCC

Table 13: Cant terms for 'prostitute' in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

Money

Cant term	OED	LEME
Cole	sv. cole n³.	TCA
Darby	sv. darby n. 3	TSA
Decus	sv. decus n.	TSA
Equip	sv. equip v. 2.b	TSA
George	sv. george n. 2.a	TSA
Hog	sv. hog n¹. IV. 11.a	TCA
Meggs	sv. meg n². 1	TSA
Rag	sv. rag n². II. 6.c	DTCC
Ready	sv. ready n. D. 1	TSA
Rhino	sv. rhino n¹.	TSA
Rhinocerical	sv. rhinocerical adj. 1	TSA
Sice	sv. sice n. 3	TSA
Smelts	sv. smelt n².	TSA

Table 14: Cant terms related to money in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

Running away

Cant term	OED	LEME
Rubb	sv. rub n³.	TSA
Scamper	sv. scamper v. 1	TSA
Scoure	sv. scour v¹. 1.c	TCA

Table 15: Cant terms related to running away in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

Trickery

Cant term	OED	LEME
Banter	sv. banter v. 5	DTCC
Cut a Sham	sv. sham n¹. A. 1.a	TCA
Doctor	sv. doctor n. 12	TSA
Sealer	sv. sealer n¹. 4	TSA
Sharper	sv. sharper n¹. 2	TSA
Tatt	sv. tat n¹. 1	DTCC
Tatmonger	sv. tat-monger n.	TSA

Table 16: Cant terms related to trickery in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

Violence

Cant term	OED	LEME
Lugg out	sv. lug v. 5.b	TSA
Porker	sv. porker n. 2	TSA
Sock	sv. sock n⁴. 1	DTCC
Tilter	sv. tilter n¹. 1.b	TSA
Whip	sv. whip v. I. 3	–

Table 17: Cant terms related to violence in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688).

Others

Cant term	*OED*	*LEME*
A Bolter of White-Fryers	sv. bolter n². 1.b	TSA
Alsatia	sv. alsatia n. 1	TSA
Crump	sv. crump n³.	DTCC
Ogling	sv. ogling n.	DTCC
Sharp	–	TSA
Smoaky	sv smoky adj. A. 10	TSA
Trout	sv. trout n¹. 4.a	DTCC

Table 18: Other cant terms in *The Squire of Alsatia* (1688)

References

Primary sources

Lancashire, Ian, ed. 2006. *Lexicons of Early Modern English*. University of Toronto Press. Accessed 28 June 2016. http://leme.library.utoronto.ca/.

Profitt, Michael et al., eds. 2000. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. Oxford University Press. Accessed 28 June 2016. http://www.oed.com/.

Shadwell, Thomas. 1688. *The Squire of Alsatia*. London: Printed by James Knapton. Early English Books Online: English Prose Drama Full-Text Database.

Secondary sources

Bennett, Kate. 2004. "Shadwell, Thomas (c.1640–1692)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blank, Paula. 1996. *Broken English. Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings*. London: Routledge.

Browne, William Hand. 1913. "Thomas Shadwell." *The Sewanee Review* 21 (3): 257–76.

But, Roxanne. 2011a. "'A Kind of Gibberish Used by Thieves and Gypsies': The Social Significance of 'Cant' in the Eighteenth Century." Presentation at the Crime and the City Symposium of the Moot Court, School of Law, University of Sheffield, 4 February 2011.

———. 2011b. "Unconventional Language Use in the Past: The Pragmatics of Slang in an Eighteenth-Century Context." Presentation at the School of

English's Postgraduate Colloquium, University of Sheffield, 23 May 2011.

Cannadine, David, ed. 2004. *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coleman, Julie. 2004. *A History of Cant and Slang Dictionaries. Volume I: 1567–1784*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Gaby, Rosemary. 1994. "Of Vagabonds and Commonwealths: *Beggars' Bush*, *A Jovial Crew*, and *The Sisters*." *Studies in English Literature* 34 (2): 401–24.

Gotti, Maurizio. 1999. *The Language of Thieves and Vagabonds: 17th and 18th Century Canting Lexicography in England*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

Noyes, Gertrude E. 1941. "The Development of Cant Lexicography in England, 1566–1785." *Studies in Philology* 38: 462–79.

Staves, Susan. 1993. "Recent Studies in the Restoration and Eighteenth Century." *Studies in English Literature* 33 (3): 659–703.

Author's contact: paulaschintu@gmail.com

Postal address: Departamento de Filología Inglesa – C/Placentinos, 18 – 37008 Salamanca – Spain

Reviews

Manuel J.Gómez-Lara, María José Mora, Paula de Pando, Rafael Portillo, Juan A. Prieto-Pablos and Rafael Vélez Núñez, eds. 2014.
Restoration Comedy 1660–1670. A Catalogue
Amherst, NY: Teneo Press.

Ángeles Tomé Rosales

Centro de Linguas, Fundación Universidade de Vigo, Spain

Restoration Comedy 1660–1670. A Catalogue is the first volume in a series whose main goal is "to offer an objective, detailed view of all Restoration comedies, based on the descriptive and quantitative information obtained from an analysis of the plays" (3). In order to achieve this aim, the members of the research team from the University of Seville who launched The Restoration Comedy Project take the various aspects of the production of the plays and their dual nature as literary and performance texts into account. As this first volume covers the years 1660–1670, its main section, titled "Comedy Files," includes 92 files, one for each of the plays written and/or performed in England during this decade. Each file provides information about the play's title, author, printing history, modern editions, performances, preface, dedication, prologue, epilogue, characters, location and time setting, plot summary, genre, stage directions, songs and dances, and sources.

This main section is preceded by a comprehensive introduction which explains the methodology employed, advances a series of conclusions derived from the collected data, and incorporates explanatory tables and figures. The "Introduction" is divided into 13 sections: 1. Preface, 2. The Corpus, 3. Title Pages, 4. Performance, 5. Prints and Reprints, 6. Prefatory Matter, 7. Dramatic Structure, 8. Genres and Sub-genres, 9. Tables of Characters, 10. The Actors, 11. Stage Directions, 12. Music, and 13. Sources. In the "Preface," the

editors explain the main goal of their project and the importance of this volume as part of their research project. "The Corpus" is made up of the criteria the research team used for the choice of the works which have been included in this first volume. The section "Title Pages" deals with the 15 different items which can be found on the title pages, which are placed in a fairly standard order and grouped into six main areas, as explained in this section. In "Performance," the editors make reference to the sources they had to resort to in order to find out whether the works had been performed or not. Taking this information into account, they split the section up into four sub-sections: Premiere dates, Revivals, Unacted plays, and Companies and playhouses. "Prints and Reprints" focuses on the 71 printed plays and on the 30 reprinted texts. The 3 sub-sections of "Prefatory Matter" make reference to the most important paratextual additions to the plays: Dedications, Prefaces and epistles to the reader, and Prologues and epilogues. In "Dramatic Structures," the authors explore to what extent both the external and internal structures are worth considering. Therefore, this section deals with Acts and entr'actes, Scenes, and the three unities (time, place and action), which are also relevant when dealing with the structure of these plays. In "Genres and Sub-genres," the editors state that, despite the existence of a series of crossover cases, the comedies contained in this volume may be ascribed to at least three major generic groups: romantic, comic, and satirical. The section "Tables of Characters" deals with the type of information provided by such lists although it sticks to the five main types of characters portrayed in these comedies: gallants, women of honour, helpers, blocking characters, and comic butts. In "Actors," not only do the editors focus on both the actors and actresses who worked for the Duke's Company or the King's Company but they also pay special attention to those who engaged in common strategies such as cross-dressing. In "Stage Directions," the editors make reference to the importance of stage directions for a full understanding of the play, which is the reason why they decided to catalogue them all. The section "Music" deals mainly with the occurrence of musical turns in 60 plays out of a total of 74 and with their place in the comedies. Finally, in "Sources," the editors refer to the topics, situations, and characters which Restoration dramatists drew from previous literary productions. Apart from the detailed introduction, a series of appendices which follows the core section allows for a quick search

of specific data: title and author's name variants, plays listed by title/author, title-pages, performance, prints and reprints, prefatory material, dramatic structure, genres, character types, actor's roles, stage directions, music, sources and a select bibliography.

Without doubt, *Restoration Comedy 1660–1670. A Catalogue* must be regarded as an invaluable source of information for anyone interested in the plays written and/or performed in that decade. Despite the undeniable importance of the core section, it is worth highlighting the introduction which precedes the comedy files. The detailed description of the different parts of a play together with the analysis of the factors which influenced the writing and/or production of plays at the time makes this volume an essential work for anyone interested in Restoration comedies. Not only is it a magnificent starting point for students who would like to plunge into the theatrical world of the period, but it may also be a useful reference manual for scholars who are widely read in Restoration Comedy as it will allow them to find any important detail related to the large number of plays written and/or performed during this time. It is also necessary to mention the methodology used by the editors: taking the resulting volume into account, it is obvious that the editors devoted a long time to the elaboration of a comprehensive system of analysis which they apply to every play. Although the introduction may be considered one of the most important parts of the volume, the appendices following the core section should not be undervalued. At a glance, it is possible to gather information which otherwise would take us long hours to find. The only downside is the size of the book, which makes it difficult to carry comfortably, although this problem could be solved with the publication of an electronic version. I hope the editors will be able to fulfil this venture with the publication of other volumes including the later comedies.

Author's contact: angelestome@uvigo.es

Postal address: Centro de Linguas – Facultade de Filoloxía e Tradución – Campus Universitario s/n – 36310 Vigo (Pontevedra) – Spain

Macbeth (2015). Directed by Justin Kurzel

Víctor Huertas Martín
Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia (UNED), Spain

Kurzel's first film *Snowtown* (2011) tells the story of the serial killer John Bunting. There, James Vlassakis is led to participate in four of Bunting's murders. For Patterson (2011), the emotional truth in the film shows that "James's mental and moral drift towards murder feels utterly logical and explicable." Bestwick says *Snowtown* shines "a cold light on people […] we normally don't like to think about." Yet, lately fiction has privileged serial killers and psychopaths due to their fascination (Gadhia-Smith, qtd. from Kane 2014). In Kurzel's *Macbeth*, the eponymous hero, Barnes says, is driven by post-traumatic stress disorder. Jones (2013) establishes how classic literature has accounted for stress combat. For him, Macbeth "suffered hallucinations and nightmares as he became overwhelmed with guilt after, with the aid of his wife, he devised and executed a plot to kill King Duncan." Fassbender has war scars. He is an emotionally damaged king scratching the castle floor with his knife. The film's end brings to the screen the traumatic realities of exclusion for soldiers who suffer PTSD. Macduff's taunting of Macbeth as a rare monster achieves new meaning here.

The film's cinematography, by Adam Arkapaw, features landscapes reminiscent of the bravura of *Braveheart,* Turner's landscapes or Scott's novels. The soundtrack and bleak atmosphere reveal an ominous determinism, hardship and pain. Fassbender's Macbeth is a chieftain who leads a small clan, very likely in charge of protecting the Scottish borders. The settlement inhabited by Macbeth's clan recalls a Western town, with improvised houses, a graveyard, small wooden cabins, and a small community church filled with relics, images of the Virgin Mary as well as iconographic

representations of Hell to which Lady Macbeth addresses the invocation speech.

The Macbeths pray even before killing Duncan. And he keeps vigil as he waits for the arrival of the English army. As a Christian warrior, Macbeth – together with Banquo, his right-hand man – takes care of the children and the young soldiers. They apply antiseptic war paint to the soldiers and work as deputy priests before the battle. Also, they heal the wounded after the victory. Before the battle begins, Macbeth demonstrates fondness for a young boy soldier, who will be killed. In fact, the boy soldier later reappears holding the dagger for Macbeth in the "dagger" speech. This invented character binds Macbeth's journey to his war trauma and the effects of pervading violence. He materializes Macbeth's hallucinations.

In order to convey this effectively, Kurzel spends a long section of the film shooting the battle of Ellon. Kurzel combines slow motion and normal speed in the clash with Macdownwald's army. The scene may well be aimed at the so-called "X-box generation," as Try-Hane (2015) says, who are used to *300* or *Gladiator*. Apart from Macbeth's fighting skills, this section shows his experience of delirium in battle. The Witches appear like sympathetic entities who pity Macbeth because they know he is going to be tormented. A girl – perhaps a representation of Macbeth's dead child – accompanies the Witches and gives an amulet to Macbeth. The eldest witch, a surprisingly attractive one, strokes Macbeth's face and laments the disasters to come.

What I perceive, contrarily to Try-Hane (2015), is that the film does not justify Macbeth's actions but explores how a "mind diseased" brings about its own destruction. Kurzel emphasizes Macbeth's essential goodness and inability to handle his condition. Macbeth's sickness is thematized through his strange behaviour and feverish voice. He rides in his night-gown barefoot, howls in triumph under the rain, joggs inside the castle, and so on. Lady Macbeth is clearly affected by the same sickness. For Lady Macbeth, her dead child is an essential source of pain, as we can perceive at the child's burial at the beginning. She experiences visions as well as her husband. The sleepwalking scene turns into a soliloquy which takes place in the chapel. Her sleepwalking monologue is re-edited

and directly addressed close-up, a powerfully difficult, and brilliantly handled, exercise for a film actress.

Lady Macbeth's invocation speech is filled with inserts showing the handsome figure of Fassbender riding a horse. Following Polanski, Kurzel shows the regicide while the King's horses turn wild, as Ross's speech is delivered (2.4.14-18). Fassbender's muscular figure fits the portrayal of a man of action , capable of looking truly menacing with a little grin or just his mere presence. It is clear that the camera favours Fassbender's figure, specifically in the beautiful scene where, after murdering Duncan, the naked figure of Macbeth emerges out of the lake in search of cleansing and forgiveness, and he appeals to the audience for forgiveness with the frailty of his character when acting as sovereign.

The film deviates consistently from Shakespeare's play as it cuts, rearranges lines and invents new scenes. But *Macbeth* itself is a post-text of Holinshed's *Chronicles* and it tackles a range of issues prevalent in Shakespeare's period. Returning to eleventh-century Scotland, Kurzel engages in a dynamic relationship between Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Shakespeare's play and contemporary issues, such as the prevalence of PTSD which has caused concern after the Iraq and the Afghanistan wars (Nolan 2013; Howard 2016; etc.).

Kurzel uses Western and epic film conventions which often seem to turn the film into an extension of Ridley Scott or Gibson's cinematic repertoire rather than a piece of Jacobean drama. Particularly interesting in this sense are the persecutions of Banquo and Macduff's family in the woods and, also how Macbeth cuts off Macdonwald's head while we listen to the captain's speech voice-over. One of the greatest features of Fassbender and Cotillard's performances is their incapacity to truly hide their crimes. Malcom discovers Macbeth after having murdered Duncan. The hero gently poses his knife on Malcom's cheek. Holinshed also accounts for Macbeth's direct involvement in the murder of Macduff's family. So in the film this execution is carried out publicly due to Macduff's public challenge to the King's authority by leaving the banquet. In this scene, Fassbender delivers the "Bring me no more reports […]" speech (5.3.1) to the crowds who watch the execution. Lady Macbeth, who has actually tried to persuade Macbeth not to take action against Macduff's family – she warns him: "Hell is murky. What's done cannot be undone" (5.1.36, 67-68) as he is giving the

orders to "seize upon Fife" (4.2.150) – shows genuine pity for Macduff's wife and children and fights against her tears at that moment. Macbeth addresses her: "Why are you silent?," which is truly part of the text, but it is originally used by Malcom after his confession to Macduff (4.3.137). Responding to Macbeth's tyranny, Lady Macduff cries: "This tyrant, whose sole name blisters our tongues /Was once thought honest" (4.3.12-13). In this scene and the "Full of scorpions is my mind […]" dialogue, Lady Macbeth truly discovers that she needs to take care of a sick man who is overwhelmed by impotence, sickness and remorse. Birnam Wood does not literally move by way of Malcolm's stratagem but by Macduff's blunt instruction to burn the forest.

Appropriations of sections of the text, which at drama or film school would be common practice, may be regarded by purists as an attack on the text in this particular film. Yet it also demonstrates the immense flexibility of a text that can be employed in different contexts. The text is fragmented, transposed, rearranged, and even expanded at certain points. Many scenes are reorganized into micro-sequences, a fact that, following Orson Welles' example, turns the play into a much more cinematographic visual narrative than the mere playtext would. Through exploration of intimate detail and brief captions it is possible to understand much more about Macbeth and Lady Macbeth's social world.

What I regard as the most interesting aspect of Fassbender's performance is how, despite his obvious stature as a credible warrior, he seriously engages with Macbeth's frail qualities. Fassbender truly explores Macbeth's weakness as a failed leader, a failed monarch and a failed human being. Thus, pity for the hero is constantly built up. After Cotillard rejects her husband's approach, she passionately kisses him and shows that she is not going to abandon him, despite her momentary rejection. The "Tomorrow, tomorrow and tomorrow […]" speech (5.5.17-27) is followed by "I have forgotten the taste of fear […]" (5.5.9-15). In contrast to many other productions, there is never a true separation of Macbeth and Lady Macbeth. By far the most moving section is Macbeth's death. The athletic display expected in this final fight does not spare any visual excitement, including fist-fight, sword and shield clashing, a bit of martial arts, stabbing and some arm-breaking

Fassbender is agile and watchable in his handling of violence. In a final display, he thrusts his sword into the earth and is about to finish Macduff off by stabbing his face. Yet, the final discovery of Macduff's "untimely" birth weakens Fassbender completely. What is more interesting is how he is surrounded by everyone and how his enemies, his visions, his own people – the ones who used to be loyal to him – suddenly circle him, who, with tears in his eyes, makes a final attempt not to yield. Curiously, his resistance does not result in more fighting, but instead he invites Macduff to stab him in the stomach. This suicide grants Macbeth a more heroic status than other productions do, and his corpse is left kneeling on the battlefield. Malcom appropriates the line: "He's worth more sorrow" (5.9.17). Ross denies this by borrowing Seywards's line "He's worth no more" (5.9.17). Even if this may not sound very credible for the viewer, it helps establish sympathy for the hero.

Tears are purposely and constantly present within the frame. Children are deliberately employed to emphasize how the couple is damaged. The first scene shows the burial of Macbeth's child. Children are very often portrayed playing and fighting each other in order to test their strengths. One of their games consists of fighting for a garland, which – perhaps a bit too obviously – symbolizes how many warring men contest for the crown. Lady Macbeth's tears enkindle her performance in her sleepwalking monologue. Macbeth's regret is consciously shown through a single tear he weeps once he is King, a shattered King. All in all, the film appeals to the viewer's compassion for the heroes. Children, compassion and sickness definitely bring new light to the text, which is often left unexplored for the sake of larger geopolitical and socially pervasive issues.

As Collin states, textually speaking "the play itself has been stripped down to its carcass" (2015). It is mostly concerned with making a point about war sequels and the effects of violence and the environment on a man potentially driven to do good and care for others. The film is at fault in the fact that the vocal performances are not particularly interesting. Mostly, the speeches are said in the most realistic way possible, without much attention to stress, nuance or ambiguity. However, I would not even suggest that the RSC's house style is recommendable for this kind of film, where, considering the emphasis on atmosphere, environment and crudeness, it might seem

completely out of place. The predominant action-based and narrative style in the film can attract a wide audience, including teenagers and people unfamiliar with Shakespeare, and they may wish, following Weiss (2000, 17), to read the play afterwards. The film's deviation from the playtext is what makes it important. Firstly, it selects a very specific feature of the text – Macbeth's insanity – and explores it to the fullest, although this is done at the expense of a plethora of other elements in the play. Being part of the text, the PTSD motif does not just consist of jazzing Shakespeare up. Not many filmic *Macbeths* have actually shown much of Macbeth as one who was once thought honest. So I suggest it is high time to experience the refreshing view of a pious Macbeth who is affected by the effects of war. The film, undoubtedly, talks about war today as much as about the eleventh century.

References

Barnes, Henry. 2015. "Michael Fassbender: 'Macbeth suffered from PTSD.'" *The Guardian*, 23 May. Accessed September 2016. http://www.theguardian.com/film/2015/may/23/michael-fassbender-macbeth-suffered-from-ptsd.

Bestwick, Simon. 2011. "Snowtown." Last modified 2015. Accessed September 2016. http://www.thisishorror.co.uk/see-horror/film-reviews/snowtown/.

Clark, Sandra, and Pamela Manson. 2015. *Macbeth (The Arden Shakespeare)*. New York and London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare.

Collin, Robbie. 2015. "Macbeth Review: 'Fassbender was born for this.'" *The Telegraph*, 1 October 2015. Accessed September 2016. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/film/macbeth/review/.

Howard, Sally. 2016. "Living with Post-traumatic Stress Disorder: Wives' and Partners' Stories." *The Telegraph*, 4 January 2016. Accessed September 2016. http://www.telegraph.co.uk/women/womens-life/10744899/Living-with-post-traumatic-stress-disorder-wives-and-partners-stories.html.

Jones, Joshua A. 2013. "From Nostalgia to Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder: A Mass Society Theory of Psychological Reactions to Combat." *StudentPulse* 5 (2). Accessed September 2016. http://www.studentpulse.com/articles/727/from-nostalgia-to-post-traumatic-stress-disorder-a-mass-society-theory-of-psychological-reactions-to-combat.

Kane, Suzanne. 2014. "We Love Our Hollywood Psychopaths – But Why?" Accessed September 2016. https://www.elementsbehavioralhealth.com/news-and-research/we-love-our-hollywood-psychopaths-but-why/.

Macbeth. 1971. Directed by Roman Polanski. Playboy Productions Inc. and Caliban Films. DVD.

Macbeth. 2015. Directed by Justin Kurzel. See-Saw Films, DMC Film. DVD.

Nolan, Hamilton. 2013. "PTSD and Me: True Stories from Military Veterans." Last modified 19 August 2013. http://gawker.com/ptsd-and-me-true-stories-from-military-veterans-1167107848

Patterson, John. 2011. "Beauty in the Horror of Snowtown." *The Guardian*, 12 November 2011. Accessed September 2016. http://www.theguardian.com/film/2011/nov/12/beauty-in-the-horror-of-snowtown.

Try-Hane, Rosalynn. 2015. "Review: Macbeth." Last modified 29 September 2015. http://battleroyalewithcheese.com/2015/09/review-macbeth/.

Weiss, Tanja. 2000. *Shakespeare on the Screen: Kenneth Branagh's Adaptations of Henry V, Much Ado about Nothing and Hamlet.* Second revised edition. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang GmbH.

Author's contact: cuccioli25@hotmail.com

Postal address: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras (Universidad Autónoma de Madrid) – Despacho 202, Módulo IV-bis – Campus de Cantoblanco, Calle Francisco Tomás y Valiente, 1 – 28049 Madrid – Spain

James Mabbe. 2013. *The Spanish Bawd* Edited by José María Pérez Fernández. London: Modern Humanities Research Association. MHRA Tudor & Stuart Translations, 10

Jordi Sánchez-Martí
Universitat d'Alacant, Spain

The literary history of any country, in this case England, should not be construed as a separate, isolated entity, made up entirely of the literary production of its people. As far as possible, greater emphasis should be placed on exploring the literary works read in that country at any given time, so that a more accurate picture of the literary milieu in which an author created emerges. It becomes immediately apparent that the literary culture of early modern England encompasses not just the works produced by English writers, but all the literary texts available in English, including those that were originally composed in a different language. In other words, foreign texts translated into English also made a significant contribution to the literary culture of England and, therefore, they should be considered part of the country's literary history. Yet, in order to make further progress in our understanding of how literary translation influenced literary history, it is necessary to be able to read translated works as they were actually accessed by contemporary readers. The Tudor & Stuart Translations series, to which the book under review belongs, has been started recently with the purpose of making accessible the translations of "the works that were most familiar to early modern readers," as the general editors, Andrew Hadfield and Neil Rhodes, state in their foreword (viii).

   The Spanish Bawd (1631; STC 4911) is James Mabbe's translation of the work conventionally known as *La Celestina*, attributed to Fernando de Rojas (d. 1541), and printed in Spanish for the first time in 1499. As Pérez explains in his informative introduction, this work

enjoyed considerable success both in Spain and abroad. An Italian translation, by Alfonso Ordóñez, was printed as early as 1506, and an anonymous French translation appeared in 1527, reprinted on many occasions until a new translation by Jacques de Lavardin was published in 1578. From 1499 until 1644 approximately 90 separate editions of *La Celestina* were printed across Europe, including England, France, Italy, the Low Countries, Portugal, and Spain (6). The earliest evidence of the circulation of Celestina's story in England is *An Interlude of Calisto and Melebea* (STC 20721), printed by John Rastell ca. 1525, more than a century before the publication of Mabbe's translation. While inspired by the work of Fernando de Rojas, Rastell's edition actually contains a moralizing adaptation that has "modified the tragic outcome" of the original (46).[1]

James Mabbe (1571/2–1642?) was a student at Magdalen College, Oxford, and was elected to a perpetual fellowship there in the mid-1590s. As a member of a diplomatic mission headed by John Digby (1580–1653), also a former Magdalen student, Mabbe travelled to Spain in 1611. But, as Pérez explains, "we know next to nothing about Mabbe's activities in Spain, except for the fact that through the mediation of [the poet and translator] Leonard Digges [d. 1635] he sent to Oxford a copy of the 1613 edition of Lope de Vega's *Rimas*" (11). Mabbe probably sent this book in a different trip he made in July, 1615 (Kathman 2004, 1000). It seems that Mabbe spent a substantial amount of time in Spain, probably in Madrid, and maintained some kind of contact with it when he left after his first visit. While in Spain, Mabbe became acquainted with its customs, culture, and literature. This direct knowledge was rather unusual and enabled Mabbe to translate directly from Spanish into English, instead of using French or Italian intermediary versions, as did Anthony Munday (d. 1633), the main translator of Iberian books of chivalry. Mabbe also translated Mateo Alemán's *Guzmán de Alfarache*, known by the title of *The Rogue* (1623; STC 288), which was an immediate success, and *Exemplarie Novells* (1640; STC 4914), containing the translation of six of these novellas by Cervantes.

Mabbe's interest in *La Celestina*, however, was prior to his visit to Spain. There is a manuscript, now housed in the library of the Duke of Northumberland, in Alnwick Castle, containing a translation of *La*

---

[1] For an edition of this interlude, see Allen (1926, 265–91).

Celestina that is earlier than and different from the 1631 translation of *La Celestina*. More literal, shorter and less interventionist, the manuscript version in Alnwick Castle, MS 510, is also attributed to Mabbe, who dedicated it to his friend Sir John Strangeways (1584–1666). While "[Guadalupe] Martínez Lacalle attributed the numerous omissions and its shortened format to its [i.e. the MS's] possible use as the script for a staged performance, or perhaps for a public reading" (16), Pérez suggests the possibility that the "manuscript [was] meant for private circulation" (15). In her edition of 1972 Martínez Lacalle dates the manuscript version between 1603 and 1611, but Pérez provides evidence that narrows this period down to the years 1602–1603 (13–14), that is, several years before Mabbe travelled to Spain. This date is obtained from the information contained in the paratexts, which are usually written once the translation is finished. There is another significant textual witness: the manuscript annotation in English that appears in a copy of the 1599 Plantinian edition of *La Celestina* now in the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid (pressmark R/13.410). The Italian scholars Patrizia Botta and Elizabetta Vaccaro (1992) attribute this annotation to Mabbe, as Pérez notes (15), thus allowing us to establish the base text Mabbe used for his translation. In addition, these notes also represent a new *terminus post quem* for the translation preserved in the Alnwick manuscript. Considering that the paratexts in the Alnwick manuscript were composed in 1602–1603, it seems safe to argue that Mabbe was busy producing the manuscript translation at most from 1599 until 1602/3.

There is one further piece of evidence we need to take into account: on October 5, 1598, the printer William Aspley obtained a licence to print *La Celestina* (Pérez 14; Arber 1875–1894, III.127). It is conceivable that this licence referred to a text projected for publication, in which case it could correspond to the translation prepared by Mabbe between 1599 and 1602/3.[2] Obtaining a licence without having a text ready for publication is not unheard of, and in this case it could also be a pre-emptive action prompted by the publication in 1596 of a work titled *The Delightful History of Celestina*

---

[2] Note that Vaccaro (2005, 35) rejects this possibility, basically because she is still using the dates proposed by Martínez Lacalle, i.e. 1603–1611: "In base alla datazione del Ms. [Alnwick MS 150], sembrerebbe che questo non possa identificarsi con *The Tragick Comedye of Celestine*, di cui a tutt'oggi possediamo come unico indizio solo l'annotazione dello *Stationers' Register* alla voce 5 ottobre 1598."

the Faire (STC 4910). In spite of its title, this edition does not contain a translation of *La Celestina*, but instead William Barley's translation of the first thirty-two chapters of *Primaleon de Grece*, also known in English as *Palmendos* (Pérez, 50–51).[3] Despite being ready for publication, the text in the Alnwick manuscript, however, was never printed, a circumstance Mabbe may be alluding to in the opening words of the epistle dedicatory: "Sir, I now send you your long since promised *Celestina*, put into English clothes" (69.3-4).

We know that Mabbe translated directly from an edition of the Spanish original, but there is also scholarly agreement that he consulted Ordóñez's and Lavardin's translations into Italian and French respectively (Pérez, 2). As Pérez states, *Celestina*'s "different European translators also engaged in an interpretation of the text that sought to eliminate, modify or tone down its most controversial aspects" (20). Mabbe took the same approach and revised both the style and the content of the Spanish original, but preferred to present himself as a faithful translator, a "poor parrot, who accents [i.e. utters] but other folks' words, and not his own" (73.139-40). Such a description is better applied to the Alnwick translation, more literal throughout than the 1631 edition, for which Mabbe changed his previous translation policy, particularly in passages involving sexual references. To give an example, in Act VII, Celestina calls Parmeno, "Come hither, modesty, come hither you bashful fool" (213.600-1), but fails to spell out the purpose of her command. The Spanish original reads, "Llégate acá, negligente, vergonzoso, que quiero ver para cuánto eres ante que me vaya. Retózala en esta cama" (Lobera 2011, 181). The Alnwick version, as Pérez indicates (213, n. 375), provides a more complete and accurate translation of the original passage, including Celestina's intentions: "for I will see before I goe what metall you [i.e. Parmeno] be made of. Come playe the wag a little with her [i.e. Areusa], and tickle her as she lyes in her bed." Leaving sexual references aside, religious elements represent another headache for Mabbe. With clear Catholic associations, the rite of confession proves particularly thorny, and more so since confession plays a crucial role in the narrative outcome of *La Celestina*. When Calisto meets his death as he goes down a ladder, the Spanish original reads, "¡Oh válame Santa María, muerto soy! ¡Confesión!" (Lobera 2011, 323). The 1631 edition translates Calisto's words as,

---

[3] For more information about the text of *Palmendos,* see Álvarez-Recio (2015).

"Oh, oh! Look upon me! Ay me! I am a dead man, oh!" (346.265), whereas the Alnwick manuscript renders them more accuaretly as, "*Saint Marie*, haue mercie on my soule! I am slayne, I am slayne! *Confession, Confession*" (Pérez, 346 n. 549; cf. 347 n. 551).

In its literalness the Alnwick translation reproduces the original's obscene character, and maybe because of that this version was deemed unfit for publication. When Mabbe's translation was printed in 1631, it was an altogether less offensive text in which the more controversial passages had been removed. Could this be the reason for the 1631 edition's lack of commercial success? *The Spanish Bawd* was not reprinted until the nineteenth century and, furthermore, in 1634 the unsold copies were bound together with the much more successful *The Rogue* (Randall 1963, 168). Thus, despite the fact that *La Celestina*, "became a widespread international phenomenon that exemplifies the formation of an early modern European canon" (Pérez 66), English audiences seemed to have lacked the enthusiasm shown by their continental counterparts.

The purpose of the book under review is, in Pérez's words, "to facilitate access to James Mabbe's 1631 translation in a modernized text" (4). The engaging introduction that precedes the text of *The Spanish Bawd* discusses the main issues relating to Mabbe's translation, in particular its cultural context. Moreover, Pérez annotates the text with 566 footnotes that contain a wealth of knowledge enabling readers, regardless of their level of expertise, equally to understand this literary work and Mabbe's handling of it. In these notes Pérez compares the English text and the Spanish original, discusses discrepancies with the Alnwick manuscript, as mentioned above, and explains classical references, proverbs and sources. Pérez also uses footnotes to gloss the meaning of obscure words, mostly by referring to the *Oxford English Dictionary*. But when a word is not included in the *OED*, Pérez gives his own interpretation: e.g. the word *friculation* (239.348), not attested in the *OED*, is defined by Pérez as "copulation, or intercourse […]. Probably related to *fricatrice* ('a lewd woman,' *OED*) and *frication* ('The action of rubbing the surface of one body against that of another,' *OED*)" (Pérez 239–40, n. 422). Although the meaning of many words is elucidated in footnotes, Pérez has also compiled a short glossary (365–69) with "archaic, obsolete, or less common words found in the play" (365). In sum, the information provided in

the introduction together with the annotation and glossary contributes to making Mabbe's translation of *La Celestina* more accessible to modern readers, thus fulfilling the edition's purpose.

The modernization of the text Pérez refers to when describing his edition's aim (4) is actually a criterion established by the general editors for the series. In Pérez's edition, the text's modernization is applied to the following elements: (1) spelling: e.g. "O thou Diuell whom I coniured" (61) appears in Pérez's edition as "Oh thou devil whom I conjured" (171.5-6);[4] (2) morphology: e.g. "shew'd" (80) appears as "showed" (196.8), "spake" (80) as "spoke" (196.11), "strucken" (81) as "struck" (196.21); (3) punctuation: e.g. "thou who submittedst all things vnto men, I humbly beseech thee" (117) becomes "thou who submittedst all things unto men … I humbly beseech thee" in Pérez's edition (249.24–25); (4) syntax: e.g. Pérez regularizes the interrogative construction "What *it's* thou tell'st mee?" (150; my emphasis) as "What *is it* thou tell'st me?" (293.94; my emphasis).

Still, even if he does not provide an explicit statement of editorial policy, Pérez is not simply presenting his readers with a modernized transcription of the 1631 edition. Instead, he makes significant editorial interventions. Since the edition has no textual apparatus, Pérez records some of his emendations in footnotes: e.g. in footnote 200 Pérez informs us that he has emended the original *faddle* as *fardle* (111.871). But not all editorial modifications are noted: e.g. "jewel" (299.74) appears in the original as "ewell" (155). Occasionally Pérez interpolates words that are indicated in the text with square brackets, e.g. "worthy [of] perpetual memory" (75.4), "seek not to pluck her wings, and [come back] yourself without your plumes" (143.246–48), "he tells it [to] his master" (171. argument 5), "Must my steps end [in] this" (255.270-71). But some interpolations are not signalled at all: e.g. "all that *was* past was true" (291.22–23; my emphasis), "what *a* great dishonour" (292.60); neither *was* nor *a* are printed in the 1631 edition.

There are also other silent textual modifications that can be understood as editorial emendations. However, since these are not

---

made immediately apparent to the reader, some kind of explanation is in order. At the beginning of Act VII Pérez's edition reads, "I [i.e. Celestina] perceive some old relic yet still remaining of *thy* [i.e. Parmeno's] former folly" (196.16–17; my emphasis), whereas the 1631 edition reads, "*my* former folly" (80). The Spanish original is revealing: "Todavía me parece que *te* quedan reliquias vanas" (Lobera 2011, 163). Some lines below Pérez once again departs from the *editio princeps* of Mabbe's translation and interpolates the form *not* in Parmeno's words: "I am (I confess) *not* the man I was" (198–99.83–84; my emphasis). And this happens to be the exact intention of his words in the Spanish text: "*no* soy el que solía" (Lobera 2011, 164). In the two cases the Spanish original confers authoritativeness on the readings offered by Pérez, but it might have been appropriate to inform the readers that the 1631 edition had been textually corrupted by mechanical mistakes.

Finally, there are textual discrepancies between Pérez's and the 1631 edition that are not mentioned in the footnotes and do not seem to constitute an improvement on the original edition. For instance, Pérez's text omits *fit* (196.2) from the original "I haue not had any *fit* opportunitie" (80; my emphasis); Pérez's text reads, "That maid, Sir, of *her* [i.e. of Celestina's]" (295.149), when the original has "of *hers*" (151); Pérez gives "in her *dealing*" (295.181) instead of *dealings* (152); "as such *gentleman* as he" (297.11) instead of "Gentlemen" (153), when the Spanish reads "mancebos" (Lobera 2011, 271).

All in all, these textual quibbles do not detract from a book that has fully accomplished its purpose of making Mabbe's translation accessible to a wide audience, not limited to scholars. In fact, Pérez's edition will also be of interest to Hispanists that are familiar with the Castilian tradition of *La Celestina* and, though unacquainted with early modern English, can now consult Mabbe's text in this modernized, readable version. It is also remarkable that the edition has been prepared by someone who is comfortable with both the Spanish context in which Fernando de Rojas composed *La Celestina* and the English context in which Mabbe published *The Spanish Bawd*. Pérez's knowledge of the two cultural milieux becomes apparent in the notes and introduction, which contains an up-to-date discussion of the scholarship produced on *The Spanish Bawd* (see the bibliography on pp. 383–95), thus presenting the relevant materials for anyone wishing to conduct research on this text. In sum, Pérez's

edition is a welcome invitation to approach Mabbe's translation as an example of how a Spanish literary text became available and was read in England, thus earning its place in English literary history.[5]

References

Allen, H. Warner, ed. 1926 (1908). *"Celestina or the Tragi-Comedy of Calisto and Melibea" and "An Interlude of Calisto and Melebea."* London: Routledge.

Álvarez-Recio, Leticia. 2015. "Chapters Translated by Anthony Munday in *The History of Palmendos* (1589): A Long-Standing Error." *Notes and Queries* 62 (4): 549–51.

Arber, Edward, ed. 1875–1894. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554–1640 A.D.* 5 vols. London.

Botta, Patrizia, and Elizabetta Vaccaro. 1992. "Un esemplare annotato della *Celestina* e la traduzione inglese di Mabbe." *Cultura Neolatina* 52: 353–419.

Kathman, David. 2004. "Mabbe, James (1571/2–1642?)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by C. G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, vol. 34, 999–1001. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lobera, Francisco J. *et al*. ed. 2011. *Fernando de Rojas, La Celestina*. Biblioteca Clásica de la Real Academia 18. Madrid: Real Academia Española.

Martínez Lacalle, Guadalupe, ed. 1972. *Celestine; or, The Tragick-Comedie of Calisto and Melibea; Translated by James Mabbe*. London: Tamesis.

OED. Oxford English Dictionary.

Pollard, A. W., and G. R. Redgrave, comp. 1976–1991. *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland 1475–1640*. 3 vols. Second edition. Rev. W. A. Jackson, F. S. Ferguson, and Katharine F. Pantzer. London: Bibliographical Society.

Randall, Dale B. J. 1963. *The Golden Tapestry: A Critical Survey of Non-Chivalric Spanish Fiction in English Translation (1543–1657)*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

STC > Pollard and Redgrave 1976–1991.

Vaccaro, Elisabetta. 2005. "Le traduzioni inglesi de *La Celestina* ad opera di Mabbe." Fac. Lettere e Filosofia dell'Univ. Roma "La Sapienza." Accessed September 2016. http://rmcisadu.let.uniroma1.it/celestina/traduzioni_ing/mabbe/

Oana-Alis Zaharia. 2015
Cultural Reworkings and Translations in/of Shakespeare's Plays
Bucharest: ProUniversitaria

Mădălina Nicolaescu
University of Bucharest, Romania

It is always impressive to see how Romanian scholarship in an area that is as competitive and as prestigious as Shakespeare studies can lay claim to a position of cutting edge research. This is the case with the present book, which looks at Shakespeare by adopting new angles derived from theories on cultural reworking and translation as key factors in the transnational circulation of major texts.

Oana-Alis Zaharia initiates an ample project that both focuses on Shakespeare and decenters his position, investigating meanings circulated across Europe, which were either absorbed by his plays or were subsequently generated in their reception. The book thus charts two movements, involving a dual process of translation and cultural reworking: firstly there is the sixteenth-century movement that starts in Italy with the publication of the important and equally controversial text, Niccolò Machiavelli's *Il Principe,* and which moves on to responses to, translations and reworkings of this text in Italy, France and then England to culminate in its appropriation in Shakespeare's plays. Oana-Alis Zaharia discusses important texts such as Francesco Guicciardini's *The History of Italy* and Michel de Montaigne's *Essays* along with the lesser-known *Anti-Machiavel* by Innocent Gentillet and offers minute analyses of their translations in Shakespeare's England to trace differences and new meanings generated in the cultural negotiations the translations involve. This undertaking therefore looks at Shakespeare's plays as a product of translation and re-working. The second movement in the book traces another journey, this time starting with translations of Shakespeare's

plays and thereby moving from England across the Channel to France and Germany, and having as its final destination the translations at the eastern border of nineteenth-century Europe, namely the Romanian principalities. Shakespeare's plays are now viewed as sources for further successive re-workings, which make up a network of meanings and concepts that spans across Europe.

The multidirectional pursuit of the book allows for a variety of approaches which range from investigations in the field of the history of translation and the history of political thinking to "thick descriptions" of political and cultural micro-contexts of the reception or generation of the texts discussed. The various perspectives converge in a coherent argument that moves smoothly from one location and from one text to another, reinforcing the feeling of an intellectual journey across geographical and temporal spaces. The multiple *Ansatzpunkte*, as Erich Auerbach would have called the critical perspectives adopted in the book, establish a theoretical dialogue which makes a stimulating contribution to the issue of how to research the transcultural reception history of early modern giants such as Niccolò Machiavelli, Michel de Montaigne and William Shakespeare. Needless to say, the interaction of these perspectives adds to the richness of the specific analyses undertaken and lends weight to the global image the book conjures up.

An important merit of the book is to have extended European scholarship in the field by including the under-researched area of Shakespeare in Romania, without marginalizing the latter. Shakespeare translations into Romanian are treated on a par with the corresponding French versions, and shown to be participating equally in the European circulation of texts and meanings. The chapter on Romanian translations explores virgin territory in Romanian translation and theatre studies and in the role Shakespeare played in the articulation of cultural values in this geo-political area. At the same time, it pays great credit to Shakespeare by showing how the meanings developed in his translations played an important role in the discursive and political battles of nineteenth-century Romanian history.

Special attention is attached to the historical investigation of the contexts of translations and re-workings, whether they relate to the publication of Francesco Guicciardini's *The History of Italy* and its translations and appropriations in England or the translations of

Julius Caesar in the revolutionary mid-nineteenth century in Romania. The reconstruction of the political and cultural forces that shaped the various re-workings discussed in the book further enables the reader to understand the performative role of translations: the book provides conclusive arguments not only in favour of the role translations had in the construction of emerging national languages and cultural identities (English, French as well as Romanian), but also in favour of the specific interventions that they achieved as a form of overt political action. Thus Zaharia undertakes micro-contextual analyses to show how readings performed via translations (be they of Machiavelli, Gentillet, Montaigne or Shakespeare) played an active role in the complex power struggles that shaped the political make up of Europe across the centuries. Keeping translations as the starting point, she points out new connections between Guicciardini and Shakespeare on the one hand and between Machiavelli, Montaigne and Shakespeare on the other.

This new area at the intersection of translation studies and Shakespeare studies, together with the wide range of perspectives adopted and detailed microanalyses of texts and contexts, all add up to ensure a most stimulating and innovative reading experience.

PERFORMANCE REVIEWS[*]

Las Alegres Casadas
Festival Internacional de Teatro Clásico de Almagro
Espacio Miguel Narros, 17 July 2015

Isabel Guerrero
Universidad de Murcia, Spain

CAST AND CREATIVE TEAM

Director and adaptation: Andrés Lima

Cast: Maite Redín, Patxi Perez, Adriana Olmedo, Natalia Díaz and Fernando Romo

Set design: Beatriz San Juan

Lighting design: Koldo Tainta

Produced by Tdiferencia and La Nave teatro

On the evening of the 17th of July 2015, the Festival International de Teatro Clásico de Almagro presented a performance of *Las Alegres Casadas* by the companies Tdiferencia and La Nave Teatro, directed

---

[*] *Sederi Yearbook* collaborates with www.ReviewingShakespeare.com, the first website devoted to scholarly reviews of and writing about worldwide Shakespearean performance (theatre, film, TV) for a general audience. Reviews about Shakespearean performances worldwide submitted for publication to the *Sederi Yearbook* are sent to the team of specialists managing *ReviewingShakespeare*, and they will decide whether the review might also be suitable for publication on their webpage. Inversely, a selection of reviews of Spanish and Portuguese productions of Shakespeare's plays submitted to ReviewingShakespeare are also considered for publication in the *Sederi Yearbook*.

and adapted by Andrés Lima from Shakespeare's *The Merry Wives of Windsor*. The production was staged in the Espacio Miguel Narros, one of the open-air venues of the festival situated at the intersection of two streets surrounded by some of the emblematic sixteenth century buildings of the town. Lima, one of the best-known theatre directors in contemporary Spanish theatre, has regularly staged Shakespeare's plays, including this one, which he directed for Le Comedie Française in 2009. In contrast to his previous production of the play, which was more in the style of the French company with a large cast and which included all the plotlines in Shakespeare's text, this new work is performed by five actors who impersonate ten characters, and focuses on the main plot involving Falstaff and the merry wives.

Little of Shakespeare's only English comedy remains truly English here. Whether or not the action, according to the dialogue, takes place in Windsor, the mention of the locale disappears from the title in order to, if not explicitly re-contextualise the action in present-day Spain, at least bring it closer to the audience. As Lima states: "[It is] Windsor, England, at some point in the early seventeenth century. And, however, it could be Teruel, Spain, at some point in the early twenty-first century. Or Seville, or Pamplona or Amsterdam or London or Madrid: anywhere where there is desire, morality, playfulness and interest."[1] Even though the action could take place anywhere, the character of Falstaff acquires new meanings on the twenty-first century Spanish stage. As someone who tries to enjoy himself at the expense of deceiving others, the character brings to mind the numerous cases of political corruption in the country. Spectators unfamiliar with the character get to know his personality from the very first scene: the production opens with the stage in darkness while sexual moans and laughing is heard and, as the lights progressively come up, Falstaff comes into view in an explicit sexual position with one of the ladies at the Garter Inn, while two other female characters drink and frolic with him. The conversation between Falstaff and the host of the inn, here one of the

---

[1] "Windsor, Inglaterra, mil seiscientos y pico. Y sin embargo podría ser Teruel, España, dos mil y pico. O Sevilla o Pamplona o Ámsterdam o Londres o Madrid: cualquier lugar donde exista el deseo, la moral, el juego y el interés." Andrés Lima, *Las Alegres Casadas*. Andrés Lima, sinopsis, *Las alegres casadas*. Accessed 02 September 2016. http://tdiferencia.com/archivos/7/LAS_ALEGRES_CASADAS_sinopsis.pdf. My translation.

ladies, reveals that this is a meeting of old friends and, together, they remember that old story of Falstaff and some merry wives of the town that took place years ago. This opening scene serves as an introduction for the adventures of Falstaff and the merry wives.

The production relies on the representation of the characters and on references to popular culture to update the comedy and compensate for the loss of most of the puns and linguistic jokes in Shakespeare's text. The names of the characters are altered: Alice and Frank Ford are Barbara and Francis, and the Pages change their surname to Ferrari. All the actors, except the one performing Falstaff, play several roles. The wives are the two ladies at the Garter Inn, which appears as a kind of brothel, Francis Ford is also a drunken costumer at the inn, and the host and George Ferrari are played by the same actress. The performance style of most of the characters is farce, with the exception of Falstaff and the wives, who are played in a more realistic style. Mr Ford is a histrionic jealous husband whose alter ego —here the French-man Maese Cendrier instead of Mr Brook— is even more excessive; and the actress performing Mr Ferrari does not play the character as a man but, rather, as the stereotype of a man performed by a woman. Apart from renaming the Pages as Ferrari, identifying both families with popular car brands, there are other references to popular culture, such as the names of the Fords' servants (Julio César, Marco Antonio, Valentino and Giorgio Armani, names that Mrs Ferrari and Mrs Ford seem to deliberately make up when they call for them to carry the basket where Falstaff is hidden); and the allusion to two of the Ford brothers, John and Henry, guarding the entrance at Falstaff's second visit, as the third, Harrison (Ford) has not arrived.

Fig. 1. Marquee lights, *Las alegres casadas* (2015). © Tdiferencia

Other influences from popular culture can be observed in the set and the soundtrack. The former is composed of three sets of marquee lights, like those in old fashioned movie theatres and cabaret shows, which are used to locate the onstage action. A marquee light with the word "bar" in capital letters places the action at the Garter Inn, Ford's house is

represented with a marquee light in the shape of the sketch of a house, and the last location in the forest is indicated with the word "bosque" [forest]. The marquee lights are movable, and they are brought to the foreground in the transitions between scenes to signal a change in location. The soundtrack, with songs from Paolo Conte, Patty Pravo and the Rolling Stones, among others, not only accompanies the action, but it also comments on it, as happens, for instance, when the wives enthusiastically decide to play their final revenge on Falstaff as the Rolling Stones' song *Satisfaction* "I can't get no (Satisfaction)" plays in the background.

The forest scene is turned into a kind of fancy dress party in which the characters disclose their true selves. The scene begins with a striptease by Mr Ford, changing his suit for a leopard dressing gown, and continues with him and Mr Ferrari —whose ambiguous gender identity is intensified as he enters in high heels— dancing together. The wives join the party wearing child-like fairy costumes, resembling a caricature of the usually more stylised representation of fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Once the couples have executed their revenge on Falstaff, Mrs Ford, who seems to have taken a bit more pleasure in Falstaff's visits than might have been expected, waits until everyone has left to bid him goodbye. The melancholy of this farewell vanishes with the return to the situation in the opening scene, with a happy Falstaff who, surrounded by his friends, has been remembering this old story of the merry wives.

Fig. 2. The merry wives and Falstaff
Las alegres casadas (2015). ©Tdiferencia.

If a new title for this production had to be chosen, one mentioning the location of the action as Shakespeare's play does, this *The Merry Wives* would not be of Teruel, Seville, Pamplona, Amsterdam, London or Madrid, as the director suggests. The performance under the stars at the Espacio Miguel Narros, with the presentation of the story as Falstaff's memories, the festive tone of the whole play and the production ending at almost one o'clock at night, plus the inevitable association of the fake fairies with those in Shakespeare's most popular comedy, turn this production, or at least this performance in Almagro, into *The Merry Wives of a Midsummer Night's Dream.*

Author's contact: isabel.guerrero@um.es

Postal address: Dpto. Filología Inglesa – Facultad de Letras – Campus de la Merced – 30071 Murcia, Spain

Recreating Shakespeare:
You are my destiny (*Lo stupro di Lucrezcia*)
12th World Theatre Festival
Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb,
26 September 2014

Remedios Perni
Universidad Isabel I / Universidad de Murcia, Spain

CAST AND CREATIVE TEAM

Director and adaptation: Angélica Liddell

Cast: Joele Anastasi, Ugo Giacomazzi, Fabián Augusto Gómez Bohórquez, Julian Isenia, Lola Jiménez, Andrea Lanciotti, Angélica Liddell, Antonio L. Pedraza, Borja López, Emilio Marchese, Antonio Pauletta, Isaac Torres, Roberto de Sarno, Antonio Veneziano. Chœur ukrainien, Free Voice: Anatolii Landar, Oleksii Ievdokimov, Mykhailo Lytvynenko.

Set design: Angélica Liddell

Music: the Ukrainian Choir Free Voice, Händel

Produced by: Atra Bilis

You are my destiny (Lo stupro di Lucrezia) is the title of Angélica Liddell's theatrical take on Shakespeare's poem *The Rape of Lucrece*. The Spanish playwright and her theatre company, Atra Bilis, premiered this production on the 26th of September 2014 at the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb as part of the 12th World Theatre Festival, where the production was widely applauded. After this success, Atra Bilis toured the play throughout Europe: Venice, Modena, Valencia, Paris and Berlin were just some of the cities where it was staged. What might have attracted the theatre-goers to Liddell's recreation of the Lucrece myth is its quite innovative and even provocative point of departure: instead of victimising Lucrece,

Liddell turns her into the only protagonist of the play, while Tarquin becomes a mute character, almost an object of study exemplifying the consequences of desire.

Angélica Liddell's interest in Shakespeare is well known. She has adapted and directed three of his plays, namely *Hamlet* (*La falsa suicida*, 2000), *King Lear* (*Hysterica Passio*, 2003), and *Richard III* (*El año de Ricardo*, 2005), and the long narrative poem *The Rape of Lucrece* (*You are my destiny*, 2014). In *You are my destiny*, as on the previous occasions, Liddell presents a radically free version of the Shakespearean text. Her aesthetics being a hybrid of baroque and contemporary aesthetics and anachronistic twists, Liddell manages to combine Shakespeare's words with her own lyrical monologue, and also with scenes extending to fifteen or twenty minutes where all the spectators can hear is noise (objects falling, screams), music (Händel or the Ukrainian Choir) or silence.

For about two hours and twenty minutes, Liddell provides her audience with a series of performance events, rather than a conventional play, in which only ten lines from Shakespeare's poem are quoted (in Italian in this specific production):

> But will is deaf, and hears no heedful friends;
>> Only he hath an eye to gaze on beauty,
>> And dotes on what he looks, 'gainst law or duty.

> 'I have debated even in my soul,
> What wrong, what shame, what sorrow I shall breed;
> But nothing can affection's course control,
> Or stop the headlong fury of his speed.
> I know repentant tears ensue the deed,
>> Reproach, disdain and deadly enmity
>> Yet strive I to embrace mine infamy. (Proudfoot *et al.* 2014, 495–504)

By selecting these lines, Liddell focuses on Tarquin's convulsions of the mind. As Liddell herself has written for the programme notes, what interests her is the power of desire over will, the ways in which Tarquin convinces himself that he needs to obey his sex drive, even if he is destined to lose everything afterwards. More traditional interpretations of *The Rape of Lucrece* emphasize either the woman's act of self-destruction to regain dignity or the political consequences of the rape, which leads to the people's uprising, the dethronement of the Tarquins, and the founding of the Roman Republic. Therefore,

the average spectator feels completely astonished when facing the fact that this new Lucrece is mainly fascinated with her rapist's possible motivations and ready to assume what has happened, and go on living and loving her abuser.

Nevertheless, Liddell's version is much more complex than this. Even though Tarquin is said to play a relevant role here, it is Lucrece —played by Liddell herself— who draws most attention to herself, as she is on stage throughout and speaks most of the text. Whereas we hear Tarquin's voice all through the first half of Shakespeare's poem, we only hear Lucrece in Liddell's recreation. But, instead of acquiring the voice of a victim who can articulate her thoughts only in terms of patriarchal ideology, as she does in the poem (lamenting the consequences of men's power but feeling incapable of questioning such power), this new Lucrece speaks about her own observations and experiences (a stay in Venice, a dream, her encounter with Tarquin in Hell) and, furthermore, she dares to deconstruct and decode her own language, yelling, spitting and filling her mouth with beer.

As pointed out by Coppelia Kahn, before being raped Lucrece is a paradigm of the importance of female chastity for the patriarchy; after her suicide, she constitutes a political symbol for the government of men (1997, 34). In Liddell's hands, Lucrece revolts against decency, becoming a sort of punk icon in her leather jacket, a fallen woman drinking alcohol, and a prostitute in a black satin nightgown who offers relief to a group of soldiers after the battle. Thus Lucrece does not provide the patriarchal order with a dead female body to avenge. In that sense, Liddell's work reminds us of *King Kong Theory* (2007) by Virginie Despentes, who has challenged sexism and patriarchy since she survived a rape when she was young.

The staging of the rape of Lucrece itself is challenging due to its iconoclastic nature. It is evoked by a band of drummers playing with increasing speed and intensity while Lucrece is screaming, bawling and shaking violently on the stage. In the meanwhile, Tarquin walks in and stands still. He looks apathetic, insensitive. For more than fifteen minutes, the spectators are confronted with Lucrece's suffering and the abominable idea of her rape at the hands of this man and the ten drummers, who embody Tarquin's violence symbolically through sound. Later in the production these same

drummers appear onstage again. This time they look exhausted; they lean against the wall and cry. They are soldiers and Lucrece is now a nurse who assists them.

In Liddell's version, Lucrece does not commit suicide but undergoes a series of painful scenes showing both her decadence and rebellious will. Towards the end of the play, she addresses herself to the audience as if summarising the whole series of events:

> And this is how a rapist came and turned me into his lover. Because, among all the men who surrounded me, father, husband and friend, fans of my virtue, slaves of their ambitions, with my blood still warm on the knife, the only one who spoke of love, the only one who did not speak of his fatherland, the only one who did not speak of war, the only one who did not speak of politics, the only one who preferred to lose everything and gain an instant of love was the rapist, Tarquin. (Liddell 2015, 53–54)[2]

Then, instead of stabbing herself and dying publically to restore her chastity, as the patriarchal society seems to demand, this Lucrece celebrates her passionate love with a beer shower. She challenges and subverts social order, and in this way she emancipates herself from what a victim is expected to do as a victim.

But, of course, Angélica Liddell is not so naïve as to conclude her performance here. She ultimately shows a Lucrece who, regardless of her subversive love revelation, is still rooted in our cultural codes and structures. The last scene presents an intriguingly ambiguous "happy" ending. The actors on stage (mainly the drummers, travestied and forming couples) dance to the sound of *You are my destiny*, by Paul Anka. Lucrece is happy at first but then, as the song progresses, her face becomes more and more frightened, whereas Tarquin remains apathetic and uninterested. Finally, a hearse descends from the theatre ceiling, half-covered in flowers, very slowly. This is Lucrece's ironic end.

---

[2] My translation from the original text in Spanish.

In contrast with other productions based on *The Rape of Lucrece*, Angélica Liddell's recreation of the myth defies the audience's expectations from beginning to end. She substitutes the image of rape with the sound and noise of rape; and she questions the social demands regarding rape through both the exploration of the abuser's drives and the suggestion of a subversive behaviour on the part of the survivor. Finally, when Liddell seems to signal that a new life is possible after the trauma she disarms the spectators with an ultimate ironic twist: Lucrece's destiny is not a socially reintegrated Tarquin; Lucrece's destiny is death. Equally moved and devastated

after more than two hours of beauty and darkness, the spectators cannot but applaud in tears.

References

Despentes, Virginie. 2007. *Teoría King Kong*. Translated by Beatriz Preciado. Tenerife: Melusina.

Kahn, Coppélia. 1997. *Roman Shakespeare: Warriors, Wounds and Women*. London and New York: Routledge.

Liddell, Angélica. 2015. "You are my destiny (*Lo stupro di Lucrezia*)." In *Ciclo de las resurrecciones*. Segovia: La Uña Rota.

Proudfoot, Richard, *et al.*, eds. 2014. *Shakespeare. Complete Works*. Revised edition. The Arden Shakespeare. London: Bloomsbury.