

 *SEDERI Yearbook* is the yearbook of the Spanish and Portuguese Society for English Renaissance Studies. It is an annual publication devoted to current criticism and scholarship on English literature, language, and culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. *SEDERI* publishes original articles, notes, and book reviews peer-reviewed by external referees, following a double-blind policy.

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The aim of *SEDERI* is to promote, stimulate and give impulse to the study and research of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English language, literature, and history and their relationship with their Spanish and Portuguese counterparts.

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Sederi 25

2015

IN MEMORIAM
FRANCISCO JAVIER SÁNCHEZ ESCRIBANO

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Shederi 25 (2015)

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Obituary
in memoriam
Prof. Francisco Javier Sánchez Escribano
(1948-2014)

This issue is dedicated to the memory of Javier Sánchez Escribano, associate professor of English Literature at the University of Zaragoza, one of the founding members of SEDERI and Honorary President of the Society until his death last year. It goes without saying how much we owe to him. This journal is just one of the many fruits of his idea of having an academic society that could unite scholars in Spain (Portugal was to join later) working in English Renaissance Studies. The journal has grown over the years, but without that initial seed we would not be where we are now. Thank you for all the inspiration.

THE EDITORS



Without Javier's efforts, SEDERI would never have taken a decisive step forward. It is true on the one hand that the original idea for the association was shared by a bunch of friends, but it is equally true on the other that without his stamina and blessed stubbornness that distant project would not have taken wing.

It all started in León, with Professor José Luis Chamosa acting as host: Javier suggested in the course of a meal that we all (Professors Santiago González y Fernández Corugedo, Miguel Martínez and myself) should launch an associative venture centred upon English linguistic and literary studies of the Renaissance period. He had not given it a previous thought. It simply surged that instant and we all shared it, moulding it by adding that it might be a good idea to make of the eventual association a meeting point of different academic

In memoriam F. J. Sánchez Escribano

disciplines dealing with the period. We all agreed: we wanted other colleagues to open our eyes to alternative ways of understanding things. We wanted, in other words, to listen to a historian explaining the battlefield of Agincourt (that was the exact example given that day) so as to be able to understand *Henry V* from a different angle, this being a very rare academic perspective at the time.

From that point onwards, my view is that within a few months we had all contracted a great debt to Javier. He was the organiser of the first conference, held in Zaragoza. By then...all the paperwork had already been arranged. We even had a draft of the bylaws. And he had done it all. The only thing left out of the picture was the election of a president. I had the great honour to be the first, but only because Javier not only sternly refused to enter his name for the election (he would have undoubtedly been elected unanimously), but also because he practically pushed me forward for the process by freely and generously appointing himself my mentor.

He was ever what he chose to be: a hard working hand. I owe him, we all do I think, many a pleasant moment, many academic meetings that have made me grow, many new friends made in the course of a long string of years. Dear Javier, thanks for just everything.

IS EST AMICUS QUI IN RE DUBIA RE JUVAT, UBI RE EST OPUS

Juan Tazón
Universidad de Oviedo



The news of Javier's passing reached me in December of last year. It took me by surprise, as it most likely took most others that heard about it, because I was unaware of any condition that might have forewarned of such an outcome. But I was most particularly struck by the fact that his death had occurred several months before. Some of us knew that he had resolved to retire and live alone, and that he had chosen someplace on the east coast, away from colleagues and family, to spend this last part of his life. Professional and personal reasons combined in this decision. That he was not happy, we can infer now; that the severing of the ties that he had held for so long was so extreme, we could never imagine. The sad fact is that very

few people knew about his death and that perhaps therefore it was not reported in any of the usual academic web-lists that keep us posted on this type of news. Javier may have wanted to be left alone, but surely did not deserve this lack of acknowledgement.

Most, if not all, who knew him will agree with me that he was a good person. He was open and welcoming with all people, regardless of rank and age. He was so to me since my first acquaintance with him, back in 1996, during my first SEDERI Conference. I was a new scholar who barely knew anyone in the field of Renaissance studies, he was already the President of the Society; but he made me feel at home from the first minute, as I am sure he did with all other newcomers, and I thoroughly enjoyed that feeling —to the extent that I returned to the SEDERI family every single year afterwards. To this day, the Society's conferences continue to be very much the same warm, welcoming rendezvous of Renaissance scholars. I tried to hold on to this idea after I succeeded Javier, and I am sure the current President feels that this is one of her main duties, too, even if our task is actually minimal: this spirit of SEDERI transcends individuals and is defined by the ties that have been woven among those who attend SEDERI conferences.

I suspect that Javier was somewhat overwhelmed and puzzled by the growing relevance of SEDERI in the context of Renaissance studies, nation- and world-wide. He conceived of it as a small venue, where people-friends met to discuss issues relating Spanish and English Renaissance culture; and on one occasion he confessed that he was sorry to see it veering away from this line. Time has made inevitable changes in the Society: comparative studies are no longer the primary interest, and both its conferences and its journal now represent a more complex, energetic and variegated academic community. He may have felt at odds with this new face of SEDERI; if he did, he should not, because it too is very much his own creation, too: it is the body that encases the spirit. We owe it to him to remember this, and to let new SEDERI associates know about this.

Javier has passed away, but he lives on in SEDERI.

Juan Antonio Prieto Pablos
Universidad de Sevilla

Hovering over the hectic life of academia are shadows of what might have constituted the cultivation of personal affinities with our colleagues, but which have not finally come to fruition. How many dear colleagues, fellows and friends do we keep in our minds, despite not seeing each other frequently, preserving perhaps a distant memory of them, an unspoken empathy, always awaiting a renewal of their friendship at conferences, seminars, lectures, and other such scholarly rites!

I was fortunate enough to share more time than I deserved with Francisco Javier Sánchez Escribano, mostly through our academic and professional endeavours, which gave me the opportunity to enjoy his warm and stubborn personality, that of a good Aragonese gentleman. However, as is usually the case with the dear deceased, my abundant share of his company now seems insufficient. If I had to point out only one trait of his character I would highlight his self-effacing perseverance, thanks to which the present as well as the previous issues of this journal have seen the light. Indeed the whole project of the Spanish and Portuguese Society for the Study of English Renaissance Studies (SEDERI) is, to a large extent, the result of his personal commitment, for which, deservedly, this pan-Iberian association made him honorary President.

A couple of pertinent good books and more than two score articles and book chapters, together with his earnest dedication to his students, constitute Francisco Javier's durable legacy to scholarship and to the promotion of English language and literature in Spain: "As well a well-wrought urn becomes / The greatest ashes, as half-acre tombs."

He was wise to retire early to cope with the "slings and arrows of outrageous fortune" that sooner or later overcome us all. He had found his own Mediterranean *hortus conclusus*, where he led a life decidedly to be wished. Death has surprised him there too untimely, but, as I believe, happy and reconciled.

This humble offering is written to honour his name and his personality in this issue of the SEDERI Yearbook. May the journal last for centuries and keep a well-deserved remembrance of SEDERI's founding member!

Luciano García García
Universidad de Jaén

Articles

Exilic/Idyllic Shakespeare: Reiterating *Pericles* in Jacques Rivette's *Paris nous appartient**

Maurizio Calbi
Università degli Studi di Salerno, Italy

ABSTRACT

Jacques Rivette's *Paris nous appartient* (1961) is about a literature student, Anne Goupil, who becomes involved with a group of bohemians centering around the absent figure of Spanish musician, Juan. The film incorporates the attempt by theatre director Gérard Lenz – in many ways a simulacrum of Rivette himself – to stage *Pericles*, even though this is a play that he himself defines as “incoherent” and “unplayable.” This essay explores the significance of this incorporation, and shows how the reiterated, fragmentary rehearsals of this “unplayable” play are essential to an understanding of the (disjointed) logic of the film as well as the atmosphere of conspiracy it continually evokes. It also argues that the “Shakespeare” included in the film is an “exilic Shakespeare” that does not *properly* belong, a kind of spectre haunting the film characters. This construct uneasily coexists with a version of “Shakespeare” that the film simultaneously emphasizes – a “Shakespeare” that takes place “on another level” (in Anne's words), an idyllic and idealistic entity.

KEYWORDS: Shakespearean adaptation; *nouvelle vague*; *Pericles*; Exilic Shakespeare; Jacques Rivette; *Paris nous appartient*; *Paris Belongs to Us*; New Wave Shakespeare.

* I want to thank Anthony R. Guneratne for gracious feedback on a draft of this essay.

Belonging – the fact of avowing one’s belonging, of putting in common – be it family, nation, tongue – spells the loss of the secret.

(J. Derrida, *A Taste for the Secret*).

Critically acclaimed by Jacques Doniol-Valcroze in *Cahiers du cinéma* as “the most significant and most resolutely modern work of the new cinema” (i.e. the *nouvelle vague*) (cit. in Hillier 1986:6) and virulently attacked by Gérard Gozlan in *Positif* (*Cahiers du cinéma*’s rival journal) as a film that provides “a chaotic portrayal of a chaotic period” (2009 [1962]:120), Jacques Rivette’s first feature *Paris nous appartient* [*Paris Belongs to Us*] is a *sui generis* film noir that deliberately displays and cultivates opacity.¹ Part of its elusiveness has to do with the fraught, almost legendary history of its production: the shooting of the film began in 1958, and proceeded in a haphazard manner, largely due to financial difficulties, so it was not until December 1961, after a frenetic process of editing and re-editing, that the film had its theatrical release.² The convoluted plot is one of the elements of the film that bears witness to these vicissitudes. *Paris nous appartient* is about a newly enrolled drama student, Anne Goupil (Betty Schneider), who is introduced by her

¹ Here Doniol-Valcroze is defending Alain Robbe-Grillet’s film *L’immortelle* and likens it to Rivette’s film: “Each work is a searching which ends by destroying itself” (cit. in Hillier 1986:6-7). Many critics have noted the affinity between the *nouveau roman* (and its filmic articulations) and Rivette’s film, especially as regards its self-reflexive structure. See, for instance, Morley and Smith (2009:25-26). Gérard Gozlan’s “Brechtian” attack in his ironically titled essay “The Delights of Ambiguity – In Praise of André Bazin” – he goes as far as to state that “Rivette is making a fool of us and of himself” (2009 [1962]:118) – is nonetheless an implicit and explicit acknowledgment of the film’s significance as an emblem of the *nouvelle vague*. To Gozlan, *Paris nous appartient* is more representative of the *nouvelle vague*’s *Weltanschauung* than films such as *À bout de souffle* (*Breathless*).

² A clear symptom of the quasi-mythical status the film had acquired within the circle of critics and film-makers gravitating around *Cahiers du cinéma* is the fact that this is perhaps the only film in the history of cinema that appears in another film as a finished product before being actually released: in François Truffaut’s *Les quatre cent coups* (*Four Hundred Blows*), in one of their uncommon outings as a family, the Doinels go and see the film and do not hesitate to pass comments on it. (The film was not funny but it had “some depth”). On the piecemeal shooting of the film, see for instance, Frappat (2001:106-10) and Monaco (1976:318-21).

brother Pierre (François Maistre) to a group of cosmopolitan (or pseudo-cosmopolitan) intellectuals and bohemians who seem to be affected by an irremediable malaise. This group includes Pulitzer Prize winner Philip Kaufman (Daniel Croheim), an escapee from McCarthyism, theatre director Gérard Lenz (Giani Esposito), and *femme fatale* Terry Yordan (Françoise Prévost), Philip's former lover, who is now with Gérard. It centres on the absent figure of Juan (who was also involved with Terry), an exiled Spanish musician who is found dead. His mysterious death – was he murdered or did he kill himself? – prompts, or reactivates, Philip's speculations about a terrible worldwide conspiracy whose immediate targets are those who know, or suspect (like Juan), that “the world is not what it seems,” and that “the real masters rule in secret.” Recoiling from Pierre's friends at first, Anne is little by little taken in by Philip's grandiose theories about a tentacular form of power that remains hidden from view, and this especially after she discovers that her next door neighbour, who turns out to be Juan's sister Maria, has herself mysteriously disappeared. Her gradual involvement with this group of eccentric people (which features cameo roles by *nouvelle vague* directors such as Claude Chabrol, Jean-Luc Godard, Jacques Demy, and Jacques Rivette himself) also takes the form of her acceptance to play the role of Marina in Gérard's theatrical production of *Pericles*, which is at once an experiment in self-fashioning and a confused attempt to save an idealistic theatre director from whatever fate may befall him. (Philip has told her that Gérard will be the next victim.)

Paris nous appartient is replete with references to Shakespeare. Yet, studies of Shakespeare on film hardly ever engage with these references in a sustained manner.³ In Rivette's film Shakespeare is evoked as soon as the initial credit sequence ends: a protracted tracking shot from a train window taking the viewer (and perhaps Anne) to Paris-Austerlitz is followed by a high angle view leading us

³ A notable exception is Burt (2009; 2010). For instance, the film is not mentioned in an otherwise illuminating account of media Shakespeare such as Thomas Cartelli and Katherine Rowe's *New Wave Shakespeare on Screen* (2007), a study one of whose aims is that of retracing the impact of the visual and textual strategies of the French *nouvelle vague* on the Anglophone Shakespeare on film boom of the 1990s (and beyond). The paucity of critical writing applies to Rivette's *oeuvre* more generally. The first book-length monograph on his work in English was published in 2009.

into Anne's apartment, where she maladroitly reads (in English) Ariel's song from *The Tempest* in preparation for her exam:

Full fathom five thy father lies.
Of his bones are coral made;
Those are pearls that were his eyes;
Nothing of him that doth fade
But doth suffer a sea-change
Into something rich and strange. (1.2.397-402)

These almost inaudible words can be said (in retrospect) to foreshadow some of the aspects of the film, especially if one considers them within the immediate context of the play from which they are taken: the dream-like quality of its *mise en scène*; the interpenetration of "art" (or magic) and "life," truth and falsehood; the sense of weariness and loss; the urge, however vague, for a radical metamorphosis, a "sea-change," especially on the part of Anne, who starts out as a blank, a "girl without opinions;" the irresistible draw of music. As to the latter, it is worth pointing out that part of the film plot revolves around Anne's search for a music tape recorded by Juan, a tape Gérard deems indispensable for the success of the production of *Pericles*. This elusive piece of music – one of the many samples in the film of what may be called, *à la* Hitchcock, a McGuffin – is, in more senses than one, "no sound | That the earth owes" (409-10).⁴ Moreover, through the combination of the scene in which Anne studies *The Tempest* and the following scene, the film establishes a subterranean link between Shakespeare and the vast international conspiracy upon which Philip will elaborate later on: Anne's reading is disrupted and then finally interrupted by the sobbing coming from her neighbour's apartment; in this apartment we find Maria who is, Ferdinand-like, "something stained | With grief" (415-16) for her brother Juan's death, and abruptly shifts from mourning to a manic assessment of an impending doom: "First, Assunta. Then, Juan. All one after another. It's the beginning [...]. No one will escape [...]. Everything's

⁴ This can be compared to the music that only Pericles can hear in Shakespeare's play: "But hark, what music?"; "But what music?" (5.1.212, 215). Much later in the film, one finds out that Terry had it, but there is no explanation as to why she has not given it to Gérard.

threatened. The whole world. And nothing that can be done” [subtitles modified].⁵

However, the most extended reference to Shakespeare in *Paris nous appartient* is the film’s incorporation of a number of rehearsals of scenes mostly from act four of *Pericles*.⁶ As Jonathan Romney observes, this inclusion is not a marginal aspect of the film: “somehow we feel that the entire fate of the whole world hinges on its success or failure” (2006). These rehearsals never take place in the same location, and they are hardly ever with the same actors. Moreover, as is almost invariably the case with films by Rivette that comprise forms of theatricality – a considerable number of films, some with significant Shakespearean citations, from *L’amour fou* (1969) to *Out 1: Noli me tangere* (1970), from *Céline et Julie vont en bateau* (1970) to *L’amour par terre* (1984), and so on – these rehearsals do not develop into a full-fledged staging of the play. I want to argue that the incorporation of rehearsals of a play that is already in itself fragmentary, stylistically inconsistent, and multi-authored is essential to an understanding of the (disjointed) structure of *Paris nous appartient*. It is also intimately connected with the logic of conspiracy and the atmosphere of paranoia that permeate the film. Moreover, and relatedly, it is through this incorporation that Shakespeare emerges, or re-emerges, as a (fragmented) “spectral” entity – what Jacques Derrida may call the “Thing ‘Shakespeare’” (1994:22). As such an indeterminate “Thing” that haunts, it takes over the “life” of some of the film characters, and situates itself at the crossroad of further, multiple transactions.⁷

⁵ Maria shouts twice “*J’en peux plus*” [“I can’t stand it anymore”]; Anne says the same words, although not with the same exasperation, in the following scene, when she meets her own brother. Reporting her meeting with Maria, she marks her distance from her by dismissing her claims: “it wasn’t coherent. I think she is crazy.” Yet she adds, in a half-joking way, “like me.” And, of course, by the end of the film, Anne will have her own brother Pierre killed. Thus, there is an uncanny overlapping between these two female characters. In the film, words typically move from one character to another in an uncanny way.

⁶ There are references to *Macbeth* (“Tomorrow, tomorrow, and tomorrow”), when the actors say farewell to each other after a rehearsal. Moreover, one of the actors, Paul, after telling Anne that he might play Mark Antony in a production of *Julius Caesar*, delivers part of the “Friends, Romans, countrymen” speech.

⁷ To adapt Derrida’s argument, this “Thing” moves “in the manner of a ghost.” It “inhabits” the rehearsal scenes “without [properly] residing” (1994:18). On the

The first mention of *Pericles* occurs when Anne meets Jean-Marc (Jean-Claude Brialy), a friend from her hometown who has also moved to Paris. He is about to see Gérard to inform him that he will no longer be part of the *Pericles* project, since he is too busy with other projects and, in any case, he thinks that it will be a “flop.” During their meeting, the two friends briefly discuss the play. To Anne, it is a “very good” play. Instead, to Jean-Marc, it contains some good scenes but “it does not hold together” [*ça ne tient pas*], and it is not by Shakespeare after all. Gérard himself suspects that this production may be a flop, as he confesses to Jean-Marc when they meet. He is also well aware of the fragmentary status of *Pericles*. Talking to Anne on the *Pont des arts*,⁸ after offering her the role of Marina (Suzanne, who was supposed to play her, has landed a role in a film), he agrees with her that the play is “*un peu décousu*,” [“a little disconnected;” literally, “a little unstitched”].

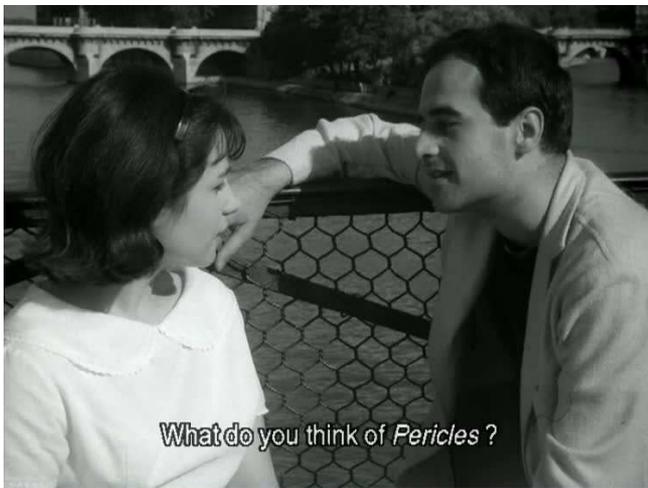


Fig. 1. Anne and Gérard on the Pont des arts.

He adds that it is “incoherent,” and made of “shreds and patches” [*de pièces et de morceaux*]. The rehearsals of scenes from the play do nothing but reassert the sense of disjointedness: how do they fit into Gérard’s overall project? Moreover, one could argue that

spectrality of Shakespeare in contemporary media adaptations of the Bard, see Calbi (2013:1-20).

⁸ For a very detailed account of the film locations, see Lack (2010).

Gérard is speaking to Anne as a simulacrum of the film director, a double of the director qua *auteur*. He is speaking of *Pericles*, that is, but also, more obliquely, of the film itself in which he happens to play the role of a theatre director. This is a film that is equally made of “*pièces et morceaux*,” of elusive fragments that litter its narrative: the missing tape, the multiple drawings of almost identical devouring mouths adorning Philip’s hotel room as well as a photograph of Antonin Artaud, the girl enigmatically playing with her shoes in sinister economist Jean-Bernard de Georges’s office, and so on. How significant are these elements? To what extent are they loose ends? By implicitly raising these kinds of questions, the film self-reflexively explores – and exploits – the desire to make sense of the fragments; to make them cohere in an organic, meaningful whole; to produce meaningful narratives out of “shreds and patches.” This desire concerns the many “positionalities” that are somehow involved in the film – the film director as would-be *auteur*, some of characters within it, the viewers themselves.⁹ Moreover, as a film *noir* that also references other *noirs* (in particular, Robert Aldrich’s *Kiss Me Deadly* [1955]), *Paris nous appartient* intimates that the position of the interpreter and the position of the paranoid are structurally interdependent, and thus not clearly distinguishable from one another.¹⁰ In Freudian terms, both the analyst/interpreter

⁹ To this, perhaps, one could add the desire to see Rivette’s film as a *Shakespearean* film. On meaningfulness and meaninglessness in the film, see Burt (2010:171). On the spectator as witness and participant, see Wiles (2012:11-12).

¹⁰ On paranoia and film *noir* from a largely Lacanian perspective, see Charnes (2006:26-42). For a splendid reading of Claude Chabrol’s *Ophélie* (1962), a film that, much like *Paris nous appartient*, displays and exposes the co-dependence of the drive to interpret and paranoia, see Lanier (2001). In this self-reflexive film, according to Lanier, Yvan’s chance encounter with Laurence Olivier’s *Hamlet* turns *Hamlet* (and the cinematic tradition of *noir* associated with it) into an “irresistible interpretive model” (244) that cannot but be used to “set right” what is (supposedly) out of joint from an ethical point of view. Relatedly, the film also functions as a trenchant critique of the notion of the “New Wave *auteur* as [Hamlet-like] artistic avenger” (253). Rivette’s film is perhaps not as radical as Chabrol’s in this latter respect. Yet, its inclusion of a character such as Gérard as a double of the filmic *auteur* as well as of a play such as *Pericles* that is notoriously multi-authored points to a similar problematisation of this notion. It may be argued that in films as diverse as *Ophélie*, François Truffaut’s *Jules et Jim* (1962), Jean-Luc Godard’s *Bande à part* (1964), and *Paris nous appartient*, the much-cherished *nouvelle vague* notion of *auteur* is simultaneously asserted and put under erasure, and that this complex dynamics is partially articulated through the “mobilizing” of Shakespeare as a cultural paradigm of authorship. In a 1996 interview

and the paranoid are informed by “the compulsion not to let chance count as chance” (1901:258); they are driven, that is, by a compulsive desire *not* to let chance fragments or events be *merely* accidental. Philip and Terry’s interpretive feverishness is of course the utmost example of the uncanny proximity of interpretation and paranoia. Terry goes as far as to speak of a conspiracy that will turn the whole world into a “global concentration camp,” a dystopian village in which “everything will be sacrificed to efficiency, the State, technology” (the quasi-Foucaultian word used here is “*techniques*”).¹¹ But one must add that they occupy a position along a shifting continuum without clear beginning and with no definite end. Anne, for instance, starts as a “girl without opinions” and then moves from incredulity to playing the detective/interpreter. (At some point, Philip, who fundamentally contributes to this transformation, calls her an “over-imaginative child.”) It is perhaps because of the haunting presence of this continuum (a continuum that does not exclude the viewer) that Hélène Frappat, one of the major critics of Rivette’s films, succinctly defines *Paris nous appartient* an “uninhabitable work” [*oeuvre inhabitable*] (2001:7, my translation). It is almost as if interpretation inexorably leads to the idea of a secret international conspiracy, and contributes to spread it, like an infection;¹² conversely, without interpretation, there would be no conspiracy but also, by the same token, there would be no narrative,

Rivette defines Shakespeare as “a continent that we know to be gigantic, extraordinary,” but still a “*terra incognita*” (cit. in Wiles 2012: 16).

¹¹ The film by Rivette that is closest to *Paris nous appartient* in this respect is *Le pont du nord* (1981), where Baptiste (Pascale Ogier) continually warns Marie (Bulle Ogier) of the mysterious presence of “the Maxes”: “The Maxes are everywhere: their gazes fall on everything that moves.” She also describes surveillance in the following terms: “it’s an absolute surveillance: every moment, every word you say, every move you make.” As with *Paris nous appartient*, this (paranoid) hypothesis is simultaneously confirmed *and* undermined. On the political resonances of this, see, for instance, De Pascale (2002:30-46); Neupert (2007:277-78) and Wiles (2012:12-15).

¹² The eerie, modernist musical score and the film’s cinematography contribute to the transformation of the most innocuous scenes into scenes pregnant with a sense of impending doom. This also applies to conversations between characters. For Frappat, one never simply communicates in Rivette’s films: “conversation serves to create accomplices” (2001:191, my translation). As to conspiracy, the mere fact of talking about it is what brings it into being (191). Morrey and Smith identify the double bind of the logic of the secret as follows: the “secret [is] so terrible that no individual can bear its burden alone, and yet to reveal the secret is to condemn oneself to execution” (2009:24).

and the film itself would collapse. In other words, what matters is not so much the “truth” of the conspiracy. As Morrey and Smith argue, it is almost impossible “to decide between two interpretations of *Paris nous appartient*: that of a global conspiracy directing all events of the film, or that of a series of essentially unrelated accidents, each with their own prosaic explanation” (2009:24).¹³ What matters is that there *is* a secret, an undecidable secret without depth. The putting together of various pieces of a puzzle *produces* what one claims to discover, a necessarily disjointed narrative that moves forward just as much as backward, a narrative that thus “pro(re)gresses” and allegorizes the process and workings of the film itself.¹⁴ And, as we shall see, the “Shakespeare” of the film largely responds to this undecidable logic of the secret: it is an out-of-joint “entity” that is like a spectre, simultaneously visible *and* invisible, an “object” of representation, out there in the open, *and* what exceeds the visible. It is a potentially (re)iterable construct that unfolds in a non-linear manner, and implicates as it unfolds.

Thus, as mentioned earlier, Gérard admits that *Pericles* is a little “incoherent” and “*décousu*.” Yet he also maintains, at one and the same time, that it “hangs together on another level, a terrestrial level” [“*tout se lit sur un autre plan, sur le plan terrestre*”]. As he explains: “Pericles may traverse kingdoms [PAUSE]. All the heroes may be scattered all over the globe [...]. Yet they are all reunited in act five.” To Gérard, “*Pericles* is a *mise en scène* of a world that is chaotic but not absurd, just like ours, flying off in all directions but with a purpose.” Anne of course agrees with him. (In a sense, Philip and Terry would agree with him, too: the world is chaotic but not absurd, in so far as each and every sign of this chaotic world speaks of a secret conspiracy. Idealism thus shakes hands with paranoia.)

¹³ An extract from Fritz Lang’s *Metropolis* is included in the film. But, once again, the meaning of this inclusion is unclear: when the film on the reel breaks, nobody bothers to do anything about it. In a sense, what appears at first to be a significant insertion “deconstructs” itself. According to Frappat, Rivette adopts the point of view of “*l’entre-deux*” (196), of the undecidable yet ethically compelling “in-between.” Her example is an emblematic exchange between Anne and Philippe: “You are right. And so am I. It is this that is complicated.” Arguably, this undecidability reintroduces chance.

¹⁴ Similarly, Morrey and Smith observe that “the function of the secret [...] is to generate narrative,” and that “the real secret of *Paris nous appartient* appears as the infernal logic of secrecy itself” (2009:24).

Yet, we never see the fifth act of *Pericles*; we never witness this idealized, idyllic Shakespeare, the *Pericles* of romance and resolution. *Pericles* remains “*décousu*” and “unplayable” (Gérard’s words), often appearing in the form of (spectral) remainders that are reiterated, in the course of rehearsals that are themselves “*décousu*.” (Aptly, the French word for rehearsals is “*répétitions*.”)¹⁵ “I never manage a proper rehearsal,” Gérard complains. Indeed, with the partial exception of Anne and Jean-Val (the sound designer who also plays Gower), actors often leave in the very midst of the rehearsals because they have a “normal” job to go back to; sometimes they do not turn up because they have found a job that pays (in a film, radio quiz, and so on); even when they stay to the end, as is the case with Virginie (the actress playing the bawd), they are adamant that they would rather be somewhere else: “Shakespeare’s all very well, but I prefer operetta.”¹⁶ However, the film implicitly but forcefully insists that these rehearsals, botched as they are, compare favourably to the “proper” rehearsals in a “proper” theatre with professional actors that take place after Gérard signs for thirty performances of *Pericles* with one of the most famous theatres in Paris, the *Théâtre de la Cité*. (It is implied that the deal is concluded because Terry agrees to sleep with the mysterious de Georges, who appears to be a close friend of the theatre manager, perhaps not insignificantly called Boileau.) By including these rehearsals, the film offers a critique of what can be seen as the theatrical equivalent of the cinematic “*tradition de qualité*,” the *nouvelle vague’s* *bête noire*:¹⁷ as we enter the *Théâtre de la Cité* with Anne, we can hear the sound of the sea and the crying of seagulls, which create a perfect scenic illusion; a veteran actor asks Gérard if he can wet his finger to check the direction of the wind while replying “South-west” to Marina’s “Is this wind westerly that

¹⁵ For Frappat, all the theatre directors who appear in Rivette’s films choose their texts “because of the mystery they contain, not because of the enigma that they solve” (2001:35, my translation).

¹⁶ In the film, theatre is besieged by advertising, radio, and cinema itself. But this does not mean that theatre is seen as the “proper” medium of Shakespearean representation. Theatre can be stultifying, as the rehearsals at the *Théâtre de la Cité* clearly show. Many Shakespeare-on-film critics have discussed the inclusion of theatre in filmic adaptations of the Bard, and emphasised its multiple valences. See, for instance, Burnett (2007:7-27) and Lanier (2007:135).

¹⁷ I am of course referring to François Truffaut’s famous, virulent attack on what he pejoratively dubs “the tradition of quality” (as exemplified by screenwriters Aurenche and Bost), when he was only twenty-one (1954:39-63).

blows?" (4.1.49); Boileau tells Gérard that he is thinking of having a pirates' galley in the background, manned by dwarves, so as to provide a realistic "third dimension." With its lavish production values and spurious sense of realism recalling the "*tradition de qualité*," this *Pericles* is certainly not the *Pericles* Gérard has in mind. He is prepared to "make concessions," as he tells Anne, because he is so eager to direct the play, but in the end he realizes that he has been deprived of any decisional power, and decides to quit the production. But, for him, it is too late to "go on with the play as before," as Anne had suggested. He will soon be found dead and, as with many other aspects of the film, the cause of death is not entirely clear: is it suicide because of his disappointment in himself as a theatre director? Does he take his life because Anne has turned him down? Has this anything to do with the secret conspiracy? (After all, Philip had predicted his death).

In a 1968 interview with *Cahiers du cinéma*, an interview in which he is critical of *Paris nous appartient*, Rivette reasserts his long-held belief that "all films are about theatre;" that "if you take a subject which deals with theatre [...] you're dealing with the truth of cinema" (1986:317).¹⁸ As many critics have noted, what attracts Rivette to theatre is the open-endedness of theatrical production and performance. For Rivette, to include some form or other of theatre, and especially rehearsals that are by definition works in progress, is, for cinema, "another way of looking at itself in the mirror" (318); it is, for cinema, a way of "contemplating something else" (318), thus drawing attention to itself as *other*, as a complex and precarious process rather than a finished product. In this sense the botched rehearsals of *Pericles* are a mirror image of what does *not* unfold in a linear way, either in terms of time or space. As Gilles Deleuze observes in relation to the film, "theatrical representation is a mirror-image" of what does *not* "manage to come to completion" (1989:74), even when it appears to end.¹⁹ But there is arguably something more

¹⁸ He finds the film dialogues "atrocious" (1986:317). But he still likes the way the film is constructed, "the way the characters go from one *décor* to another and the way they move among themselves" (317). His position on theatre can be said to be unique among *nouvelle vague* directors. On theatricality in Rivette's films, see especially Wiles (2012).

¹⁹ In fact, for Deleuze, because theatrical representation is "constantly failing," it is a kind of opaque mirror that cannot be properly said to reflect anything. The bare white stage that comes to coincide with the blank screen at the end of Rivette's *L'amour fou* is

specific about the lines from *Pericles* that the film chooses to include, beyond their function as allegorization of the irremediably decentred structure of the film. They are mostly from 4.1 and 4.2, and these are scenes in which Marina is herself the unsuspecting target of a murderous conspiracy. Once averted, this conspiracy takes the form of a scheme that does not attempt to rob her of her life but, instead, of what is to her dearer than life – her “virgin knot” (4.2.139).²⁰ And, indeed, in *Pericles* the Mediterranean appears to be, much like the Paris of the film, a stage where a vast conspiracy is being played out, and so much so that the quasi-paranoid, irreparably melancholic Prince of Tyre (see 1.2.1-6) begins to see himself as “a man, whom both the waters and the wind | In that vast tennis-court hath made the ball | For them to play upon” (2.1.57-59). In other words, there are forms of reciprocal haunting between the scenes performed in the rehearsals (and even the discussions about the play) and the “themes” that emerge in the rest of the film. For instance, theatre spills over into the “real life” of the film characters when the inexperienced Anne unwittingly becomes involved in another “play”: “What’s the game?,” she asks Philip.²¹ Unlike Dionyza’s plot concerning Marina, the secret conspiracy in which Anne happens to be involved does not seem to require her death. Nonetheless, it affects her deeply, as shown by the battery of questions she asks Philip: “What have I done to you? You encourage me, discourage me, drive me crazy [...]. What use am I to you?” These are questions that arguably resonate with Marina’s questions to Leonine: “What

perhaps the most appropriate emblem of this. *L’amour fou* includes rehearsals of Racine’s *Andromaque*, which are themselves being filmed as they are taking place. In the film, which is arguably a study of sublimation and regression, theatrical representation invades the “private space” of theatre director Sebastian and his wife Claire (Bulle Ogier). The rehearsals of *Andromaque* and the explorations of theatrical postures in “real life” are inverted mirror images of each other, and each infects the other. For the “theatricality of the cinema” in Rivette, which is “totally distinct from the theatricality of the theatre,” see Deleuze (1989:187).

²⁰ According to Wiles, “In its concurrent staging of classical and cold war conspiracy scenarios, the film draws an implicit parallel between antiquity and the contemporary world, between theater and cinema, between the dramaturge and the film director, and in this way re-presents the quotidian world of postwar Paris with the force of ancient ritual” (2012:8).

²¹ Like other films by Rivette, *Paris nous appartient* can be said to explore the divergence and intersection between two meanings of “play” (i.e., “play” as theatrical “*pièce*” and play as “*jeu*”). See Ffrench (2010:161). On *jeu*, see also Morrey and Smith (2009:5-6).

mean you?"; "Why will you kill me?" (4.1. 65, 69), and so on. As to Gérard, he can be seen as a contemporary version of Lysimachus. If Lysimachus hypocritically haunts "the doors and windows" of a brothel he simultaneously "savour[s] vilely" (4.5. 114-15), Gérard is attracted to the mysterious, "transgressive" sexuality Terry embodies, even though he finds this frightful: "I love her very much but sometimes she frightens me," as he confesses to Anne. Instead, he predictably finds Anne reassuring: "I feel at home with you." To his eyes, she is, much like Marina, "a piece of virtue" (116), and perhaps even a "prop" (124). As he overdramatically declares to Anne during one of their last meetings: "I feel I'm lost [...]. You are the last human visage on the horizon [PAUSE]. I have this curious dizziness [...]. Things seem to whirl about me faster and faster," to which she replies, not without irony: "You need something to hang on to?"²² Gérard's reproduction of one of the tritest dichotomizations of femininity upsets and confuses Anne.²³ As far as the rehearsals are concerned, this leads her to explore her own sense of abjection through Marina's lines: "Alack that Leonine was so slack, so slow |He should have struck, not spoke; or that these pirates |Not enough barbarous, had but o'erboard thrown me |For to seek my mother" (4.2.58-61). Anne speaks these lines in an unusual "wooden" way, thus arguably combining her examination of abjection with an "unconscious," performative undermining of Gérard's expectations as a theatre director, an oblique form of dissent. To Gérard, poetry is "lyricism," and "lyricism" is a corporeal "movement forward."²⁴

²² After one of the rehearsals, one of the actresses says to Anne that she is "being treated like a prop" by Gérard [*comme du matériel*].

²³ On the problematic of gender in Rivette, see Sellier (2008). She argues that the films displays a dichotomy between Terry as the "woman vampire" and Anne as the "shop girl." She continues, perhaps oversimplifying, that "the film, which presents itself as political [...] is a story in which remarkable men, avant-garde artists and political resisters, struggle tragically, while two women – one because she understands nothing, and the other because she knows too much – destroy them instead of helping them" (129-30).

²⁴ One could go as far as to argue that Gérard furtively plays the part of the bawd: he seems to be unaware that Terry prostitutes herself with de Georges to let him pursue his dream to stage *Pericles*, but he profits from it, at least momentarily. (She ends their relationship immediately after this.) Significantly, during the third rehearsal, there is an acrimonious exchange between Gérard and Paul, who plays Bolt, about the fact

There are many other “spectral” transactions in the film, and quite a few of them involve Terry. One of the most significant instances occurs when Gérard’s amateurish company rehearse in an open-air amphitheatre. While Anne and the actor who plays Leonine speak lines from 4.1. (from “Is this wind westerly that blows?” [49] onwards), the camera insidiously offers a close-up of Terry, which strongly suggests an uncanny juxtaposition between Terry and the play’s scheming Dionyza.



Fig. 2. Rehearsing *Pericles*

The haunting presence of Terry also contributes to the disruption of the rehearsal: Anne moves from “When I was born the wind was north” (50) to “Ay me, poor maid, | Born in a tempest when my mother died, | This world to me is a lasting storm, | Whirring me from my friends” (16-19). Annoyed by this, Gérard remarks that this is “the wrong speech.” But Anne’s mistake is also a movement backwards to lines that encapsulate what she perceives as her vacillating position within the tempestuous and endlessly alienating “world” outside rehearsal. Soon afterwards, and while still on stage,

that he never pays them for the rehearsals. Gérard becomes very upset and Paul retorts: “if you’re broke, find another trade.”

Anne openly confronts Terry, insinuating that the reason why she does not want to see Juan's friends in order to retrieve Juan's music tape has to do with the fact that she is somehow involved with his death. Terry abruptly replies that this is not in "your text" ["*votre texte*"], and invites her to "stick to the lines." Yet, what I have been arguing is that in the film one cannot quite stick to one's lines. The events – or non-events – that take place outside the boundaries of the rehearsal space affect the lines from *Pericles*, and the way in which they are performed; conversely, the fragmented script of *Pericles* often becomes a spectral "entity" that exceeds itself, an "entity" that haunts the film characters and prompts them to explore different forms of malaise, some of which the script of *Pericles* itself brings into being. As shown earlier, this is especially the case with Anne. It is worth adding that this spectrality is material *and* evanescent. It does not coincide with fate, in the sense that it does not slot the film characters into pre-determined roles. Anne is undoubtedly a contemporary version of Marina, "the abandoned waif who becomes the unwitting object of a murderous conspiracy" (Wiles 2012:16). Yet she also takes on the more active role of Pericles, a character who, according to Gérard, "traverse[s] kingdoms." In the phantasmatic rewriting and "re-vision" of the *dispositif* of gender informing *Pericles* as envisaged by the film, she is also the *flâneuse* who wanders "in a Paris which is like a city of ghosts" (Romney 2006). She embodies what Deleuze calls "investigation-outing" ["*promenade-enquête*"]; she belongs to "a race of charming, moving characters who [...] experience and act out obscure events which are as poorly linked as the portions of the any-space-whatever they traverse" (1986:217).

To conclude, it is worth returning to the question of reiteration, a question that is so central to both the logic of the film and the way in which *Pericles* operates therein. According to Patrick Ffrench, "theatricality in *Paris nous appartient* is a contradiction," in that "the contingency of the space of rehearsal is denied in advance by the script" (2010:160). Yet, the reiteration of lines from *Pericles* tells a different story. It can be seen as what reintroduces contingency and undermines the "mastery" and (hypothetical) fixedness of the Shakespearean script. In other words, reiteration is not a representation or reproduction of a pre-existing textual "entity" that somehow authorizes it. This can be approached by referring to a minor, almost inaudible exchange between Gérard and Jean-Val. Just before yet another rehearsal in yet another location, Gérard incites

his troupe to enter the space of rehearsal so as to carry on (“*Allons [PAUSE] à la suite*”), to which Jean-Val ironically replies with another question: “carry on with what?” (“*La suite de quoi?*”). The *Pericles of Paris nous appartient* is intimately connected with this indeterminate “what” (“*quoi*”). There is hardly anything that precedes *la suite* (i.e., that which follows). There is hardly any stable script – or any previous rehearsal (*répétition*) – upon which *la suite* can build in an unproblematic, linear manner.²⁵ There is only ever reiteration, a reiteration that displaces *and* exposes what it (supposedly) repeats, drawing attention to the multiplicity, dividedness, and fragmentariness of any “origin” or source. As mentioned earlier, this repeated iteration without any “proper” origin or source is perhaps facilitated by the choice of a text such as *Pericles* that is itself multi-authored, inconsistent, and the result of drastic revisions.

One of the most emblematic examples of the process of “authorless” reiteration is the repetition of the lines: “Is this wind westerly that blows?” (4.1.49). It is by being repeated – and often by being repeated in the course of what in French is a *répétition* – that these lines take on an almost incantatory, eerie quality. Like an (in)visible secret, they move from one film character to another, from Anne, the “girl without opinions” who reads them before she becomes seriously involved in the *Pericles* production, to Anne the amateurish actress, from Anne the amateurish actress to the professional actress playing Marina at the *Théâtre de la Cité*, and from the latter to Jean-Val at the end of the film. This “Shakespeare” is an iterable, serial, exilic “Shakespeare.” As Richard Burt points out in an article that includes a discussion of Rivette’s film, “Shakespeare’s staying power has nothing to do with his staying in (one) place” (2009:233). It is worth recalling in this context the epigraph from Charles Péguy (a devout non-practicing Catholic just like Rivette) that prefaces the film, an epigraph that oddly puts under erasure the title of the film, reciting that: “Paris belongs to no one” (“*Paris n’appartient à personne*”). The process of reiteration suggests that “Shakespeare,” like Paris, belongs to no one. The film’s finale remarks on the problematics of unbelonging. As previously

²⁵ In this sense, the “second time” cannot be clearly distinguished from the “first time.” In the film, the mysterious figure of Juan is defined as an “anachronism,” a character not properly belonging to his time. “Anachronism” is a word that could be applied to the complex temporality of a reiteration (retrospectively) producing what comes before it.

discussed, this finale does not correspond to the fifth act of *Pericles* that Gérard envisages. It is far removed from the atmosphere of romance. What we experience, instead, is an acceleration in terms of plot: the death of Gérard is followed by Terry's murder of Pierre, whom Philip and Terry believe to be an agent of the secret organization that is taking over the world, and we witness this murder through Anne's eyes. The idea of conspiracy forcefully seems to reassert itself ("I had to be sure we weren't imagining things," Philip says to Anne) only to be immediately denied ("The organization [...] exists only in Philip's imagination [...]. Such organizations do exist but are less clear-cut [...]. Evil has more than one face"). This is itself suspicious, "a little too categorical to be entirely believed" (Morrey and Smith 2009:23). With the question of conspiracy left suspended, Philip and Terry leave for an unknown destination. It is at this point that Jean-Val announces to Anne that the former members of Gérard's theatrical company intend to get together and stage *Pericles* again, and asks her if she wants to be part of it. As he does so, he recites what has by now become a kind of "spectral" refrain: "Is this wind westerly that blows?" As with much else in the film, we are left uncertain as to whether this new production will take place, or whether Ann will participate. The final sequence of the film shows some birds flying away over water. These are extremely beautiful, evocative shots. It is almost as if Marina, and Anne with her (especially after the death of her own brother), had finally managed to "change" into a "bird" in order to "fl[y] i'th' purer air;" it is almost as if Anne/Marina had finally succeeded in escaping a place of confinement, an "unhallowed place" (4.5.104-106).²⁶ For Jonathan Romney, this sequence is simultaneously "melancholic and rapturous, an ending that is also a beginning" (2006). And, indeed, from a "formal" point of view, the tracking shot from right to left irresistibly recalls the opening tracking shot from left to right that leads us into Paris. It establishes

²⁶ In a 1961 interview, Rivette observes that *Paris nous appartient* is "an experience – an adventure, unachieved, aborted, perhaps, but isn't that the risk of experience? Experience of what? Of an idea, of a hypothesis [...]. I tried to tell the *story* of an idea, with the aid of the detective story form; that is to say that instead of *unveiling* primary intentions at the end of the story, the denouement can't do anything but *abolish* them: 'Nothing took place but the place'" (cit. in Monaco 2007:321). (The citation, of course, recalls *Coup de dés*.) But arguably this "place" belongs to no one. In another interview, he stresses that "at the end it all disappears and there is nothing left but this lake and some birds flying away" (1986:318).

a circularity that does not coincide with closure, and doubles mystery. In particular, it is a kind of circularity that does not put an end to the exilic. It invites the viewer to immerse themselves in a fluid, aquatic landscape that bears the promise of the future, and future reiterations of *Pericles*. This is a landscape, one might infer, in which conspiracy – if any there be – will be a “con-spiration,” a “breathing-together” by the surviving members of Gérard’s theatrical community (see Frappat 2001:225), almost as if the “wind [...] that blows” could be turned into a vital element that suffuses and moves through the body. Almost half-way through the film, Gérard observes that we are “all in exile,” which can be seen as a partial reassessment of his idea of *Pericles* as a play that transcends exile, and reconstitutes itself “on another level, a terrestrial level.” At the end of the film this non-Anglophone “Shakespeare” remains a textual and performative body “flying off in all directions,” an exilic figure that melancholically migrates from place to place, much like *Pericles*, and belongs to no one.

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The tyranny of immaterialism: Refusing the body in *The Winter's Tale*

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this study is to analyse the way Shakespeare's work reveals the failure – in both private and public lives – of a system of thought in which the body is construed as a mere receptacle of immaterial and “superior” entities, supposedly governed by rational kinds of political and social power. After a brief consideration of *Measure for Measure* as a play focused on the political danger of denying the material aspect of the individual, *The Winter's Tale* will be seen as presenting a similar problem. Here, the aspiration to an ideal of absolute purity and the consequent demonization of the sexualized flesh, deriving from both Puritan theology and neo-Platonic philosophy, merges with the anxiety towards the “rebellious” body fostered by sixteenth century medical science, constituting the disruptive force that initiates the plot. This attitude of denial of the body, linked to political power, leads to both a psychological breakdown and, in the public sphere, to a regime of tyranny.

KEYWORDS: Shakespeare; Renaissance philosophy; Renaissance medical science; Puritanism; Body; Sexuality; Machiavelli; Tyranny; *Measure for Measure*; *The Winter's Tale*.

Introduction

The study of human nature, the definition of man's ontological essence, is a particularly relevant issue in Shakespeare's work,

associating him with one of the main concerns of an entire age*. Shakespeare writes in a period in which the nature of man was the centre of a very complex and animated debate, to which a variety of thinkers – from philosophers to poets, from politicians to theologians and physicians – contributed. The concept of man emerging from this heterogeneous twine of different perspectives was consequently multifaceted. Nonetheless, a specific principle can be said to have constituted the basis of the Renaissance anthropological paradigm: the principle of hierarchical dichotomy. As Jonathan Sawday writes, the categories according to which human nature was conceived, bounded by theology and cosmology, did not allow the human body to be thought of as a discrete and self-significant entity. A belief in the presence of a superior essence – a soul or a thinking entity – informed all possible perspectives of the body, whose primary function was to act as a vessel of containment for the more significant feature of the soul (Sawday 1995:16). This perpetual dualistic struggle between body and soul represents the ontological axiom upon which the concept of man was built; an axiom that found its *raison d'être* both in the philosophical and the theological paradigms of the period.

From a purely philosophical standpoint, the current of thought that constitutes the basis of the Renaissance anthropological paradigm is a deeply Christianized combination of Stoicism and neo-Platonism. These philosophical currents present an essentially dualistic concept of man, divided into a vile and a noble part. Stoicism preaches an ideal of virtue founded on the absolute control of passions and bodily desires, judged as destructive and essentially evil elements. On the other hand, neo-Platonism, much more optimistic about man's possibilities of perfection, considers human beings to be wonderful creatures, "great miracles,"¹ but only insofar as they choose to transcend their most corporeal selves and follow their pure intellect to become angelic minds. Reaffirming a conflict that can be traced back to Plato's *Phaedrus* – where the soul is described as striving to achieve dissociation from its bodily existence

* I would like to thank the two anonymous referees for the generosity and intelligence of their revisions. I feel that, by following their valuable suggestions, I have produced a much better article than the one I originally submitted.

¹ This definition of man, attributed to Hermes Trismegistus, is expressed by Pico della Mirandola at the beginning of his *Oratio De Hominis Dignitate* (2004:103).

– the neo-Platonic body does not participate in the realization of the most authentic nature of man because, as Giovanni Betussi asserts, “l’anima è l’uomo, ed in quella consiste la vera bellezza. Ed il corpo è la sua prigione ed il suo sepolcro” [“Because man is his soul, and in that consists true beauty. And the body is his prison and his sepulchre”] (1968:20; my translation). The soul, as Ficino writes, needs to detach itself from the physical body and adhere to the divine, and only in doing so will it truly become *copula mundi* (1962:I.151).

Both Stoicism and neo-Platonism, promoting an ascetic and “mind-centred” ideal of man, had a strong influence on Renaissance England. Stoic thought reached the country through many different sources – from Boethius’ *Consolationes* (in Chaucer’s and Queen Elizabeth’s translations) to the Stoic ideas Christianized by Paul, Augustine, and Aquinas; from Stoic authors² to the repository of quotations filtered by Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Erasmus, Guevara and Montaigne; and finally Justus Lipsius on constancy in John Stradling’s sixteenth-century translation (López-Peláez Casellas 2004:98). As López-Peláez Casellas writes,³ Stoicism was one of the most powerful philosophical constructs of the Renaissance period (2004:93). As for neo-Platonism, in the 1570s, after Colet’s cosmogonist Plato and Thomas More’s political one, neo-Platonic theories of love and beauty – the Plato of the *Symposium* – arrived in England, mainly through the works of the French neo-Platonists and the treatises by Bembo, Pico della Mirandola, Annibale Romei and Baldassarre Castiglione (especially in Hoby’s famous 1561 translation of *The Courtier*). These works were widely read among English intellectuals, in both their original and translated versions. Moreover, minor neo-Platonic authors such as Diacetto and Della Barba, whose works appear in the libraries of the period as much as those by Ficino, were also known to English thinkers. The neo-Platonic idea of man as a “great miracle,” whose soul strives to escape the terrestrial physicality of the body, easily merged with the purely Christian ideal, and spread through England, strongly influencing the thought and literature of the period.

² Mainly Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Seneca, Plutarch, and Marcus Aurelius.

³ Another scholar whose work has particularly contributed to the understanding of the relations between Stoicism and English Renaissance literature is Ben Schneider (1993; 1995).

From a strictly religious standpoint, the limits of the optimistic neo-Platonic concept of man are found in Christian, and specifically Protestant, anthropological pessimism. As Alistair Fox writes: "At the heart of Elizabethan Protestantism lay a deepened sense of human sinfulness [...] [which] sprang from the Calvinist conviction that human nature was inherently depraved" (1997:61). Inherited from St. Augustine and patristic writers, this pessimistic and dichotomous idea of man individuates the dark mark of original sin in the human body, particularly in its sexual connotations. For this reason, this sin can only be redeemed through the annihilation of the body and its desires. As Luther writes, the body contains the seeds of the Devil and is, therefore, inevitably inclined towards evil. For this reason, God hates the "sinful body" and commands men to hate, mortify, and destroy it (1976). Concurrently, Calvinistic theology, with its obsessive desire to chart the inner state of each individual's spiritual well-being, promoted an even more ferocious battle between the body – perceived in its disobedient longing for sensual existence – and the soul. Amongst Puritans, the inner anxiety of Calvinist doctrine became institutionalized, producing a fanatical refusal of the body and its desires. The ascetic tension present in medieval English spirituality found a point of convergence in the Protestant rejection of the flesh, reinforcing the dichotomous concept of man proper to Christian ontological anthropology and fostering a body-denying attitude in both theory and practice.

Paradoxically, the optimistic neo-Platonic anthropology which considers the human being to be capable of reaching absolute purity and perfection, and the pessimistic demonization of man's material aspects, resulting in the generalized idea of the sinfulness inherent in the human race, share a common ontological matrix. This matrix is based on the rejection of the body, which is perceived as the negative pole of a hierarchically oriented dichotomy according to which human nature as well as the universe are organized. Mastery over the body and its desires, the endless war against the sin inherent in the flesh, asserts itself as a key feature in Renaissance culture, and provides the framework in which the period's anthropological paradigm is to be understood (Sawday 1995:20).

Although Stoicism and neo-Platonism are the cornerstones of the anthropological paradigm predominant in the Renaissance, it would be a mistake not to acknowledge the existence of other conflicting

currents of thought circulating in Europe in this period. As Richard Stier recently highlighted, the idea of a “homogeneous” Renaissance, uniform in the triumph of a single worldview, is at odds with the inconsistencies generated by divergent voices (2011). Shakespeare is one of those voices. The investigation of Shakespeare’s work from a body-centred perspective is not new in the field of Shakespearean criticism. As Keir Elam noted as early as 1996, in the three preceding decades Shakespeare studies witnessed a “corporeal turn,” “a shift from a primary concern with ‘language’ to a primary concern with the body” (1996:142-43). To paraphrase Elam, the body had been counted as single-sexed, double-natured, tremulous (Barker 1984), enclosed (Stallybrass 1986), carnivalized, effeminized, intestinal, consumed, embarrassed (Paster 1993), sodomized, disease-ridden, and emblazoned (Sawday 1995). Since Elam’s work, the body has been further considered as interiorized (Hillman 2007; Schoenfeldt 1999), gendered (Rutter 2001), fragmented (Owens 2005), temporal (Siemon 2001) and indeterminate (Sanders 2006). At the same time, the early modern use of the body as a political metaphor has also been thoroughly investigated. Following Kantorowicz’s famous study on the king’s two bodies (1957), the concept of the “body politic” – “the most frequently used metaphor for the state in early modern political discourse” (Hadfield 2004:131) – has been widely analysed within the context of Shakespeare’s work. As Dustin Gish and Bernard J. Dobski write, “there may be no greater account or anatomy of the Body Politic in English language than what one discovers in Shakespeare’s plays and poetry” (2013:1).

The study of the “body politic” as a metaphor intertwines with the attention recently paid to the body’s materiality. However, the two different discourses have tended to remain relatively separate. While the Shakespearean body was examined and dissected through a variety of different approaches, those works investigating Shakespeare’s output from a political standpoint usually continued to treat the “body” mainly as a metaphor. The result of this tendency is that the deep interaction between political, philosophical, and anthropological paradigms as it appears in Shakespeare’s work is still open to investigation. In particular, Shakespeare’s representation of the political effects of a particular concept of the body appears to me as extremely interesting, as it shows the risks the poet considers inherent in the most ascetic and dichotomous elements of the Renaissance idea of man.

The aim of this study is to analyze the way Shakespeare's work reveals the failure – in both private and public life – of a system of thought in which the body is construed as a mere receptacle of immaterial and “superior” entities, supposedly governed by rational kinds of political and social power. In particular, the inconsistency of this concept of man will emerge in the analysis of a play not often examined in terms of its political and anthropological implications: *The Winter's Tale*. After a brief consideration of *Measure for Measure* as a play directly focused on the political danger of denying the natural and material aspect of the individual, *The Winter's Tale* will be seen as presenting a similar – though perhaps more complex – problem. As in *Measure for Measure*, the attitude of denial of the body, linked to political power, leads to both a psychological breakdown and to a regime of tyranny in the public sphere. Moreover, in Act V, Shakespeare interlaces the political and anthropological discourses with a particular concept of art also stemming from the great Christian and neo-Platonic Renaissance code, thus calling into question the dominant paradigm in its many different, coherent faces.

Measure for Measure

A Shakespearean scholar aiming to analyse the way in which a particular attitude toward the human body affects both personal and public life can easily find *Measure for Measure* to be an interesting, yet obvious, starting point. In this play, the risk stemming from a political power unable to confront properly the bodily aspects of its subjects is made extremely clear.

As the Duke's first words seem to suggest, one of the main themes of the play is “Of government the properties to unfold” (1.1.3). In facing this difficult task, Shakespeare joins the long list of Renaissance writers dealing with the ideal form of government, and the ideal prince. Critics have often referred to the political treatises of the period, primarily Machiavelli's, in order to “situate” the form of government Shakespeare may be proposing. Norman N. Holland, for instance, emphasises the link between the Duke of Vienna's actions and those of Cesare Borgia, as described in Machiavelli's *Il Principe*, concluding that: “Shakespeare's Duke is on Machiavelli's side” (1959:20).

To describe the nature of the Duke's policy as more or less Machiavellian is not the aim of this study. However, as the treatment of the human body is the central subject here, one aspect of Machiavelli's political philosophy – which was undoubtedly in some form present in Shakespeare's mind while writing *Measure for Measure* – may be relevant for understanding the anthropological basis of the play. This aspect is what Roberto Esposito calls Machiavelli's "relationship with the vital, corporeal and animalistic layer, which is at the base of human actions" (2010:25; my translation). Power, for Machiavelli, is not above and separated from the natural and "original" aspects of human life, but instead is deeply rooted in an instinctive, corporeal, and, in some way, animalistic world. Machiavelli's intention of dealing with the "verità effettuale della cosa" ["effective truth of the matter"] (1976:60; my translation) is in this sense also an expression of his frustration with humanistic anthropology, according to which "the beast" (which can also be interpreted as "the body") is considered the lowest level to which men return when falling from their divine state, or a primitive and temporary condition to be definitively surpassed by political order. The fundamental starting point of Machiavelli's theory is the full acceptance of the complex and dynamic nature of the human being, and not only in terms of a negativity inherent in the subjects (the "body" of the state), which needs to be controlled and repressed by the political power (the "head" of the state), as in Hobbes, but also as a natural state and a source of strength and power for the subjects as well as the prince. This situation is expressed well by the images of the prince as a *centauro* (centaur) and the union of *volpe* and *leone* (fox and lion).

The rejection of this humanistic anthropology, in favour of the concept that the human being is a complex and non-hierarchic unity of mind and body, appears also to be one of the bases of Shakespeare's works. When a character refuses to acknowledge his "dark," instinctive, and corporeal side, by presenting himself as a purely spiritual and rational being whose body is a mere vessel of immaterial and noble elements, he often ends up either changing his worldview, or being damaged by it.

The problem is much more serious when the character concerned is a man wielding political power, for in this case not only is his own health in danger, but so too is the safety of the entire State. An

illustrative example of this can be found in *Measure for Measure*. The problem that many critics have indicated as the central issue of the play, the balance between law and mercy – a problem also crucial in *The Merchant of Venice* –, is not accidentally connected with that of body-denial, as it arises in connection with those frailties most deeply rooted in the material nature of men, related to their physical needs and pleasures, most notably sexual appetite.

Shakespeare quite explicitly condemns the excessive rigour with which Lord Angelo intends to punish premarital sexual intercourse by making this character villainous. The underlying cause of Angelo's misrule, on a personal and political level, is also well-established in the text. He is a *precise*, "a word that was used to stigmatise a theological or ecclesiological position and one often applied to Puritans" (Hamilton 1992:111-12); "A man of stricture and firm abstinence" (1.3.12), "who never feels |The wanton stings and motions of the sense, |But doth rebate and blunt his natural edge |With profits of the mind, study, and fast" (1.4.57-60). Angelo's obstinate refusal of his natural and material aspects, especially his sexuality, makes him not only unable properly to balance law and mercy in his administration of justice, but also brings him to a morbid and unhealthy confrontation with the other sex, one which ultimately leads him to a political as well as personal failure.

On an individual level, the fanaticism with which Angelo refuses to accept his bodily nature as a legitimate part of himself prevents him from dealing with his sexual impulses in a natural way. As a result, he becomes morbidly obsessed with Isabella. Perceiving desire as sinful and shameful in itself, he already feels damned once he has experienced it, and is therefore unable to prevent his descent into crime – "I have begun, |And now I give my sensual race the rein" (2.4.159-60). On the other hand, the deputy's attitude towards his own body does not lead him to a better political outcome. Given the essential ontological sameness of those who rule and those who are ruled as discussed above, Angelo's inability to recognize and accept his own nature in its completeness prevents him from understanding his subjects, and consequently from governing them properly. Not only Lucio, whose authority is questionable, but even Escalus implicitly indicates the cause of Angelo's political errors as the rejection of his own flesh. Contextually, the Duke's main purpose seems to be, from the outset, not enforcing the law – his final

resolutions being the very denial of this purpose –, but rather to expose the inconsistency and dangerous character of Angelo's attitude towards men's bodily nature.

This body-denying attitude leads Angelo to complete political failure, which causes unanimous discontent among both the lower and the upper classes. Feeling sinful in his own body, Angelo needs first to deny it through psychological self-castration and then through the censure of his subjects' bodies, with an obsessive severity springing from his loss of self-control. He thus becomes a "tyrant." This epithet, central to the Renaissance treatises on the ideal prince, is more or less overtly attributed to the deputy by Isabella,⁴ by the Duke himself,⁵ and by Claudio, who meaningfully links Angelo's "tyranny" (1.2.151) to the image of the governor riding and restraining with spurs a restless horse: the "*body public*" (1.2.147). While subtly reminding us of the Platonic chariot allegory, in which the lustful body is represented as an unruly horse, this representation of the relationship between the governor and the "public body" clearly refers to the images, often found in the treatises of the period, of the state as composed of a body – the totality of the subjects – and a head – the king. However, the Shakespearean image goes beyond the traditional figure by entirely separating the body (animal) – which is represented as a disconnected, not human because not rational, entity – from the head of the state (human). This separation, reflecting Angelo's refusal to admit any similarity of the flesh between himself and his subjects, transforms the metaphor of rightful government into one of tyranny. It thus reveals the inadequacy, on both the psychological and political levels, of a system of thought in which the natural, ontological matrix proper to all mankind is denied in favour of a purely rational and spiritual ideal.

The Winter's Tale

Measure for Measure is perhaps the play in which the dangers of denying the body, especially when linked to power, are most

⁴ "O, it is excellent | To have a giant's strength, but it is tyrannous | To use it like a giant" (1.2.109-11).

⁵ "Were he mealed with that | Which he corrects, then were he tyrannous" (4.2.84-85).

explicitly asserted. This same statement, though in a more covert and complex way, can be found in another play addressing the relationship between personal behaviour and political power: *The Winter's Tale*. In this play, the disruptive force that initiates the plot is generated when the aspiration to an ideal of absolute purity and the consequent demonization of the natural and sexualized flesh, deriving from both Puritan theology and neo-Platonic philosophy, merges with anxiety about the "rebellious" body-interior fostered by sixteenth-century medical science. The psychological and political consequences of this complex intertwining of body-denying impulses are displayed in a most subtle way, shown rather than explicitly asserted, until the final scene, where the image of the statue turning into flesh marks the reconciliation between the king's mind and the body of both his wife and his state.

One of the main issues that have puzzled critics working on the *The Winter's Tale* is the actual cause of Leontes' sudden and apparently unwarranted jealousy. Some critics have stressed the latent homosexual desire between the two kings, Leontes and Polixenes (Johnson 1998:187-217), while others have read Leontes' unreasonable treatment of his wife as the result of the king's anxiety towards female power. This is, for instance, the interpretation of Lynn Enterline, who, underlining Hermione's success in convincing Polixenes to stay (when Leontes could not), links the king's outburst of jealousy to an anxiety provoked by the power of his wife's speech (2000:198-226). According to Enterline, this event engenders a rhetorical rivalry between male and female speech that turns into a sexual anxiety when the king minimizes his wife's superior rhetorical skills by interpreting them narrowly as the consequence of her erotic power. Both of these interpretations are of use in understanding this most difficult play. However, by analysing more deeply the king's attitude towards his wife's body, it is possible to shed further light on Leontes' strange obsession, discovering again in the refusal of the very materiality of the human, and particularly feminine, body, one of the main causes of the king's personal and political mistakes.

Crucial to this analysis is Polixenes' initial description of the two kings' infancy. His description reflects the idealistic and Edenic dream that Leontes, and probably Polixenes also, have projected onto their own past, and still perceive as a highly desirable state.

This Eden, in which Christian, neo-Platonic and Arcadian characteristics intertwine, significantly presents the two boys as “twinned lambs” (1.2.69) who exchange “innocence for innocence” (1.2.71) and, not knowing “the doctrine of ill-doing” (1.2.72), can answer heaven “not guilty” (1.2.76). Whether this is a veiled homosexual fantasy or not, it is clear that no sexual appetite enters this golden time until the appearance of female bodies (those of the two queens). As in the biblical story of Adam and Eve, these bodies violently insert themselves into the once eternally static paradise – “Two lads that thought there was no more behind | But such a day tomorrow as today, | And to be boy eternal” (1.2.64-66) –, bringing with them time, blood, and temptations: the sinfulness of matter and flesh. Failing to perceive the actual danger and the truth hidden in her own words, Hermione meaningfully jokes: “Of this make no conclusion, lest you say | Your queen and I are devils [...] If you first sinned with us” (1.2.83-86). This initial dialogue provides us with an understanding of Leontes’ obsession, linking the fall from the Heaven of absolute purity to the queen’s body, which is perceived as the first sin. Such a reading of reality is clearly influenced by a Christian, and particularly Augustinian, vision of the world, where an Edenic nature is opposed to the post-lapsarian nature of matter and the flesh.

The memory of this state of innocence and the cause of his “fall” from it lead Leontes to a sudden demonization of his wife’s sinful body, especially when she re-enacts towards his past companion in innocence the same seductive movement with which she entered the king’s life. The image of soft hands sealing a bond of love – “I could make thee open thy white hand | And clap thyself my love” (1.2.105-106) – is now interpreted by Leontes in a most morbid way: his friend and his queen are perceived to be “padding palms and pinching fingers” (1.2.117), and, worse yet, “mingling bloods” (1.2.111). The fluid, open, and porous nature of Hermione’s body – consistent with the Galenic and “humoral” vision of the body so crucial in the Renaissance⁶ – repulses Leontes, who starts to become obsessed by it.

⁶ The Galenic and “humoral” idea of the body, as described by Paster, is “characterized by corporeal fluidity, openness, and porous boundaries” (1993:8).

The perception of Hermione's body as "grotesque" in Bakhtinian terms – a body that "is not separated from the rest of the world. It is not a closed, completed unit; it is unfinished, outgrows itself, transgresses its own limits" (1993:26) – causes Leontes to feel anxious and disgusted, especially towards "those parts of the body that are open to the outside world, that is, the parts through which the world enters the body or emerges from it" (1993:26), the body's thresholds and its sites of pleasure. In this sense, nothing could be more disturbing than the queen's pregnant body, a "grotesque" "plenitude, full of activities apart from mind through which it expresses its unity with and sense of belonging to the natural world."⁷ This king, dreaming of an existence disconnected from the obscurity and heaviness of matter, is unable to cope with it.

Deviating from his source, *Pandosto*, in which the queen's pregnancy is discovered only after she is imprisoned, far from the other characters' and the audience's eyes, Shakespeare's deliberate choice to bring Hermione's pregnant body onto the stage is quite significant. Its presence on stage in all its heavy, bloated roundness, disturbs the "clean" and "neat" Platonic male world the kings speak of ("We must be neat – not neat, but cleanly" [I,ii, 125]), and pollutes the "uncontaminated" dream of Leontes with its overabundance of flesh, of matter. As in *Measure for Measure*, where Juliet's pregnant body is disturbing to the deputy, who reads in it, written with "character too gross" (1.2.144), all the danger and foulness of the sexualized flesh, in the replenished body of his wife Leontes perceives the triumph of a principle divergent from his pure and "fleshless" ideal. As Maria del Sapio Garbero writes, the queen's body appears to Leontes "as the persuasive principle of a evilness of the matter that bends, bending with itself every other thing. [...] It illustrates in an obvious way what living beings own to Nature, and makes the original stain seem irredeemable. It roots them in a fallen world, which originates in impurity" (2003:29; my translation). The immobility and "linearity" of the Edenic world come into violent collision with this round and mysterious growing belly that hides deep inside its flesh the perpetual movement with which matter reproduces itself, in a vertiginous revolving of tissue and blood.

⁷ This is the way Paster defines the humoral and grotesque body in his *The Body Embarrassed. Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (1993).

The king's denial of the materiality of his own origin and his disgusted obsession with the visible incarnation of that "unclean" procreation process, leads him to a destructive madness that craves for the annihilation of the ontological and epistemological darkness implicit in the mystery of the growing womb. In accordance with most Renaissance medical literature, this organ is perceived as obscure and able to "infect" and "defile" the whole body, linking pregnancy with disease, and producing "an understanding of the maternal body as polluted and polluting" (Paster 1993:165). The king's language reflects his morbid obsession and becomes more and more obscene towards his queen, deforming her features through bestial imagery – "How she holds up the neb, the bill to him" (1.2.184) –, and expressing in this the neo-Platonic association of sexuality and bestiality. He also focuses his afflicted imagination on the "grotesque" nature of Hermione's body as "open," and continuously in sexual exchange with the "dungy earth" outside of it. The "gates" of the body are "opened" (1.2.198); there is "No barricado for a belly" (1.2.205), it "will let in and out the enemy" (1.2.206). Contextually, the imagery of the "infection" and "disease" continues to spread through the play's words. However, the infection is not only the presumed sexual pollution inseminated in Hermione's body by her lustful desires – "Were my wife's liver | *Infected* as her life" (1.2.306-307); "Who does *infect* her?" (1.2.308) etc. It is not only a disease that is felt to be contaminating her blood and her milk (in accordance with the medical thought of the period, which conceived the womb and the breast as strictly connected to one another), as it clearly appears in the king's statement in removing his male child from the mother – "Give me the boy. I am glad you did not nurse him [...] you | Have too much blood in him" (2.1.58-60) –, and in the conscious words of the queen herself: "My second joy, | And first fruits of my body, from his presence | I am barred, like one *infectious*" (3.2.95-97). The infection is also the consciousness of the blood, the spectre of the flesh that enters Leontes' fantasy of absolute purity "infecting" his brain (1.2.147), exactly as the consciousness of the spider's presence in the cup "infects" his knowledge (2.1.44), causing the violent vomiting of the abhorrent material. In an era in which the anatomical study of the human body's interior was calling into question centuries-old certitudes both ontological as well as epistemological,⁸ Leontes'

⁸ For a study of the history of anatomy in early modern period, see Sawday (1995).

almost desperate attempt to keep his mind free from the “visceral knowledge” (as David Hillman terms it) reflects an anxiety experienced by many early modern people. As Hillman affirms, *The Winter’s Tale* represents Shakespeare’s most concise portrayal of this denial, repeatedly thematising “the desire not to know, or not to ‘dare to know that which I know’ (4.4.452) – not to dare, as Nietzsche put it, to believe one’s own entrails” (1997:94). This is because, as Sawday writes, the knowledge of the body-interior’s abysses “speaks directly of our own mortality” (1995:12), and of our ineradicable connection with the realm of nature and of matter.

Stemming from his obsessive rejection of the sexualized flesh, Leontes’ fear and disgust towards the depths of the body effortlessly merges with his jealousy, leading him to perceive, in accordance with a common Renaissance understanding of procreation, the queen’s belly as the fruit of her illicit sexual pleasure. Due to the absence of effective contraception, “sex and pregnancy went hand in hand in the Renaissance imagination” (Jardine 1989:130); moreover, the Galenic view of conception produced “a common culture of procreational knowledge in which women’s sexual pleasure was seen both by laymen and doctors as necessary for fecundity” (McLaren 1984:21).⁹ As a result, the pregnant woman could be seen as an image of her own fulfilled sexuality, “her belly an eloquent narrative of her illicit desires” (DiGangi 1993:593), and this is the way Leontes seems to perceive Hermione’s growing body. Absorbed in this complex and contradictory fusion of Puritan theology and Renaissance science so common in the early modern period, Leontes decides, as does Angelo in *Measure for Measure*,¹⁰ to hide this sinful and disturbing body by shutting Hermione in prison, where she can “swell” at her “pleasure”: “let her sport herself | With that she’s big with, for ’tis Polixenes | Has made thee swell thus” (2.1.62-64). In so doing, Leontes reveals his anxiety towards something that he cannot accept (because accepting it would also mean acknowledging his own origins as embedded in this bloody and fleshy stirring), and that, for the very reason of his denial, he cannot understand nor govern.

⁹ See also Laqueur (1986:1-16; 1990).

¹⁰ Almost disgusted by Juliet’s pregnant body, which looks to him “overfed” with sin, Angelo cannot but hide it from view – “See you the fornicatress be removed” (2.2.23) – and imprison it where the abhorrent process of generation can take place out of sight.

In trying to rule over his wife's sexualized body and prove his power in disposing of it at will, Leontes becomes, like Angelo, a "tyrant." He does so on a personal level, obliging the queen to give birth in prison and depriving her of "the child-bed privilege," exposing her newly delivered body to the public gaze before the prescribed time. Even worse, he demonstrates his tyranny by planning her death, possibly by fire (a way to dispose of the body that suggests the most traditional process of purification), and by ordering the death of the infant Perdita (originally to be burned like her mother), perceived to be the rotten fruit of the sinful belly. But he also proves to be a tyrant on the political front. Leontes, who as a male and husband is entitled to be master over his wife's body, feels that as king and "head" of the state he is similarly sanctioned to rule over the body politic. Instinctively associating the queen's disobedient and polluted body with the body politic, he perceives the loss of control over the former as a symptom of a similar risk in the political sphere. Projecting the infection he perceives in his wife's body onto the body politic, the king feels, in his political role, as the head of a diseased, and therefore potentially treacherous, body – "many thousand on's | Have the disease" (1.2.207-208).

The ubiquitous imagery of disease and infection that permeates the entire play is in this sense a clear sign of Leontes' distorted perception; a perception consistent with a common Renaissance vision in which, as Sawday writes, "The defeat of sickness and the establishment of political order were two sides of the same coin. A state in rebellion was a body in sickness. The diseased body was an image of rebellion" (1995:36). Leontes' suspicion of Hermione's rebellious body – a body that defies his purely rational knowledge and that therefore he feels is difficult to control – crosses thus the borders of the personal sphere and invades the king's perception of his "body politic," that is, of his subjects. The king's suspicion begins with the women, who are immediately suspected of lying to hide the supposed illegitimacy of his first-born. Next, in a sudden outburst of obsessive mania, it spreads onto all the subjects, imagined by Leontes as deriding him, and plotting against him. Camillo, his "right-hand" man, is also accused of being a liar and traitor because he affirms the queen's innocence, and when he is obliged to leave Sicilia, Leontes' political nightmare reaches its peak. While Hermione shifts from being merely an "adulteress" (private and physical sphere) to a "traitor" to the state (public and political

sphere, 2.1.90-91), the treacherous body politic, so connected in Leontes' mind with the polluted body of the queen, is perceived by the king as plotting to eliminate him both as a man and as king: "There is a plot against my life, my crown" (2.1.49). From this moment on, the king, who has already started to be a tyrant towards his wife, becomes one also on a political level, dismissing the function of his wise counsellors and threatening everyone's freedom of thought and speech by punishment of death: "Our prerogative | Calls not your counsels [...] We need no more of your advise" (2.1.165-70); "He who shall speak for her is afar-off guilty, | But that he speaks" (2.1.106-107). And it is clear from Leontes' continuous attempts to avoid the accusation that he is somehow conscious of the dangers of being considered a tyrant: "Let us be cleared | Of being tyrannous since we so openly | Proceed in justice" (3.2.4-6); "Were I a tyrant, | Where were her life?" (2.3.122-23), etc. Nevertheless, he cannot prevent the rise of general discontent, nor avoid the accusations of his queen – "tyranny | Tremble at patience" (3.3.30-31); "'Tis rigour, and not law" (3.2.113) – and of the Oracle itself, who defines him as "a jealous tyrant" (3.2.133), clearly linking his inner self and personal behaviour with the politically characterized concept of tyranny. However, it is Paulina, the character who appears to direct, and eventually restore, the play's psychological and political balance, who most emphatically makes the word resound over and over through the stage: "his tyrannous passion" (2.3.28); "something savours | Of tyranny" (2.3.119-20); "What studied torments, tyrant, hast for me?" (3.2.174); "Thy tyranny" (3.2.178); "O thou tyrant!" (3.2.206).

As in *Measure for Measure*, a troubled relationship with the natural, material aspects of creation, especially when associated with political power, leads to a "sickness" infecting both the individual and the collective life – "a master – one who in rebellion with himself, will have | All that are his so too" (1.2.355-57). The image of disease, used by Leontes to define both his queen's and his state's infected bodies, turns against him repeatedly: in Camillo's words, which individuate instead the sickness in the king's "diseased opinion" (1.2.299) and in his political as well as personal behaviour, which affects the lives of his subjects: "There is a sickness | Which puts some of us in distemper" (1.2.384-385).

But where does this sickness come from? As I have attempted to demonstrate, the deep roots of Leontes' tyranny consist of his inability to acknowledge and accept the existence of an entire realm independent from that of the mind; a powerful realm which works according to its own laws: the realm of the flesh and nature (the post-lapsarian nature, according to Leontes' interpretation). In a period in which religious, and particularly Puritan, doctrines merged with the first rationalistic aspirations of dominion over nature, Leontes' obsessive desire to bring the mysterious and "rebellious" body of his wife under his control reflects an anxiety not uncommon in the late Renaissance. The king's inability to penetrate the mysteries of this natural realm of the flesh accounts for the violence with which he tries to reduce the power of "great creating nature" (4.4.88) – embodied in Hermione's reproductive body – under his purely rational political and social rule. It is only when this nature triumphs over him that he is obliged to admit the impossibility of rational control over every aspect of reality. The king's artificial construction collapses, leaves him naked in front of the unpredictable and absolute character of death: the death of his son and heir Mamillius, and, as Leontes believes, of his queen, whose body is now fully out of his control.

Examined in the light of this opposition between the natural world of the flesh and the artificial and ideal realm of the mind, the play's ending appears quite ambiguous. If it is true that, as some critics have pointed out, by presenting herself as a statue, Hermione is "the subject of an evidently successful, self-imposed discipline of shame, and thus a perfect exemplar of the new bodily regimes of early modern selfhood" (Paster 1993:279), it is also true that the final word is again that of nature, not of art. Deviating again from his source, *Pandosto*, in which there was no "statue scene," in the final act Shakespeare presents Hermione's body as a sculpture. In so doing, he decides to conclude the play by returning not only to the problem of the relationship between art and nature as exposed through the dialogue between Polixenes and Perdita (4.4.79-103), but also to the initial issue: human ambition in seeking absolute rational control over nature, for a power capable of "mending nature," purging it from its most material aspects.

The image of a statue described as the masterpiece of "that rare Italian master Giulio Romano, who, had he himself eternity and

could put breath into his work, would beguile Nature of her custom" (5.2.96-98), and who "so near to Hermione hath done Hermione that they say one would speak to her and stand in hope of answer" (5.2.99-101), clearly suggests a specific relationship between the power of nature and man. The concept of art emerging from these lines appears to be consistent with the main Renaissance aesthetic paradigm, stemming from the great Christian and neo-Platonic code.¹¹ According to this paradigm, based largely on a neo-Platonic approach to reality, the function of art is to create forms that, in tending towards the ideal, surpass and transcend nature's creations, giving birth to an artificial, perfected second world. This aesthetic ideal clearly intertwines with specific anthropological and philosophical views, both in the play and in the Renaissance system of thought, fostering the idea of an almost god-like human control over inert matter. Nature would thus be surpassed by a poietic power capable of a generational process autonomous of the fleshy and bloody reproduction that disgusted Leontes and many sixteenth-century thinkers alike.

The petrified body of Hermione can be seen as finally embodying the platonic ideal that Leontes sought in the opening scenes: the perfect fruit of that "artificial" process that not only equals nature but, in Polixenes words, "does mend nature" (4.4.96). Precisely for this reason, this body appears as the exact opposite of the "grotesque" pregnant one that the king had revolted against. The first was open, unfinished, fluid, unstable, and continually in contact with the perpetually moving matter that flows in and out of it. In contrast, this "classical body," again in Bakhtinian terms, is finished, closed off, all surface and no interior, perfect in its archetypal immobility: the celebration of form over matter. This statue, which reminds its audience of both a classical and a devotional image,¹² appears thus to embody the perfect objective counterpart of Leontes' neo-Platonic and Christian initial ideal. In this sense, the statue represents a kind of *monitum*, a visible and weighty reproach to Leontes' body-denying attitude – "Does not the stone rebuke me | For being more stone than it?" (5.3.37-38). It shows the results of an

¹¹ This aesthetic paradigm, together with its philosophical implications, was being called into question at the end of the sixteenth century.

¹² The way in which the statue is described and the reactions of the play's characters could easily remind the audience of the Christian images of the Virgin.

artificial “perfecting” of nature obtained by abstracting the essence from the biological substrate, the dark and vital fleshiness deeply rooted in the heart of matter and nature.

Leontes is obliged to confront the outcome of his ideas. What he discovers is that, while the natural growth of Hermione’s belly produced the wonder that is his newly found daughter Perdita – who is meaningfully presented as a “most peerless piece of *earth*” (5.1.94), and not of *art* –, the fruit of his own “conception” is a beautiful but dead body, cold and unsatisfactory: a “poor image” (5.3.57) of the living queen, once endowed with “warm life, | As now it coldly stands” (5.3.35-36). Leontes’ final redemption passes thus through the definitive recognition of the superiority of nature over human rational power, a recognition that will lead him to a desire opposite of the “distillative” and “dissolving” one experienced in the first part of the play. Now that the king’s wishes have come true, the growing body replenished with life that he desired to dissolve, to block, cool – “Too hot, too hot” (1.2.110) – and dry up, is desired to regain its fleshiness, to move, warm, and fill itself with blood. This longing manifests itself in the obsessive search for signs of life in the statue: he believes that it moves, breathes, that “The fixture of her eye has motion in’t” (5.3.67), “those veins | Did verily bear blood” (5.3.64-65), and that “The very life seems warm upon her lips” (5.3.66).

The fluid, warm, and mobile elements of the body are thus invoked by the penitent king in the final scene, when he finally recognizes them as inseparable from life itself. This recognition does not remain unrewarded. The stone melts into flesh, reminding the audience of Ovid’s famous story of Pygmalion. However, while Ovid’s myth spoke of Pygmalion’s disgust for female sexual behavior, and his desire to create a statue more beautiful than any natural woman (“qua femina nasci | nulla potest” [Ovid 1995:X.248-49]) to eradicate the faults that nature has given her (“vitiis, quae plurima menti | feminae natura dedit” [X.244-45]) – a desire quite similar to Leontes’ initial one – the end of *The Winter’s Tale* overturns this assertion. This ambition is not only revealed to be “sick” and dangerous, but also essentially wrong. In Leontes’ reaction to the statue of Hermione, and in the ambiguity implicit in this very statue, which is eventually discovered to be the work of nature and not of

art, man's aspiration for absolute control over the natural body finds its most definitive limits.

Abandoning her Marian posture, the queen moves, descends from her pedestal, and her husband touches her. Not accidentally, the king's redemption passes through the less spiritual and neo-Platonic of the senses: touch. He touches her body and feels its warmth – "O, she's warm!" (5.3.109) –, the warmth of the flesh, and welcomes it. Those gestures that, at the beginning of the play, had shifted from signs of love to signs of sin and betrayal in Leontes' sick imagination, are again converted into something precious and holy. The body accused of "hanging about Polixenes' neck"¹³ and consequently tortured for it, can now freely "hang about the king's neck,"¹⁴ in an embrace that visually as well as symbolically represents the final pacification between Leontes' mind and the queen's body. This final reconciliation also marks the end of his tyranny: eventually abandoning his despotic ambition over Hermione's body, the king affirms that he will be content with whatever she does and says.¹⁵

Through this final redemption, Leontes eventually admits the supremacy of nature over any artificially constructed ideal of absolute spiritual purity, and acknowledges the material and corporeal aspects of existence as not only necessary, but also powerful and desirable. It is only at this point that the king's as well as the State's balance can be recovered, and, as Leontes prayed, the blessed gods can finally "Purge all *infection*" (5.1.168) from everyone's life.

Conclusion

Writing in a period in which the nature of man, and particularly of man's body in relation to his soul, was the centre of a very animated debate, Shakespeare, with his particular sensibility in the representation of the human, demonstrates a special awareness of the prevailing anthropological paradigms of his time. In particular,

¹³ "he that wears her like her medal, hanging | About his neck" (1.2.309-10).

¹⁴ "She hangs about his neck" (5.3.113).

¹⁵ "What you can make her do | I am content to look on; what to speak, | I am content to hear" (5.3.91-93).

his attention to the specific reading of the human body inherent in the most ascetic and soul-centred strands of the Renaissance system of thought – a reading that finds its roots in the theological and philosophical universe of the time along with the development of medical science in the sixteenth century – appears crucial in many of his plays. Particularly interested in the relationship between the inner self and political power, Shakespeare’s reflection on the risks implicit in a body-denying approach to reality, both in the private and public spheres, informs some of his most famous works, most notably *Measure for Measure*, where the nature of the problem is treated in an almost paradigmatic way. However, the investigation of the subtle connection that Shakespeare establishes between the treatment of the natural body and of the “body politic” appears to be an interesting key with which one can interpret not only those plays in which the problem is more explicitly displayed. My reading of *The Winter’s Tale*, a play that has not often been studied in the light of such a connection between anthropological and political discourses, highlights the deep correlation Shakespeare establishes between a certain attitude towards human nature and specific political risks. A reading of this kind opens up novel perspectives on works crucial for understanding the Renaissance period, highlighting the necessity of further research in order to comprehend properly this highly complex aspect of Shakespeare’s works. The deep ambiguity inherent in Prince Hal’s repudiation of Falstaff and in Prospero’s controversial and somehow inconsistent final acknowledgment of his “dark side” – “This thing of darkness I | acknowledge mine” (*The Tempest* 5.1.278-279); the failure of the Stoic and Puritan ideal embodied in Brutus’ political mistakes and the tragic outcome of Hamlet’s fanatical and paralyzing refusal of his material self¹⁶ – these are only some of the issues that would benefit from being studied in the light of Shakespeare’s reflection on the interaction of specific political, anthropological and philosophical discourses. By fostering a rediscovery of the most compelling and current implications of Shakespeare’s work, this approach will help reveal the deep

¹⁶ I have addressed some of these issues in *The Dark Lady. La rivoluzione shakespeariana nei Sonetti alla Dama Bruna* (Caporicci 2013), where I also propose a reading of Shakespeare’s Sonnets aimed at re-evaluating the Dark Lady section as a deep meditation on human nature and an example of Shakespeare’s *mise en question* of the neo-Platonic and Christian bases of Petrarchan poetry.

modernity of his reasoning, proving once again the relevance of a contemporary return to it.

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Grimalkin and other Shakespearean Celts*

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ABSTRACT

This essay examines the representation of Ireland and Celtic culture within the British Isles in Shakespeare's works. It argues that Shakespeare was interested in ideas of colonisation and savagery and based his perceptions on contemporary events, the history of the British Isles and important literary works such as William Baldwin's prose fiction, *Beware the Cat*. His plays, notably *The Comedy of Errors* and *Macbeth*, represent Protestant England as an isolated culture surrounded by hostile Celtic forces which form a threatening shadowy state. The second part of the essay explores Shakespeare's influence on Irish culture after his death, arguing that he was absorbed into Anglo-Irish culture and played a major role in establishing Ireland's Anglophone literary identity. Shakespeare imported the culture of the British Isles into his works – and then, as his fame spread, his plays exported what he had understood back again, an important feature of Anglo-Irish literary identity, as many subsequent writers have understood.

KEYWORDS: Colonisation; drama; English Renaissance Literature; Ireland; savagery; Shakespeare; James Shirley.

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I

Who was Grimalkin? The *OED* cites the opening of *Macbeth* as the origin of the name of this supernatural creature:

FIRST WITCH When shall we three meet again?
In thunder, lightning, or in rain?

SECOND WITCH When the hurly-burly's done,
When the battle's lost, and won.

THIRD WITCH That will be ere the set of sun.

FIRST WITCH Where the place?

SECOND WITCH Upon the heath.

THIRD WITCH There to meet with Macbeth.

FIRST WITCH I come, Graymalkin!

SECOND WITCH Paddock calls.

THIRD WITCH Anon.

ALL Fair is foul, and foul is fair,
Hover through the fog and filthy air. (Shakespeare 1990:1.1.1-12).

Notes on the play will tell you that Grimalkin was a cat, a witch's familiar, the name Malkin being a diminutive of Mary so that the witches appeal to their familiars, a cat and a toad (Paddock). Paddock is a common English term for a toad or a frog, dating far back into Middle English and even appearing in the Wycliff Bible, as the *OED* again informs us. But the *OED* is wrong about Grimalkin in ways that are all too recognisable. Shakespeare – or Middleton who may have written these witch scenes, drafted in by the Kings' Men as the most prestigious writer of witch scenes (Middleton 2007:1165-69) – took the name from one of the most important and underrated works of sixteenth-century English literature, William Baldwin's *Beware the Cat*, a work which has a strong claim to be the first novel in English (Ringler 1978-1979; Herron 2013:77 n.55). Baldwin's prose fiction, which had a profound influence on the course of English literature, was written in the 1550s but not published until 1570.

Shakespeare was likely to have known the work. Baldwin was the literary superstar of the mid-Tudor period and was also responsible for *A Mirror for Magistrates*, a major literary text that

played a key role in making Shakespeare into Shakespeare (Bullough 1962:III, 229-33, *passim*; Tillyard 1969:77-96). *Beware the Cat* is a work of profound paranoia, written at the height of religious change and confusion in the aftermath of the Reformation. Baldwin had become a major literary force at the court of Edward VI, a fiercely Protestant monarch, but after his death aged 16 in 1553, his committed Catholic sister, Mary, became queen, changed things around, and Baldwin's star seems to have faded dramatically (Gresham 1981). Baldwin's prose fiction represents a shadow state whereby the human world is parodied, fed upon, imitated and closely watched by the cats who are like us but not quite, just as they are Catholics and like us but not quite, as many of us are Catholics too (Maslen 1997:75-82). Baldwin describes a religious and political situation in which no one was comfortable and no one knew where to turn. Not only did people not know if their neighbours were Catholics or heretics, or whether Catholics and heretics were actually right really, they did not know if they were actually heretics or even really Catholics.

Baldwin's narrator, Master Streamer, represents the story of the death of Grimalkin, which takes place after a cattle raid, an ancient Irish tradition that fascinated English observers. A kern (an Irish soldier) and his boy stop to eat a stolen sheep, their spoil for the day, along with a cow:

And while this kern was in the church he thought it best to dine, for he had eaten little that day. Wherefore he made his boy go gather sticks, and strake fire with his feres, and made a fire in the church, and killed the sheep and after the Irish fashion laid it thereupon and roasted it. But when it was ready, and that he thought to eat it, there came in a cat and set her by him, and said in Irish, "Shane foel," which is, "give me some meat." He, amazed at this, gave her the quarter that was in his hand, which immediately she did eat up, and asked more till she had consumed all the sheep; and, like a cormorant not satisfied therewith, asked still for more. Wherefore they supposed it was the Devil, and therefore thinking it wisdom to please him, killed the cow which they had stolen, and when they had flayed it gave the cat a quarter, which she immediately devoured. Then they gave her two other quarters. (Baldwin 1988:13).

The story is unsettling. Is Baldwin laughing at the superstitious Irish, or are they uncomfortably close to home? What would others have done when confronted by such an insanely greedy talking cat?

(Animals talking in literature are often very dubious, like the talking black dog, a manifestation of the devil, in *The Witch of Edmonton*; Rowley, Dekker and Ford 1997). And, is this description an acknowledgement that the Irish, even if they did treat a sacred place like a kitchen, faced similar problems to their confused English counterparts and were not radically different people?

Eventually the cat eats the whole cow and the men flee fearing that they are next on the menu, which turns out to be true. The cat chases the kern but he kills her with his dart. However, “immediately afterwards there came to her [i.e., the dead Grimalkin] such a sight of cats that, after long fight with them, his boy was killed and eaten up” (Baldwin 1988:14). The kern escapes and tells his wife what has happened, at which point his wife’s cat, silent until now, exclaims “Hast thou killed Grimalkin,” and “therewith she plunged in his face, and with her teeth took him by the throat, and ere that she could be plucked away, she had strangled him” (Baldwin 1988:14). Most significantly, perhaps, the news subsequently reaches England and a Staffordshire native, riding through Kankwood, has his own experience of the effective news network operated by the cats:

a cat, as he thought, leaped out of a bush before him and called him twice or thrice by his name. But because he made none answer nor spake (for he was so afraid that he could not), she spake to him plainly twice or thrice these words following: “Commend me unto Titton Tatton and to Puss thy Catton, and tell her that Grimalkin is dead.” This done she went her way, and the man went forward about his business. And after that he was returned home, in an evening sitting by the fire with his wife and his household, he told of his adventure in the wood. And when he had told them all the cat’s message, his cat, which had harkened unto the tale, looked upon him sadly, and at the last said, “And is Grimalkin dead? Then farewell dame,” and therewith went her way and was never seen after. (Baldwin 1988:11)

The spread of news was a new, exciting and anxiety-inducing phenomenon in this period. News could be circulated in broadsheet form but it was invariably a slow process in this early period of the printing press and the start of unified transport systems, which were still fairly primitive in this period and the awful state of roads made it easier to travel by water (Pettegree 2014: chs. 1-3). Nevertheless, the cats still manage to get their message spread around by different

means and make use of human intermediaries to do this so that news of Grimalkin's death gets from south-west Ireland to central England (Cannock Wood). Baldwin shows the shadow state working with great success. What this alternative kingdom of the cats actually is – sometimes it looks like the human world, at others has quite a different character – is another matter.

II

I think that it is likely that the link made between Ireland and England in *Beware the Cat* had a significant impact on *Macbeth*. The names of the witches' familiars "paddock" and "Grimalkin" were probably not chosen at random. "Paddock" is an old English word; "Grimalkin" one explicitly associated with Ireland, and the witches are uttering their chants in Scotland. What an audience would hear – assuming that they associated Grimalkin with Ireland – is that a shadow state of witches surrounds, encircles and undermines the actions of the human world, a message entirely in keeping with the ancient supernatural and morally disturbing elements in the play. *Macbeth* represents the early medieval British Isles under the sway of spirits like Grimalkin, long before his/her death. Witches are associated here with a Celtic twilight world that is unseen until one strays into it, as the Macbeths unfortunately do. What we witness in Scotland is part of a rarely seen spirit world that threatens to engulf the visible and familiar nature of everyday life.

And, indeed, in this period there was a topical point to be made. *Macbeth* is a British play, along with *King Lear* and *Cymbeline*, works that represented the ancient past but which were informed in complex ways by the prospect of a union of the British Isles under a Scottish king (Mottram 2013; Power 2013). Shakespeare did not write such plays in the 1590s in the first half of his career under Elizabeth: he wrote English history plays looking back to the Wars of the Roses and the impact of the deposition of a king, Richard II, works that clearly spoke to the anxiety surrounding the succession crisis (Hadfield 2004). We have no reason to think that Shakespeare ever went to Ireland – although attempts have been made to make this case (Plunket Barton 1919). What his drama reveals, however, is that writers who had no obvious connection with Ireland or Scotland had to think about the relationship between those nations and England

before and after the partial union of 1603 (Levack 1987). In the 1590s the fear in England was that a Catholic pincer movement might link resistance to English rule in Ireland – the rebellion of Hugh O’Neill which developed into the Nine Years War – with the Scottish Stuart claim to the English throne, the legacy of Mary Queen of Scots through her son, James VI (Connolly 2007: ch. 6). After James had become king of the three kingdoms – Wales had been forcibly united with England between 1535 and 1543 – rather different questions surfaced (Ivic 2013). It is at least arguable that *The Tempest*, which makes no reference to Ireland, actually has recent events in Ireland in mind at key moments, as the following exchange would indicate (Hamilton 1990; Baker 1997):

GONZALO Had I plantation of this isle, my lord,–

ANTONIO He’d sow’t with nettle-seed.

SEBASTIAN Or docks, or mallows.

GONZALO And were the king on’t, what would I do?

SEBASTIAN ‘Scape being drunk for want of wine.

GONZALO I’ the commonwealth I would by contraries

Execute all things; for no kind of traffic
Would I admit; no name of magistrate;
Letters should not be known; riches, poverty,
And use of service, none; contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none;
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil;
No occupation; all men idle, all;
And women too, but innocent and pure;
No sovereignty; –

SEBASTIAN Yet he would be king on’t.

ANTONIO The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the
beginning.

GONZALO All things in common Nature should produce

Without sweat or endeavour: treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine,
Would I not have; but nature should bring forth,
Of its own kind, all foison, all abundance,
To feed my innocent people.

SEBASTIAN No marrying ‘mong his subjects?

ANTONIO None, man; all idle: whores and knaves.

GONZALO I would with such perfection govern, sir,
T'excel the Golden Age. (Shakespeare 1980:II.i. 138-53)

As is well-known, the words of Gonzalo draw on Montaigne's essay "Of the cannibals," John Florio's translation of Montaigne's *Essays* being one of the books that Shakespeare surely owned and used extensively (Bate 2008:109-10; Greenblatt and Platt, eds. 2014:xxvii-xxviii). But the use of the word "plantation" undoubtedly refers us to the recent establishment of a plantation in the British Isles, the Ulster Plantation, formally begun in 1611, but started earlier using funding from the Livery Companies in London to establish the Londonderry Plantation (Ó Ciardha and Ó Siochrú, eds. 2012). The plantation was designed to unite Scots, Irish and English with the same ideal, i.e., to civilize Ireland and to make Ulster profitable, a project that bears a striking resemblance to that of the witches' shadow state in *Macbeth*, the one seeking to combat what it imagined was the frightening reality of the other. Ulster had been the site of most sustained resistance to English rule after the crushing of the House of Desmond in south-west Ireland in the early 1580s, a large forested area that was ideal territory for the guerilla tactics of O'Neill's forces. Two of O'Neill's most significant victories – and most embarrassing English defeats – had taken place in Ulster, the Battles of the Ford of the Biscuits (1594) and the Yellow Ford (1598) (Connolly 2007:232, 242). Deforesting and flattening the province and establishing a series of farmers loyal to the crown seemed like good sense and good business to many. When *The Tempest* was written and produced, 1610-1611, plantation was very much on peoples' minds, in part, of course, because of the recent establishment of the Virginia colony (1607) (Sonner 2013). Gonzalo wants to start from scratch and establish the Golden Age, a project that can be related to the desire to plant colonies in the New World, something that plays such as the cynical London city comedy, *Eastward Ho!*, printed in 1605, had already satirized as a plan for greedy citizens to extort more wealth from unfortunate victims (Knowles, ed. 2001). However, the word "plantation" was much more specifically associated with The Ulster Plantation, an enterprise that was also much closer to home than the New World colonies and so more obviously in people's minds: no one really thought that a new Golden Age would dawn in the north of Ireland. The hope was, nevertheless similar. Its architects wanted to start a new, more unified society, something heavily promoted by the king, who was

very keen on the idea of Plantation, and articulated by Sir Francis Bacon in his essay, "Of plantations," which argued that if settlers treated natives well they would soon realize that all shared a common goal (Bacon 1972:104-106). Is Shakespeare supporting efforts to plant civility in Ireland? Or satirizing them? It is hard to tell without exploring his representations of Ireland throughout his work.

III

Ireland features regularly in Shakespeare's works, almost always as an incomprehensible land that threatens civilized stability. This is the case even in what might seem to be the lightest of comedies. In *The Comedy of Errors* we have a description of Nell, Adriana's kitchen maid, provided by Dromio of Syracuse, who is eager to resist her advances. As T. W. Baldwin pointed out in his substantial analysis of the play, Dromio's description of Nell works well as "a disquisition on politics" dealing with events around the year 1590, something that would have been of great interest to the audience at Gray's Inn where the play was first performed on 28 December 1594 (Baldwin 1965:2).

Dromio provides a rather unflattering description of Nell's body in the form of a blazon, a familiar poetic motif that surveyed a woman's body from her head down to her feet. Dromio suggests that Nell's forehead is her France; England, her chin; Spain, her hot breath; America, her nose; and the Netherlands, her nether parts. Antipholus asks "In what part of her body stands Ireland?," the answer being "Marry, sir, in her buttocks, I found it out by the bogs" (Shakespeare 2004:3.2. 105-106). The sense is clear enough: Baldwin rather coyly notes that this is a "traditional gibe" and the play's editor, T. S. Dorsch, suggests that it is "Probably a quibble, with connotations of 'privy'" (Baldwin 1965:1; Shakespeare 2004:91).

I think the joke has a very specific resonance – exactly like the Grimalkin reference – which indicates that Shakespeare was interested in popular lore about Ireland – as were so many of his contemporaries (Shakespeare's reference to Irish wolves howling at the moon in *As You Like It* is another example of a short-hand reference to the wildness and savagery of Ireland for an English audience; 1975:V.ii.110-111). The use of the word "bogs" very likely

recalls a description contained in John Derricke's *The Image of Irelande* (1581). Derricke's long poem, which depicts the savage nature of the Irish "kern" [soldiers] and represents the Irish as unnatural and ungrateful subjects of the crown always eager to rebel was one of the key works on Ireland published in Elizabethan times and probably second only to Holinshed's *Chronicles* – that favourite source of Shakespeare's plays – for providing information for English readers eager to learn about Ireland and the Irish. Derricke's text was lavishly illustrated with twelve woodcuts, among the best reproduced in any English book in the sixteenth century, many of which have become quite justly famous. The pictures show an Irish feast complete with bards; English troops marching through the Irish countryside; the surrender of an Irish chieftain to the Lord Deputy, Sir Henry Sidney; and the dramatic repentance of the outlaw rebel, Rory Oge O'More. Derricke's text was probably the main source of information on Irish life apart from verbal reports, personal experience, or official propaganda, for the vast majority of Londoners in Elizabethan England.

Part One of *The Image of Irelande* contains a description of Irish eagles which prefer to nest not "in the bounds of Englishe pale, | which is a ciuill place: | But in the Deuills Arse, a Peake, | where rebels moste imbrace" (Derricke 1883:41). Derricke makes an explicit connection between savagery and an obsession with the anus, a common enough link in contemporary travel writing (Sheehan 1980:49-51). A few lines later he describes "the boggs" as the natural habitat of the Irish kern:

Yea though thei were in Courte trained up,
 And yeres there lived tenne:
 Yet doe thei loke to shaking boggs,
 Scarce provyng honest menne.
 And when as they have wonne the Boggs,
 Suche virtue hath that grounde. (Derricke 1883:42)

Ireland was full of bogs, and anyone passing through the Irish midlands had to navigate the Bog of Allan, of which Spenser complained so bitterly because of the ferocious Irish gnats. Bogs also brought the dangers of disease because of their damp climate, especially dangerous for English soldiers and settlers unfamiliar with their effects (Irish sickness killed more English soldiers than Irish kern) (Herron 2006:94; Lennon 1995:8-9). Derricke shows the Irish preferring life in the hostile regions of their country, the peaks

and the bogs, both places which are contrasted to the civilized life of the English Pale around Dublin. Gravitation to such areas was in itself an indication of a savage nature resistant to civilization. It would seem highly unlikely that there is not some connection between Derricke's poem and Shakespeare's play, whether the influence of the former on the latter was direct or indirect. It may well be that Dromio is making a new pun by exploiting the geographical proximity between the "Arse" and the "bogs" in *Image of Irelande*, repeating Derricke's joke, or that both are employing a general joke that has become obscure for us. Further evidence is provided in the image of the open air Irish feast in the *Image of Irelande*, the most frequently reproduced image of Tudor Ireland. This shows a number of details which represent Irish behavior as uncivilized: the insanitary and unhygienic cooking and eating arrangements; the mangy dog chewing a bone in the front centre; as well as the Irish love of entertainment at such events, the bard reciting a poem, and the harper accompanying him. Two figures on the extreme right of the picture are shown bearing their backsides. This makes an explicit link between the consumption of food and its expulsion from the body, again showing how the English represented the Irish as extremely anal in character, having disorderly and uncontrollable bodies, a real sign of a lack of rational purpose so carefully represented in this period. Shakespeare's representation of Nell is clearly in this tradition of English perceptions of the Irish, both Derricke and Shakespeare linking the Irish to the anus.

IV

Ireland posed a direct threat to England in the 1590s, as it had done in earlier periods. As the Tudors were acutely aware, both Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck, pretenders who both falsely claimed to be Richard, Duke of York, one of Edward IV's sons murdered in the Tower built up their forces in south-west Ireland ready to launch invasion forces to England (Ellis 1985:70-86). In Shakespeare's English history plays Ireland is where opposition to the English crown develops and grows. Richard Duke of York establishes his military challenge to the ineffective rule of Henry VI in Ireland in *Henry VI, Part 2*. Richard is sent across St. George's Channel by Cardinal Beaufort, the Protector, to stem the rebellion of "Th'uncivill

kerns of Ireland” who “are in arms | And temper clay with blood of Englishmen” (yet another reference that establishes the savage and bloody nature of everyday life in Ireland) (Shakespeare 1999:3.1.309-10). Sending York to Ireland is a disastrous manoeuvre, as York’s soliloquy immediately afterwards demonstrates. York is quite explicit that he has enlisted Jack Cade to stir up trouble in England to support his own assault upon the throne. When we witness Cade’s rebellion in full swing, the pissing conduits about to run with wine and the lettered all facing execution out of class spite, we know that it has an aristocratic origin and is part of a larger plot to seize the crown. Ireland is used by English rebels as a means of importing two inter-related rebellions to England, those of York and Cade, which shall create widespread civil war as England implodes into furious conflict and slaughter: or, as York puts it, he will stir up “in England some black storm | Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven or hell” (Shakespeare 1999:3.1.349-50). Cade is described as bestial, “like a sharp-quilled porpentine” who can “caper upright like a wild Morisco, | Shaking the bloody darts as he his bells” (Shakespeare 1999:3.1.362, 364-65). He has actually become “like a shag-haired crafty kern” (Shakespeare 1999:3. 1. line 366), suggesting that his experience in Ireland has made him Irish, or, perhaps, *Hiberniores Hibernis ipsis*, more Irish than the Irish themselves, as critics of English settlers in Ireland often complained, noting that English people in Ireland “degenerated” (Maley 1997a: ch. 3). York’s plan is made clear in his conclusion: “from Ireland come I with my strength | And reap the harvest which that rascal [i.e., Cade] sowed” (Shakespeare 1999:3.1.379-80). York will return to England as the iconic figure, the sower of death: what he does not realise is that one of the deaths will be his own, brutally taunted by Queen Margaret with a paper crown and anointed with the blood of his dead son. The play is remarkably prescient of the fate of the earl of Essex represented in *Henry V*. Essex was supposed to bring rebellion back “broached on his sword,” as the chorus to Act V put it. Instead he built up his army of soldiers and brought back rebellion in a different way, which led to his execution (Patterson 1989: ch. 4).

York refers to Cade as a Morisco, suggesting that his experience in Ireland transforms him into an exotic creature like someone from North Africa. York’s words further indicate that he regards the Irish as an alien people, useful when they serve his purposes but inherently different and, ultimately, disposable. Cade might as well

be a battle-hardened Morisco as an Irish kern as far as York is concerned: either one will serve his purposes. But it is not clear that Shakespeare sees matters quite this way: after all, York pays dearly for his assumptions and his hazy racism may be a central cause of his downfall, suggesting that he can only see creatures who will aid his rise to power, not people.

Richard II is another king who pays for his failure to understand Ireland and his ill-conceived and ill-fated Irish campaign enables Bolingbroke to establish the army that will make him Henry IV. On his return to his kingdom where he will lose his crown and his life Richard speaks in defiance of the growing power of Bolingbroke in words that are eloquent, as Richard invariably is, but which contain a bitter series of ironies:

So, when this thief, this traitor, Bolingbroke,
Who all this while hath revelled in the night
Whilst we were wand'ring with the Antipodes,
Shall see us rising in our throne, the east,
His treasons will sit blushing in his face,
Not able to endure the sight of day,
But self-affrighted, tremble at his sin.
Not all the water in the rough rude sea
Can wash the balm off from an anointed king;
The breath of worldly men cannot depose
The deputy elected by the Lord. (Shakespeare 2002:3.2. 47-57)

Does Richard really think he has been wandering in the Antipodes? Surely not, but the metaphor exposes him as the description of Cade as a Morisco exposed Richard Duke of York. King Richard clearly has a careless regard for a land he ostensibly governs, as English kings were lords of Ireland after the Norman conquest of Ireland justified by Pope Adrian II's *Laudabiliter* of 1155, which granted Ireland to the English crown and church (Ellis 1985:191). He has an insouciant disregard for the realities of people he rules, always a dangerous tendency for a king, especially a Shakespearean king. Just as he does not really care –or know– who his Irish subjects are neither does he care who his English subjects are or what they want. Hence the rolling power of the last four lines quoted here which represent the monarch in splendid isolation from the people. Richard sees this as a strength which makes him untouchable but such theories of kingship made the power of monarchs brittle and their rule vulnerable (Hadfield 2004:ch. 1). Richard's lines sound

impressive but he is about to be deposed because it takes even less than the breath of men and rough seas to separate a king from his crown, as the play shows us. Richard, as if we didn't know already, has lost sight of reality, his royal visit to Ireland only serving to undermine him, in large part because he simply does not know or understand what or why he governs.

Perhaps we should not be too hard on him. As these two plays show, kings were damned if they went to Ireland and damned if they sent someone else. A number of Lord Deputies got into trouble for their activities, notably usurping royal prerogative, Leonard Grey being executed in 1541; Sir John Perrot would probably have been executed in 1592, but died before his trial; Arthur Lord Grey de Wilton appears to have been recalled not because of his notorious actions at the Fort D'Oro in Smerwick Harbour in 1580, when 600 unarmed papal troops were put to death after they had surrendered, but because he was felt to have exceeded his brief in deciding who should live and who should die while he put down rebellion in Munster, and for doling out titles and favours to his followers (Ellis 1985:136, 281-84; Morgan 1995). Any governor in Ireland was in an uneasy position: a vice-regent standing for the monarch always ran the risk of usurping their power. Shakespeare's history plays acknowledge the anxieties that this ambiguous position generated and undoubtedly reflect back some of the nervousness experienced in the 1590s as the Nine Years War developed to threaten English rule in Ireland, as the figures of Richard, Duke of York and Richard II demonstrate. Crossing the Irish Sea might well wash the anointed balm from a king; but letting someone else cross the sea on your behalf and in your name could have the same effect.

The problem is represented in its most acute form in *Henry V*. As Jim Shapiro has pointed out *Henry V* is an "at war" play, produced while the largest army ever to leave England's shores gathered in London ready to go over and crush Irish resistance (Shapiro 2005: ch. 5). The play is replete with the fear of imminent conflict because the enemy in that play is not really France, but Ireland. After the French defeat Queen Isabel celebrates the forthcoming marriage of her daughter by accidently referring to her future son-in-law as Irish: "So happy be the issue, brother Ireland, |Of this good day and of this gracious meeting" (Shakespeare 1982:V.ii.12-13). The reason for this slip is probably not scribal or textual but "an indication of [a]

preoccupation with Irish affairs," according to the play's editor Gary Taylor (Shakespeare 1982:266). It is little wonder that the play is so concerned with questions of identity and that Captain MacMorris, the Anglo-Irish soldier in the four nations army that Henry leads can ask, "What ish my nation?" (Shakespeare 1982:III.iii. line 63), a much commented upon verbal crux that suggests that identities were not stable at this point (Neill 1994). However we read MacMorris's question, whether he is challenging the notion that Scots, Irish, Welsh and English have any real distinct identity in Henry's British army, as Philip Edwards argued, or whether he is taking umbrage at an assumption that he is Irish rather than Anglo-Irish, as other commentators have suggested, the point is that the play defines an unstable moment when people were unsure who they were or who they were going to be in the years to come, whether events in Ireland were going to change the nature of the archipelagic cluster of the British Isles (Edwards 1979:74-86; Maley 1997b).

V

However, things looked very different only a few years later, and it is often hard for us to appreciate and understand the extent and nature of this transformation. In part it is because we are continually confronted with images of Elizabeth as a great queen and have little real understanding of James as a king. Shakespeare is habitually represented as an Elizabethan playwright, even though his career was only half over by the time the old queen died. English perceptions of the world changed dramatically in 1603-1604 as James made peace with Spain and the war in Ireland ended dramatically and suddenly on Christmas Eve 1601 when Lord Mountjoy's forces comprehensively defeated the Spanish and Irish army at the Battle of Kinsale to end the Nine Years War (Silke 1970).

James had a great interest in uniting the kingdoms he now ruled, which meant assimilating and civilising Ireland. Soon after his accession to the English throne James recognised just how significant Ireland had been when he looked through the collection of state documents and exclaimed, "We had more ado with Ireland than all the world besides" (Bradshaw, Hadfield and Maley, eds., 1993:6). James's most significant act was to establish the Ulster Plantation, but the transformation of the relationship between England, Ireland

and Scotland during James's reign led to other interesting cultural exchanges. Renaissance drama hardly attracted the same reverence in the early seventeenth century that it was to achieve after the Restoration. However, with the publication of Ben Jonson's folio in 1616 drama became a significant element of English cultural identity, plays now considered alongside poetry as serious literature (McMillin 1999). It probably helped that in the same year a folio of James's works first appeared, as unique an event in the history of monarchy as Jonson's was for a playwright, the two substantial volumes transforming the history of English publishing.

Shakespeare imported a number of Irish themes into his work to show how fragile and threatened English civilisation was; now his work was exported back to Ireland as part of a civilising mission. It should not surprise us that the first recorded attempt to perform a Shakespeare play in Ireland was on the Ulster Plantation, in Coleraine, a sign that the civilising mission was directly associated with the dissemination of literary culture. This was an "attempt" because the performance did not actually take place. The planters planned to stage a play as an entertainment for the visiting Plantation commissioners when they visited the town in May 1628, selecting *Much Ado About Nothing* as an appropriately entertaining work. Unfortunately, as Alan Fletcher points out, the performance was called off because of a song that offended the visiting commissioners, probably a satirical jibe aimed at the London agents who oversaw the colony's finances and who were attempting to remove Sir Thomas Phillips the head of the colony. Phillips letter notes that the "Commissioners [...] Tooke a Song that was sung [...] soe much to hart [...] that they durst not play the play for feare of offending the Commissioners" (Fletcher 2000:239). It seems to be a mystery that we will never really solve, but, as Fletcher points out, the aborted event indicates that by the late 1620s settlers in Ulster "were not so entirely preoccupied with their planting as to lose all sense of the value of drama and the performing arts" (Fletcher 2000:240). More specifically one might conclude that drama was seen to be an important element of the colonised nation's cultural life, as well as noting the dramatic change in the manner of everyday life in Ireland from the 1590s to the 1620s. The selection of Shakespeare suggests that his reputation as the pre-eminent English dramatist was already underway and points forward to the significant role his

works were to play in defining the nature of the Irish stage up to the twentieth century.

There were undoubtedly other performances of Shakespeare plays in great households that have remained unrecorded. If an acting company could be raised to stage plays in Coleraine, surely plays could have been staged in Dublin and the Pale in the same period. The first professional theatre was established in Ireland in 1636, near Werburgh Street, Dublin. Werburgh (or Warber) Street, was right in the centre of the early modern city, perhaps indicating the significance of the establishment of a professional theatre for the Anglo-Irish government in Dublin, and a pointed contrast to the theatre, bear-baiting and pleasure pursuit area which dominated the south bank of the Thames in Elizabethan and Jacobean London. The first Master of the Revels in Ireland, John Ogilby, took on the role, as Chris Morash has pointed out in his history of Irish theatre, at a “propitious” time (Morash 2002:4). The London theatres were closed because of the plague and the new Dublin theatre was able to secure the services of a major playwright, James Shirley. Shirley, who did not always seem to enjoy his new post, produced a number of important works for the theatre in his brief tenure as resident playwright. His weird and wonderful fantasy about the establishment of Christianity in Ireland, *St. Patrick for Ireland* was staged in 1639, with its tactless prologue wishing that there were at least a few in the audience who “Knew but the art and labour of a Play” and could “value the Muses plaine, | The throwes and travel of a teeming braine” (Shirley 1640:A2r). Obviously the civilizing mission of the theatre was not going quite to plan and *St. Patrick for Ireland* certainly pays the audience back in representing St. Patrick as “no controversial Catholic icon but the thoroughly English saint, bringer of civilisation to Irish shores, documented by James Ussher” (Rankin 2005:102). Perhaps Shirley’s play before *St. Patrick* had not gone down well with a Dublin audience not receptive to his work or as eager to be challenged as the dramatist had expected.

What is noticeable about Shirley’s Irish plays is that they are, in the main, distinctly Shakespearean in style and substance. *The Politician*, also staged in 1639, is a play closely related to *Hamlet*. The play’s action takes place in Norway, an unusual setting for Shirley. The plot revolves around an unscrupulous politician, Gotharus, eager to control the throne through his actions behind the scenes. He

persuades his mistress, Marpisa, to marry the king hoping to place Haraldus, her weak, illegitimate son by a former affair, on the throne. Needless to say the plot goes hopelessly wrong and all the villains die, taking a few victims with them, such as poor, silly Haraldus, who, unable to cope with liquor, dies of a fever after Gotharus gets him drunk. Although the King, realising how wrong he has been about virtually everything, offers to abdicate, his son, Turgesius, strongly supports his continuation as monarch, and he remains in power. Turgesius sensibly prepares for the future by marrying Gotharus's virtuous widow, Albina, and so restoring some sense of order and proper succession.

The play opens, like *Hamlet*, with reports of a dubious and ill-considered marriage:

CORTES It was a strange and suddaine marriage.

HORMENUS Could he not love her for the game, and so forth,
But he must thus exalt her? no lesse title
Then Queen, to satisfie her ambition? (Shirley 1655:1)

Gotharus then enters, muttering to himself, and in the process he reveals to the audience that he has had Turgesius sent away to fight a war in the hope that he will not return, but his plans have been thwarted by an unexpected victory:

GOTHARUS Curse upon his victory!
I meant him not this safety, when I wrought
The King to send him forth to warre, but hop'd
His active spirit would have met some engine
To have translated him to another world;
He's now upon return. (Shirley 1655:2)

The first exchange would clearly have reminded readers of the untimely union between Claudius and Gertrude; the second of Claudius's plot to dispatch Hamlet in England at the hands of Rosencrantz and Guildenstern in Act 4. As the play progresses far more links to *Hamlet* become clear, notably that Marpisa appears as an exaggerated version of who Hamlet thinks his mother is when he confronts her in her closet and the discussion of kingship revisits the issues surrounding elective kingship in Shakespeare's play. Was this just Shirley's mode of writing and homage to the master? Or was Shirley consciously reproducing these elements as particularly appropriate for the Irish stage? Either way, Shirley's plays demonstrates how Shakespeare's work was exported to Ireland in

the early years of its first theatre, a process that became even more apparent with the establishment of the second theatre in Ireland, Smock Alley in 1662, again overseen by John Ogilvy. Situated at Wood Quay, like many Restoration Theatres its productions were dominated by Shakespeare plays: “*Hamlet, Julius Caesar, King Lear, Macbeth, Othello, Troilus and Cressida, Henry VIII, Henry IV: Parts 1 and 2, The Merry Wives of Windsor, A Midsummer Night’s Dream, Twelfth Night, Measure for Measure, The Tempest*, and possibly *The Comedy of Errors* –more or less the staples of the Irish stage for the next century or more” (Morash 2000:18). The Irish stage of the early seventeenth century was conspicuously Shakespearean in character.

VI

In his play, *Mutabilitie*, first staged in 1997, Frank McGuinness provided a striking contrast between the rigid, hierarchical views of the Irish bards and the major English poet in Elizabethan Ireland, Edmund Spenser (Grogan 2013:36-43). These old-fashioned cultural figures were contrasted to the open-minded playwright, William, who is eager to learn about Irish culture. Here he is in conversation with Hugh O’Neill, an Irishman who is also open-minded enough to want to learn something about the English who have invaded his country:

WILLIAM: Your master has taught you well.

HUGH: He did not teach me. I was not unfamiliar with your language. I came from a family that valued learning. I also have much Latin and more Greek.

WILLIAM: I don’t.

HUGH: I know.

WILLIAM: Speak to me in your language. Sing to me.

HUGH: That is not possible.

WILLIAM: Sing – speak to me in your own language.

HUGH: You are hearing your own language. When the English destroyed us and our tribe, we made a vow. We had lost power to govern our lives and part of that curse was the loss we accepted over the government of our tongue. We do not break

our vows. I will not sing nor speak to you in Irish, Englishman.
(McGuinness 1997:68)

Real, albeit fraught, cultural exchange is taking place here and Shakespeare is learning from the Irish. McGuinness has produced a nice, neat piece of stage dialogue which shows reciprocal cultures in action, which represents the learned Irish recognising that the brave new world they both inhabit may be principally English and effectively monoglot. The sly joke about Shakespeare's "small Latin and less Greek" also refers the alert members of the audience to Brian Friel's *Translations* (1980), which represented the destruction of a Gaelic civilization at the hands of more powerful and thorough nineteenth-century imperialists eager to map the country, exposing its secrets to the colonial gaze. *Mutabilitie* is situated at a pivotal point in Irish history, one that looks as if dialogue is still possible between open-minded parties on either side of the divide. However, if we are familiar with contemporary Irish drama – or, even just the course of subsequent history – we will know that the traffic is moving in one direction and the irritating resistance of the native Irish to the forces of the English crown will not persist. Shakespeare's plays represent Ireland as a powerful cultural presence, one that threatens to undermine the stability of England. Nearly four centuries later Irish dramatists, while still sympathetic to the bard, recognised the part that his drama had played in the destruction of their native culture.

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Filling in the blanks: Catholic hopes for the English succession

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ABSTRACT

English Catholics, both at home and abroad, were faced with difficult choices as the question of the succession became increasingly acute in the last decade of Elizabeth's reign. In an attempt to analyse the complexity of Catholic expectations and manoeuvres, this article examines the actions and writings of three prominent figures: the courtier-poet and recent convert Henry Constable, the Jesuit leader Robert Persons, and the layman Sir Thomas Tresham. Their relations with King James VI of Scotland illustrate the precariousness of his position, and their interactions during this period of shifting allegiances call into question some received assumptions about the divisions within the English Catholic community. Close attention to their writing also reveals the significance of an appeal to a chivalric code of honour in these politico-religious negotiations.

KEYWORDS: English succession; recusancy; Jesuits; chivalry; Henry Constable; Robert Persons; Sir Thomas Tresham; James VI and I; Philippe du Plessis-Mornay.

I

One of the most memorable Catholic interventions in the late Elizabethan succession crisis, and one which we may regard as symbolic, was the affair of the Spanish blanks. This was a plan concocted by three Scottish earls, Angus, Huntly and Errol, in concert with the Scottish Jesuits, to invoke the aid of Philip II. The Spaniards would invade from Kirkcudbright, subdue Scotland and

then England, and restore both realms to the ancient faith. To assure the Spanish king of their support the earls supposedly signed blank papers which were found on their emissary, George Kerr, when he was apprehended at Fairlie Road on 27 December 1592 (Stafford 1940:74-123; Law 1904:244-72). Expectations of Spanish-Scottish collaboration in the Catholic cause of Britain were to rise and fade periodically during the late sixteenth century, but what concerns us here is the notion of blank papers signed in hope. In this essay I'd like to develop this notion by suggesting that the blank space of the succession was one where English Catholics, at home and abroad, clerical and lay, could inscribe their hopes for change.¹ In it, they could write and re-write their future, as each plan or scheme or intervention followed each other.

Catholic activity concerning the succession was erratic because the scene was continually shifting. In the court, there was the Essex-Cecil rivalry: Essex seemed more ideologically committed to Protestantism but more generous in spirit, indisposed to persecution and ready to admire the constancy of suffering priests (Hammer 1999:174-78). Cecil seemed more pragmatic and might be a likely bet for those who resented the Jesuits and were ready to compromise for a modicum of toleration, but since Essex was posing as James's champion there were moments when it looked as though Cecil might countenance the Jesuits and entertain the thought of a Spanish succession (Hicks 1955; Collinson 2014:111, n. 62). Amongst the Catholic powers in Europe, to whom the Catholics looked for aid in their plight, there was no common policy on the succession. The Spanish royal house had its own claim to the English crown, and so was regarded with suspicion by France. France had an old alliance with Scotland but was afraid that a Scottish succession might lead to a compact with the Netherlands and so revive the ancient threat of Burgundian encroachment (Lee 1970:3-16). The Spanish Netherlands jealously guarded its independence from the Spanish Council of State. The Pope, Clement VIII, felt it incumbent upon him to contain Spanish pretensions.² Spain put on a show of waging holy war

¹ The phrase "blank space" is used by Michael Questier (2005:85) to refer to the way Catholics read Elizabeth herself, "inflected and glossed by reference to certain key political topics, principally the succession."

² For an intriguing analysis of Clement VIII's attempts to outmanoeuvre Spain, see Cardinal D'Ossat to Henri IV, Rome, 26 Nov 1601, English translation by T. Birch, transcription in Cooper (1886:1.131-45).

against the heretics in England but was only willing to intervene when it suited the most Catholic king.

Events also played havoc with expectations. In 1598 Burghley died, a more dependable figure perhaps than Robert Cecil; so too did King Philip II of Spain, to be succeeded by his irresolute son Philip III. Peace was signed between Spain and France at Vervins in the same year, raising hopes of peace with England and possible concessions to the Catholics. The Spanish Infanta Clara Eugenia, much touted as a possible Catholic candidate for the English throne, married the Archduke Albert in 1599 and thus became joint ruler of the Spanish Netherlands, a position she was very unwilling to risk in favour of an alien crown. Early in 1601, Essex fell, while in September the Tyrone rebellion came to an unhappy end at Kinsale, just when the Spaniards had at last come to the aid of the Irish.

Amongst themselves, the English Catholics, and especially the exiles, were notoriously divided. Sometimes it seemed as though their energies were concentrated more on attacking each other than in trying to improve their condition within the state. The clergy imprisoned at Wisbech Castle were divided between the strict followers of the Jesuit William Weston and the more easy-going seculars. Some students at the English College in Rome saluted Spaniards obsequiously in the streets while others thumbed their noses and muttered curses about Jesuits and bad fish. Many students deliberately joined the Benedictines, in protest against the Jesuits. In Flanders a party of exiles kept trying to influence the nuncio against the Jesuit William Holt. When an archpriest was appointed in 1598 to rule over the secular clergy in England, an aggrieved party, sensing a Jesuit bid for total control of the Catholic community, sent delegates to Rome and mounted increasingly scurrilous printed attacks on their favourite enemy, Robert Persons, leader of the Jesuits, rector of the English College in Rome and confidante of the Cardinal Nephew Aldobrandino. The Bishop of London, Richard Bancroft, eagerly accepted the appellants' offers of collaboration against the Jesuits, helped to print their slanderous books, and chuckled at the prospect of Catholic self-destruction and the naïveté of the seculars' hopes for toleration (Jenkins 1948; Collinson 2014). Amongst the laity, there was no agreement on the vexed questions of church attendance and allegiance to the excommunicated queen.

The reasons for this fragmentation are complex, but not hard to understand in a context of long frustration and persecution. Conflict surfaced after the defeat of the Spanish Armada, which had proved that Catholics would not rise as a united body against the Protestant regime. The death of William Cardinal Allen in 1594 signalled the loss of a powerful unifying figure. In the same year, the conversion of the French king Henri IV initiated a period of gradual religious reconciliation in France, which tended to weaken the resistance of English Catholics. The Jesuits, who had won the admiration of the Catholic community in the heroic days of the English Mission, now began to look like extremists who had sold out to the Spanish monarchy. Robert Persons was suspected of manipulating Roman policy towards England by controlling the flow of intelligence and charming the papal court.

This rather bewildering and volatile scene was naturally characterized by a series of moves and counter-moves, some of which have been expertly analysed in a recent book of essays on the succession (Doran and Kewes 2014). It is nevertheless possible to detect, behind the manoeuvring, some significant patterns of Catholic thinking about the matter. It was in fact not so much who they wanted as what they wanted that counted. And what we shall see is that a large number of Catholics kept working right up to the moment of James's accession and beyond, to try to secure the best possible terms. In this essay I shall consider the interventions of three diverse figures from the years 1600 to 1604 – Henry Constable, Robert Persons and Thomas Tresham – to illustrate different strands of Catholic response, and will try to show both the overlaps and the disparities among them. In so doing, I shall also argue that James's succession was by no means so assured that this was not an extremely nervous transition.

II

One of the most intriguing participants in the Catholic manoeuvrings over the succession was the courtier and poet Henry Constable (Wickes 1953-1954). His father, Sir Robert Constable (d. 1591), had been master of the Queen's ordinance and an associate of the exiled Earl of Westmorland, Charles Neville, a somewhat dissipated survivor of the Northern Rebellion of 1569. Westmorland

was a potential rival to Sir William Stanley as a military leader of the English Catholic exiles (Loomie 1963a:133), and in 1600 Henry Constable planned to involve him in an ambitious scheme for the conversion of England by means of France.³ This placed Constable in the anti-Jesuit camp, but he had previously been in friendly correspondence with Persons and so is an interesting case study of the overlap between the two major parties. He began with high hopes for the conversion of James VI, whom he visited in 1599, in response, it seems, to the approach James made (or was claimed to have made) to the Pope Clement VIII earlier in the same year.⁴ At some point during this visit Constable appears to have been drawn in to a papal offer to pay large sums of money to James if he would convert. This came to nothing and he returned to Paris disappointed. Clearly James was going to need more inducement than religious persuasions or cash benefits. Constable thus wrote to the Pope and to Cardinal Baronio to propose bringing France into the game. In Rome, Persons was consulted and dismissed the idea. He had very little confidence in any scheme involving James. So Constable turned to Persons's enemies amongst the exiles in Flanders and Paris, including William Gifford, Dean of Lille, the most eminent of the English anti-Jesuits on the continent and later to become revered in the English Benedictine revival (McCann 1952:137-60). Together they worked out a plan for an Anglo-French treaty allowing for limited liberty of conscience during the rest of Elizabeth's reign, with a promise for more under James. Constable then departed for Rome to drum up support.

Despite Constable's wide network and diplomatic skills the plan collapsed, partly because of the fall of Essex, whom he had hoped to enlist, along with other members of the Privy Council. But the initiative is significant because it brought to the surface several related strands of English Catholic culture – loosely associated with the settlement of the wars of religion in France following the conversion of Henri of Navarre – which we might in some sense

³ Details of Constable's plan are from Persons's report to the Duke of Sessa, early 1601 (*CSP Simancas* 4:681-2), and so should be treated with due caution.

⁴ W. Crichton to Thomas Owen, 4 June 1605 (Archives of the British Province of the Society of Jesus, hereafter ABSI, MS Anglia III, 55 and 46/4/10, fols 161-62). Grateful thanks to Rebecca Volk, archivist of the British Province of the Society of Jesus, for permission to consult and quote from these sources.

regard as ecumenical. For one thing, before allying with Gifford and Charles Paget, who were definitely Persons's adversaries, Constable also approached Persons's colleague Dr Barrett, Rector of the English College at Douay, and Thomas Stapleton, Professor at Louvain and the most distinguished contemporary English Catholic theologian. So he was trying to be as inclusive as possible in his enterprise. For another, his hopes of winning Essex as an ally crystallised the gathering expectations of the role he might play in gaining toleration for the Catholics. In addition, his view of the restoration of the faith in England was shaped largely by the nature of his own conversion and the spectacle of Catholicism gradually gaining the upper hand over the Huguenots in France. Finally, he wrote and published an English book, *A discoverye of a counterfecte conference* (1600), attacking Persons for the notorious *Conference about the Next Succession* (1595) and setting forth a compelling alternative vision of the relation between church and state.

The Essex factor complicated a lot of calculations in late Elizabethan England, partly because he was impulsive and cultivated a chivalric air of frankness and generosity. Trying to impress Elizabeth with his spy network he engineered the cruel death of Dr Lopez in 1594, which led to a brief intensification of anti-papist activity in London and indirectly to the imprisonment of the Jesuit John Gerard. Later Essex expressed his admiration for Gerard's constancy in the Tower, where he was hung up by his hands, and references in Henry Garnet's letters to Persons suggest that the earl was an object of intense interest and fascination for the Catholics.⁵ There is an undated petition appealing to him to use his influence with the queen in favour of toleration, probably from 1598 (Loomie 1963-1964); there were several Catholics in his entourage and even Persons was reported to be sending out probes in his direction.⁶ When he was appointed to lead the English forces against Tyrone in Ireland, the Brussels nuncio Frangipani planned to send Richard Stanihurst to treat with him (Lennon 1980:52-53). There was hope, then, that Essex might play a part in bringing about a new dispensation in Ireland, which could be a precursor to a settlement in England itself. Since he was also putting a lot of effort into

⁵ Extracts from Letters of Henry Garnet, chiefly to Robert Persons (ABSI, *Collectanea P* 536-54, esp. 547-48, 550).

⁶ E.g. Anonymous intelligence, June 1599 (CSPD 1598-1601:227-29).

establishing himself as James's champion in the succession stakes, he was clearly someone for Catholics to monitor closely. He was closely associated, as the inheritor of the Sidney mantle, with the "forward" party in English Protestantism, but he may have felt ashamed of his part in the victimization of Lopez, was constitutionally averse to religious persecution and liked to think of himself as always fair to his opponents.

Against this background, Essex seemed to represent openness to an ecumenical spirit, in which debate and interchange could take place in a less adversarial manner. Constable corresponded regularly with him from 1595 to 1597.⁷ It was Essex who intervened on behalf of the former Jesuit priest Thomas Wright, who spent some years in various prisons in the late 1590s and was instrumental in the celebrated conversion of William Alabaster, one of the brightest hopes of the late Elizabethan English church. Together they held prison disputations with leading Protestant bishops, to the great satisfaction of Catholic observers.⁸ As it happened, there occurred in May 1600, just when Constable was on the point of leaving Paris for Rome in pursuit of his grand scheme for the conversion of England, a public disputation at the royal palace of Fontainebleau only a few miles away. The whole city was buzzing in anticipation, for the event had been prompted by the accusation that the Huguenot lay champion, Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, had been guilty of over five hundred falsifications in his refutation of the mass. He had therefore challenged the Catholic bishop Davy du Perron to make good the charges (Daussy 2002).⁹ Perron was himself a former Huguenot, and had instructed the convert Henri of Navarre in the Catholic faith. It

⁷ E.g. Constable to Essex, 28 Feb/10 Mar 1597 (*HMC Hatfield House* 7:86).

⁸ On Alabaster and Wright, see Richard Percival to Sir Robert Cecil, Strand, 22 Sept. 1597 (*HMC Hatfield House* 7:394), Examination of Wm. Alabaster before Sir John Peyton and Attorney General Coke, Tower of London, 22 July 1600 and Analytical abstract of the evidence in support of the charge of treason against the Earl of Essex (*CSPD 1598-1601*:453-55), Letters of Henry Garnet (*ABSI Collectanea P*, 549, 551-52), "The Conversion of Alabaster" (Bodleian Library MS Eng. Th. b1, Jollet Miscellany, lib. 19, fol. 235), Stroud (1951), and Sutton (1997).

⁹ Contemporary accounts of the trial include *Discours véritable de la conférence* (1600), commonly attributed to Mornay and anonymously translated as *A Discourse of the Conference* (1600). The work that sparked off the controversy was Mornay's *De l'Institution, usage, et doctrine du Sainct Sacrement de l'Eucharistie* (1598), translated as *Four Books, of the Institution, Use and Doctrine of the Holy Sacrament of the* (1600).

would have been strange if Constable had not been deeply interested in the disputation, for he had some years previously written a book, the so-called *Catholic Moderator* (1589) in which he posed as a Catholic responding in an ecumenical way to Huguenot objections to the faith (Rogers 1959-1960). This book was often attributed to Perron, and Constable was so successful in putting forward a Catholic point of view that he converted himself.

John Bossy has memorably characterized the procedure of *The Catholic Moderator*, judging that "Constable's method of stopping controversy was to produce formulae so vague as to evacuate the intellectual content of the views of both sides" (Bossy 1961-1962:230-31). This may be a rather harsh judgement. Constable identified and then categorized each point of difference in such a way as to demonstrate that there was no burning issue. On justification by faith, for example, he averred (1623:8): "only we differ in termes: the *Huguenots* calling Faith without Charitie, an Historicall or dead Faith; and we, a Faith without Forme. O my God, what a pittie it is, to behold the simplicitie of our Christian Faith, thus puzzled about these quiddities."¹⁰ He was not, of course, a trained theologian, but he represented the common-sense view, no doubt shared by many, that Protestants and Catholics could resolve their differences by smoothing over the spiky points of doctrine and ecclesiastical discipline. James VI occasionally thought along these lines, and hoped to contribute to the reunification of Christendom by persuading his fellow princes to call an ecumenical council at which the Pope would be invited to preside without exercising papal control.¹¹ So it is not surprising that Constable continued, despite his failure to convert James, to support his candidature for the succession and to oppose the campaign for the Infanta. This is the context for his attack on Persons's *Conference* in *A discoverye of a counterfecte conference*, which was published in Paris in 1600 at the expense of Charles Paget, a close associate of William Gifford and collaborator in the Constable succession initiative.

¹⁰ The French reads: "Seulement nous parlons en diuers termes, les Huguenots appelans la foy sans charité, foy historique, ou morte, & nous foy sans forme. Mon Dieu, quelle pitié de voir la simplicité de la foy Chrestienne, embrouillé des ces subtilités" (Constable 1589:17).

¹¹ For James's negotiations with Pope Clement VIII, 1601-1604, see Patterson (1997:39-41).

As behoves the work of a man of letters, the *Discoverye of a counterfecte conference* is constructed according to the conventions of classical rhetoric, as an epideictic oration in dispraise of Robert Persons.¹² The exordium dilates on the theme of “estimation” and the peroration contrasts Persons’s manner of proceeding in the matter of the succession with that of the Pope, concluding with the proper aspiration that the Jesuit should look to the health of his soul. The argument is that Persons’s *Conference* is to be deplored for its matter, its structure and its consequences, and the burden of the work is to elaborate the destabilizing effects of making religion the determining factor in the government of the realm. Persons is guilty of “monstrous excesse in speeche” (Constable 1600:41), of promoting a “sodainly supposed pretender” (8), a political philosophy “(n)euher herde or thought of in the memorye of man” (12-13), his language full of “surmise of doubtfulness” (31), “lothesome drifts and scoopes” (11) and “disorderly [...] light [...] phantastical [...] fable(s)” (5). Constable wants a settled monarchical rule with papal endorsement, based on ancient laws and customs, reason and established procedure. The commonwealth should be established on a common ground of virtue and piety, and religious controversy can work itself out in peace.

III

The stridency of Constable’s tone towards Persons may be a function of printed polemic rather than personal disaffection, but it aligns him with the abusive rhetoric of the appellants whose voluminous assaults on Persons were pouring off the London presses throughout 1601 and 1602.¹³ It seemed to them that the only way of negotiating a form of toleration for the Catholic Church in England was to remove the Jesuit threat altogether. Whether James remained Protestant or slid towards Catholicism in view of the overwhelming weight of evidence in favour of the faith of the Fathers (for the Huguenot had been utterly trounced at Fontainebleau), the nation was much more

¹² Classical rhetoric is divided into three branches: forensic (proving guilt or innocence), deliberative (advocating one line of policy or another) and epideictic or demonstrative (elaborating praise or dispraise).

¹³ The attack on Persons can be found in most concentrated form in William Watson’s *Decacordon* (1602).

likely to prosper with an old-fashioned easy-going Catholic hierarchy than with a fanatical Jesuit cohort driving men and women to fervour and sacrifice and even martyrdom if they didn't get their way.¹⁴

From Persons's own point of view, the dissidents in Flanders and Paris, at Wisbech and the English College in Rome, and especially the appellants, constituted the threat. They were factions, breaking up the unity of the English Catholic church. Certainly the Jesuit himself had a gift of impressing those he met with his wider vision of the faith restored. In 1600 he was a force to be reckoned with, and he too took a lively interest in the proceedings at Fontainebleau. He exploited Perron's triumph in a *Relation of the Triall*, originally published in 1601 (although no copy is extant) and revised and extended in 1604 as an appendix to his *Treatise of Three Conversions of England*.¹⁵ This is a significant little work because it reflects Persons's expectations of the procedure to be followed for dealing with heresy after the restoration of Catholicism in England under the next Catholic prince, a consummation for which he was arduously scheming and which did not include James VI. His view of reunion through state-controlled public disputation, the gradual extinction of opposition under a Catholic monarchy, was coloured differently from that of Constable or Gifford, or for that matter Alabaster, who lost his enthusiasm for the Catholic faith when he entered the more triumphalist atmosphere of Rome in the early 1600s. But by 1604, when Persons re-published the work with a hastily rewritten preface, James was established as king, so the account of the disputation had a rather different thrust: to guarantee the standards for religious controversy so that, even under a Protestant regime, the truth would be sure to triumph. And here he promoted an ethos that brought him closer to Constable's vision: the code of chivalry, introducing an element of honour into the polemical scene. This was prompted by the fact that the Huguenot, Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, was by the calling of his birth a feudal lord, defending his

¹⁴ I owe this explanation of the viewpoint of the seculars/appellants to discussions with Michael Questier.

¹⁵ Persons's account, *A Relation of the triall made before the King of France, upon the year 1600, betweene the Bishop of Evreux, and the L. Plessis Mornay*, was appended to the second volume of *A Treatise of Three Conversions of England from Paganisme to Christian Religion* (1603-1604).

honour before the king, rather than a theologian defending a thesis in an academic hall (Houlston 2008).

One of the most difficult, and no doubt painful, letters Persons had to write in his life was his letter of 18 October 1603, congratulating James on his accession (McCoog 2004:210-15). But even before then he felt it expedient to write to James VI to explain his position. This was a letter dated at Rome, 18 August 1602 (McCoog 2004:208-10). It was written at an important turning point in the Jesuit's strategy with regard to the succession, when Pope Clement VIII sent Sir David Lindsay as an emissary to James VI outlining the conditions under which the papacy would be prepared to endorse his candidature. Persons's letter went with him: a reversal from 1599, when Constable had approached James against Persons's wishes and rather dubiously represented the Pope. To understand the significance of this shift we need to outline briefly how Persons had approached the succession issue since the failure of the Spanish Armada of 1588.

It needs to be reiterated that at no time did Persons place any hopes or confidence in James VI, even though he was the son of Mary Queen of Scots whose execution had intensified the fervour of the Armada. Persons's involvement in earlier invasion plans had taken it for granted that Mary would lose her life in the process – i.e. she was expendable – and this was one of the deep sources of the conflict with the opposition party among the exiles in Flanders and Paris (Martin 1973; Guilday 1914:93-95). They were emotionally tied to Mary and resented the predominance of the Spanish interest in Persons's schemes. But Persons was not so much pro-Spanish as anti-James, and in this he could claim to have judged rightly. The Catholics soon found, after his accession, that James was not to be trusted.¹⁶ Thus in all his activity regarding the succession Persons consistently sought to weaken James's position, or, at the very least to make him insecure enough to seek an alliance with the Catholics and commit himself to conversion or toleration. The first potential alternative candidate he probed was Ferdinando Stanley, Earl Strange and heir of the Earl of Derby. Although the evidence is

¹⁶ From McCoog's account (2004:189-90), of Persons's letter to Henry Garnet, 24 May 1603, the impression might be gained that Persons shared the temporary optimism following James's accession, but in July he wrote to "Antony Rivers" showing neither surprise nor disappointment that "men begin to droope agayne" (Pollen 1906:214-15).

scanty and ambiguous, it seems clear that he sent agents to sound him out in 1591 and he was probably behind an attempt by Richard Hesketh to approach the newly elevated Fifth Earl of Derby in 1593. Stanley immediately turned the luckless Hesketh in to be hanged, but died himself soon afterwards. Predictably, the Jesuits were suspected of foul play.¹⁷ We cannot know for sure how much Persons was invested in this possibility, but the Derby line was more or less out of the running by the time the *Conference about the Next Succession* was completed later in 1593.

There is not the space here to go into the question of the authorship and intent of the *Conference*, which has been the subject of a great deal of controversy.¹⁸ My own view is that the work was compiled, chiefly by Persons, with the approval of William Allen, as a way of displacing James VI from front-runner status and alerting the Catholic community to the conscientious imperative not to support a Protestant candidate. It stopped short of declaring the Infanta of Spain as the favoured Catholic candidate, but it laid the foundation for a unified Catholic policy on the succession (Houlston 2000). When it was eventually published, in 1595, with a dedication to Essex, Allen was dead and the work became a political football both in the English court and in the tents of the exiles. Essex, who was trying to cultivate James, was embarrassed;¹⁹ Burghley made sure that a copy was sent to James;²⁰ in Flanders Gifford gloated that

¹⁷ The fullest account is by Bagley (1985:59-67). Thomas Bell, a renegade priest who assisted Strange's father, the 4th Earl, with a recusant purge in 1592, claimed in his *Anatomie of popish tyrannie* (1603) that Persons had set on Hesketh to stir the 5th Earl to rebellion (dedicatory epistle, sigs. ¶3v-4r). The Scottish Jesuit William Crichton discusses the Jesuit interest in the Derby succession, in a letter to the General, Acquaviva, Brussels, 13 January 1594 (Medina 1996:232, 244-45). For Persons's earlier involvement, see his letter to John Cecil and John Fixer, 13 April 1591, containing coded references, possibly, to Lord Strange (*HMC Hatfield House* 4:104-105), the confession of Thomas Christopher [alias] Dingley to Lord Burghley, 24 August 1592 (*CSPD 1591-1594*:255-56), and the statement by John Snowden (i.e. Cecil) to Lord Burghley, 21 May 1591 (*CSPD 1591-1594*:39-40). Francis Edwards (1995:146-47) suggests that Persons and Strange may have been the victims of Burghley's machinations.

¹⁸ Most scholars now accept the conclusion of Peter Holmes (1980). The evidence is laid out by L. Hicks (1957-1958), who comes to the opposite conclusion, namely that Persons was not the chief collaborator.

¹⁹ Rowland Whyte to Sir Robert Sidney, London, 5-12 November 1595 (*HMC L'Isle* 2:182-84).

²⁰ W. Cecil to R. Cecil, London, 3 October 1595 (Peck 1779:1.169-70).

Persons had ruined himself with the Pope,²¹ and the Scottish Jesuit William Crichton invoked French folklore to comment that you cannot catch a hare by beating a drum.²²

There certainly seemed to be something mischievous about the publication of the *Conference*, which cast thorns in James's path. And it does not seem to have persuaded Catholics generally to be "indifferent" enough about the succession to accept the Infanta as a candidate once the real campaign began. Nor could Persons and his associates count on any sustained support from Philip II, although there was an attempt at a second Armada in 1596 and again in 1597. In 1597 Persons himself moved to Rome from Spain, where he had had some influence with Philip II. Then Philip died and peace was signed with France, the Infanta married the Archduke and transferred to the Netherlands. Despite prompting from Joseph Creswell, now the leading English Jesuit in Spain, and the Duke of Sessa, the Spanish ambassador in Rome, Philip III took an unconscionable time deciding whether he would support his sister's candidature, and when he finally did so, in February 1601, it was clear that the Infanta was averse to the plan. In any case, Clement VIII was advising Persons and Sessa that the French would be opposed to the Infanta (Loomie 1965:503; Hicks 1955:131). Meanwhile the more militant Catholics in England, including some of those who would later be involved in the Gunpowder Plot, were pressing Creswell to find Spanish support for an armed insurrection (Pollen 1903:577-80). They continued to hope right through the first months of James's reign, but in vain. The special Spanish envoy, Juan de Tassis, toured England at the time and was half-expecting something to happen, but the left hand did not know what the right hand was doing (Loomie 1963:15-19; 1973:16). In the summer of 1602, Persons, somewhat reluctantly, was moving on. It was time to put some more pressure on James. So he wrote the letter that the Pope's emissary bore with him along with Clement's offer of conditional endorsement.

James wanted the English crown so much that he was ready to entertain all proposals. But Persons's letter, while preparing the

²¹ W. Gifford to T. Throckmorton, 15 June 1595 (CSPD 1595-1597:54-55).

²² "Est proverbium Gallicum, leporem non esse capiendum tympano," W. Crichton to R. Persons, 20 August 1596 (ABSI, *Collectanea P* 318; Knox 1882:384).

ground for reconciliation, firmly insisted that the king's religion was an insurmountable barrier to Catholic support. He began by explaining his explanation:

The occasion of this bearers journey, Sir James Lynsie, and his most loyall hart towards your Majestie together with his Christian zeale towards God and his Religion, hath emboldened me to write these few lynes to your Majestie wherunto I have byn much encouraged also by the example of some of my ecclesiastical superiours, who therby have delivered me from that feare and scruple of Conscience which hitherto hath not a little hindred and drawne backe both me and others from declaring the doubtfull affections of our myndes by reason of the difference of Religion presumed to be betwene your Majestie and us, and many thousands of my nation, who otherwise do beare a most faythfull hart towards your Majestie and his service, with an ardent desyre of his highest advancement both in this world and the next. (McCoog 2004: 208)

In other words, "I am now emboldened to declare the doubtful affections of my mind." The phrase "declaring the doubtful affections of our myndes" does not mean that he is now ready to disclose his undivided affection but rather that he is now bold enough to explain why his affections are doubtful. In diplomatic terms, that is straight talking, and more was to follow:

But that not falling out, and our hopes in the said principall poynt decaying more and more daylie, and that especially upon the reports, and [a]sseverations of such as came and writt from those poarts where they were thought to have best cause to know and judge of the likelyhood of matters, your Majestie in his wisdom and equity cannot marvaile, if those zealous endeavours of Catholiques for your Majestie became more cold for the tyme, and some other secundarie cogitations entered also perhaps with some, how to assure themselves by other meanes in that only chief poynt about religion, for which they have suffered so much as all the world knoweth and your Majestie cannot but be informed therof, and for which poynt only they are resolved to postpone all humayne and worldly respectes whatsoever. (McCoog 2004: 209)

That is to say: you can hardly be surprised that English Catholics have been forced to look elsewhere for their political salvation. This is hardly an apology, but an attempt to establish a position of strength, from which Persons can offer an incentive:

And yet was all this notwithstanding (as I verily perswade my selfe) without all diminution of internall affection so long as any

least hope remayned of the principall poynt which hope they did endeavour by all meanes and arguments to feede still and conserve in them selves together with their desyre of your Majesties greatest preferment, which may be the easier believed, if a man consider the infinite utilitie and interest that would grow to your country and us all therby, (to say nothing of all Christiendome) I meane by the greatnes of your Majesties person and state, if the foresaid only impediment were removed, so as when men are found to speake to their owne profit they may easely be beleaved to meane as they speake, though other arguments of probabilitye were wanting. (McCoog 2004: 209)

He argues, as a man experienced in the courts of Europe, that officious declarations of potential devotion are not to be trusted; James should rely on the fact that, if he converts, it will be in every Catholic's interest to support him. Finally, Persons withdraws with all the dignity of his priesthood intact:

Our Lord Jesus be your Majesties buckler and defence against all enemyes both spirituall and temporall, and make yow longe and prosperously to raigne in the Religion of your Majesties most noble ancient Catholique Christian Kings and Queenes of that Iland, and this is our most earne[s]t prayer for your Majestie and yours daylie, whose hands I kisse most humbly, and with all dewe reverence from Rome this 18 of August 1602. Your Majesti[es] most humble orator & beadsman. (McCoog 2004: 209-10)

We may choose, if we wish, to read the letter as an exercise in sophistry, or a last-ditch attempt at limiting the damage. What needs to be emphasised is that in the declaration of constancy in inconsistency there is no hint of compromise. When James ignored the letter, Persons responded by pursuing rapprochement with the French. In December and January 1602-1603 he was writing to the experienced Jesuit diplomat Antonio Possevino, in Venice, who had the ear of the French ambassador, Philippe de Fresne-Canaye. He was now proposing that the French should ally with the Jesuits in exerting pressure for toleration on the English Privy Council, and that the kings of France and Spain should unite behind "a thyrd parson nether Spanishe nor frenche to the crowne of England w^{ch} was the prince of parma." A few weeks later Persons wrote to Constable in Paris, urging union on all fronts: the appellants should submit to the subordination and the "2 kynges frenche & chatholique [i.e. Spanish] to ioyne in one to the rootinge oute of heresy." These proposals were pooh-poohed by the appellant party

in Paris, but the king's minister Villeroy was at least willing to toy with the idea.²³ Meanwhile Persons may have been exploring yet another option: Arabella Stuart, possibly using as his agent the elusive Father Antony Rivers, in fact (as it now transpires) William Sterrell, the secretary to the Earl of Worcester, one of several Catholic sympathisers in the English court.²⁴ The Lady Arabella, immediately next in line after her cousin James VI, could be married off to another contender for the succession: the Prince of Parma or one of the Seymours in the Hertford line, thus strengthening her claim.²⁵ Inevitably there were rumours of Jesuit interference with Arbella Stuart,²⁶ and in early March she made a frantic attempt to escape from her keeper, the Countess of Shrewsbury at Hardwick Hall, with the help of a local Catholic gentleman related to Thomas Stapleton (Lovell 2005:437-45). One of her proposed husbands, Edward Seymour, Lord Beauchamp, was said to have 10 000 men in arms with the French and the Spanish lurking in the background, and he had to hasten to explain himself once James was securely in possession.²⁷

²³ Bossy (1965-1966:91-94). For the quotations, taken from notes by John Cecil on this correspondence, see Lambeth Palace Library, MS Fairhurst 2006, fols. 195 and 206 (cf. ABSI, Persons Letters 46/12/7, 1311-18, 1324 and 1334). Grateful thanks to the archivist at Lambeth Palace Library, Mr Matti Watton, for permission to consult and quote from this manuscript.

²⁴ The identification by Martin and Finnis (2002-2003) has found general acceptance. For speculation that Sterrell/Rivers had dealings with Arbella Stuart, see Hume (1901:221, 275-76, 496-504). Hume worked extensively in the State Archives in Simancas as the editor of *CSP Simancas*.

²⁵ The Farnese claim depended on the same general line of descent, from John of Gaunt, as the Infanta. For Clement VIII's interest in marrying one of the Farnese brothers (sons of the military hero Alessandro Farnese, d. 1592) to Arabella Stuart, see the letter from Cardinal D'Ossat, French ambassador in Rome, to Henri IV, 26 Nov 1601 (Cooper 1886:1.131-45).

²⁶ James VI to R. Cecil, Feb or May 1602 (Akrigg 1984:191).

²⁷ Diary of John Manningham, 27/28 March and 7 April 1603 (Bruce 1896:153-54, 160-61); John Chamberlain to Dudley Carleton, 30 March 1603 (McClure 1939:1.190); G. C. Scaramelli, Venetian Secretary in England, to Doge and Senate, 12 April 1603 (*CSP Venetian* 10:2-3).

IV

What was behind all these rumours we cannot tell, but it is clear at all events that Persons did not give up hopes of influencing the succession until the very end. It is also evident that he was entering the force-field of French politics and thus narrowing the gap between himself and his rivals among the Catholic exiles. Before we can draw any conclusions about the significance of these developments, we need to consider what was happening among the lay Catholics in England itself, the peers and the gentry. We have seen that there were some who were agitating for insurrection and foreign aid, but for the most part they were not prepared for any intervention. This is not to say that they were supine; indeed one of the most important developments in recent scholarship on the English Catholic community has been to demonstrate how many options they exercised, apart from recusancy, to express their dissatisfaction with, if not loathing and contempt for, the Protestant regime (Walsham 2000). It has often been pointed out that leading Catholic gentry, such as Sir Thomas Tresham and Sir George Shirley, and the Lords Mordaunt and Monteagle, were pro-active in securing James's accession immediately after the death of the queen (Kaushik 1996; Sena 2000; Questier 2006). But this was not a sign of welcome and acceptance: far from it; it was a purposeful attempt to place him under an obligation to honour his promises to them. If we read Tresham's own account of his ride into Northampton to have the king proclaimed at once, we are struck by the nervous excitement. He took great risks to ensure that his loyalty to James was noted, determined to be first in the queue. He broke in to the town, pushed his way through the crowds to the mayor's house, and had the postboy blow his horn. When the Mayor failed to come down to face five hundred hostile townfolk, Tresham mounted the stairs to the mayoral chamber and confronted his peers. The only armed man in the company, Sir Robert Spencer, spoke for the rest and advised that they should wait twenty-four hours. Doubt was expressed whether James would uphold the Protestant religion, and this afforded delicious opportunity for Tresham to shame the rest by professing his allegiance irrespective of religion.²⁸

²⁸ Tresham Papers, Rushton Hall, Northamptonshire (*HMC Various Collections* 3:1-154, esp. 117-23).

If he had failed, Tresham could have been charged with high treason. He was a brave and reflective man who was renowned for the sacrifices he made for his faith. Some idea of what kind of England he wanted can be gleaned from the well-known *Petition apologeticall* (1604) which he and other Catholic loyalists presented to the king on his accession and subsequently had published at a secret Catholic press in London. On first glance this might seem to be a craven submission in the hopes of some small favour, some crumbs of toleration dropped from the monarch's table, for it includes an offer to stand surety for the good behaviour of the priests – not an arrangement likely to appeal to the Jesuits, who owed special obedience to His Holiness. We are reminded of the way the appellants were ready to trade in the Jesuits, whom in any case they hated, so that they themselves could be left in relative peace. But the lay Catholics of 1603 and 1604 addressed the king as gentlemen and knights to their liege. They asked for restoration of “their natiue freedome in this your Realme of *England*,” moved to defend themselves by their responsibility for God's honour and their own and their children's good estate. They appealed to the king to increase his own honour, glory and triumph, as a father towards his children, by restoring so many of his subjects to freedom and prosperity. This is the language of free men, who rise above servile begging, to assert their ancient rights. They also asked for the liberty to exercise their allegiance to his majesty without the least shadow upon their integrity, already released as they now were from the constitutional and international obstacles that troubled them under Elizabeth, whom they had obeyed as their sovereign despite excommunication and illegitimacy.

Further signs of the lay Catholics' independence of spirit can be detected in their treatment of recusancy and the possible embarrassment of belonging to the same faith as the infamous “Doleman.” They argued against church attendance on grounds that were more jurisdictional than theological: since the truth about religion had not been established by due ecclesiastical authority, it was unjust to compel them to worship against their consciences. They therefore called for the summoning of a conference to adjudicate on religious controversy, reminding the king how many of them had attended the debates in the Tower in the last days of Edmund Campion. As for Doleman, they dissociated themselves from him, but rather than indulge in overheated rhetoric against

him, like the appellants or indeed Constable, they left him to make his own satisfaction to the king, as (no doubt) he had already done.

Here, then, is some common ground among the three voices we have heard addressing the succession question from a Catholic point of view: the recourse to a residual code of chivalry. Although Tresham and his friends differed sharply from Persons and the so-called Hispaniolated exiles on the question of foreign intervention, on which any alternative to James's succession necessarily depended, they honoured him. The most striking example of this unity of spirit is to be found in a two-volume manuscript of recusant materials in the Bodleian Library, which is known as the Jollet Miscellany. The pseudonymous scribe has organized large amounts of theological, devotional and historical matter under various headings, arranged chronologically and entered in ornamental panels. Tresham is treated as a hero of the faith, and so is Persons, repeatedly and conspicuously. There are accounts of Alabaster's conversion and even an entry recording William Gifford's acceptance of Persons as Allen's successor as leader of the Catholics in exile.²⁹ This early seventeenth century collection provides an intriguing glimpse into the mentality of the educated Catholic layman, remembering with pride the heroes and martyrs of the recent past and keeping up to date with Roman apologetics. Such a man would be quietly confident of the outcome of any ecumenical conference on religious differences.

It is customary to stress the animosity between the Jesuits and the seculars, the Spanish and French factions among the exiles, the loyalists and the militants at home, the recusants and the church papists. These groupings have their value, and it is possible to line them up quite neatly, at least for the first three categories: pro-Spanish pro-Jesuit militants and pro-French anti-Jesuit loyalists, but we can see that men like Tresham do not fit these neat categories. The more we know about occasional conformity, that is, the resistance or protest strategies of those who were not full-blown recusants, the more we understand how tough the English Catholic community really was. This suggests to me that Persons was not as

²⁹ Two volumes of materials in defence of Roman Catholicism, arranged in 93 "books" by Thomas Jollet (pseud.), a convert with Northamptonshire connections, about 1605-1608, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Th. b1-2: see especially Vol. 1: 235 (Alabaster), 250, 569 (Persons), 572, 822-36 (Tresham), Vol. 2: 31-32, 241-42 (Persons), 33 (Gifford).

alienated from his co-religionists, not so easily treated as an extremist, as one may be tempted to assume, although Peter Guilday (1914:115) may well be right when he suggests that there were many Catholics who breathed a sigh of relief when he expired in the Easter season of 1610. And it prompts reflection on one final group of Catholics whose strategy over the succession we have not yet discussed: the peers.

Michael Questier (2006:1) has memorably encapsulated the standard judgement of the Catholic or crypto-Catholic peers as “vertebraically challenged;” an assessment we might be tempted to endorse when we read the account of the response of the Privy Council to James’s questions about mitigation of the recusancy laws on 14 September 1604 (Loomie 1963b:55-56). Virtually everyone spoke in favour, but no one seems to have lifted a finger when the recusancy laws were in fact reinforced. Were they all merely yes-men? There might have been some hope of Buckhurst, who had assisted Persons when he left Balliol and travelled to the continent in 1574, and whose son was thinking of joining the Jesuits (Manning 1969:233-34; Edwards 1995:10-11; Pollen 1920:80-81). When the Anglo-Spanish peace conference convened in Boulogne in 1600, for example, it was expected that Buckhurst would help to broker a new deal for the English Catholics, but the initiative fell through.³⁰ Another crypto-Catholic, Northampton, became Cecil’s go-between in the secret negotiations with James about the succession from 1601 onwards, a process that in effect guaranteed James’s success (although we should be careful about regarding this as a common assumption at the time).³¹ The “Wizard Earl” of Northumberland, Henry Percy, was engaged in an important correspondence with James at the same time, posing as an important advisor on Catholic affairs. In the early spring of 1602 he wrote:

For the papists, it is true there faction is strong, there encrease is dayly, and there diffidence in your maiestie is not desperat. Somme of the purer sort of them, who hath swaloued the doctrine of

³⁰ Hicks (1955:112-23) gives an account of Persons’s dealings with Buckhurst at the time of the peace negotiations; see also Garnet’s letter to Persons, 14 January 1600 (ABSI, *Collectanea P* 546).

³¹ “Father Antony Rivers” noted the elevation of Lord Henry Howard to Earl of Northampton on 4 April, 1603 (Foley 1875-1883:1.58); on Northampton’s correspondence with James, and his crypto-Catholicism, see Peck (1982:18-22, 54-57).

putting doune princes for religion, may perhaps be whoter then there were reason, wishing the enfanta a better sc[h]are in the kingdome then your selfe. But since your maiestie vnderstandeth better whow to leede this cause then I can giue instruction, I will dare to say no more, bot it weare pittie to losse so good a kingdome for the not tollerating a messe in a corner (if wpon that it resteth) so long as they sall not be too busy disturbers of the guuernement of the state, nor seeke to make vs contributors to a peter prist.³² (Bruce 1861:56)

There is an appeal here to the king to be magnanimous, an appeal that is extended in another post-accession supplication, which suggests that the Catholics are a nation within a nation, thus making James not only the King of Scotland and England, but of yet another rich commonwealth – of English Catholics. All this suggests that the Catholic sympathisers among the peerage were taking risk-free action where possible to alleviate the plight of individual Catholics and trying to nudge policy in the direction of toleration. They were, in short, “politiques,” and that is how Persons and his friends describe them in their letters.

The term *politique* denotes those Catholic noblemen in France who, sick of religious wars and impatient of the League, supported the accession of the Huguenot Henri of Navarre on the grounds that religion should not be the determining factor in state affairs. In making political decisions, political stability was more important than religious orthodoxy. This position is associated with the growth of absolutism and the doctrine of the divine right of kings but for many it was a purely pragmatic stance. It is more or less the position adopted by Constable in his response to Doleman. In the first book of *The Conference about the Next Succession* Persons developed at length a contractual theory of kingship, arguing that the monarch’s first obligation was to promote the spiritual wellbeing of the realm. However, once the book came under fire from fellow Catholics, both before and after publication, he prepared a Latin translation for the Father General Acquaviva and the Pope, which cut almost all of this theory and concentrated on the genealogical evidence. Commentators such as Peter Holmes (1980) and Stefania Tutino (2009) have explained this alteration as a response to the changed conditions in France following Henri’s conversion and to the

³² James replied before 1 May 1602 (Akrigg 1984:188).

dynamics of the papal court. And indeed it does appear that the gap was narrowing between those who would accept nothing less than a Catholic successor and those who would settle for peaceful co-existence.

You could never call Persons a *politique*. His heart was set on a government-sponsored programme of restoration, and he wrote a treatise, *A Memorial for the Intended Reformation of England*, for the attention of the Infanta in 1596 (Persons 1690). He would not swerve from his insistence on James's conversion as a precondition for endorsement, and when it came to conferences on religion he expected not a gentlemen's agreement to fudge the differences but the resounding triumph of Catholic truth. Yet he was not so much intransigent as unwilling to be duped. It seems clear from the developments from 1601 to 1603, as the French settlement in church and state came to loom increasingly larger in all considerations of the English succession, that the groups represented by Persons, Constable and Tresham shared a commitment to keeping faith. From the monarch they looked for reverence for the ancient religion – whether this was a contractual obligation guaranteed by Catholic hierarchy or a question of honour based on a chivalric code. From their opponents they expected due form and respect for the rules of polemic. Faction did not easily dissolve, and James took full advantage of the divisions, but it is possible to see, in the Catholic manoeuvrings in Elizabeth's last years, the potential for future realignments.

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**Constructing a portrait of the early-modern woman
writer for eighteenth-century female readers:
George Ballard's
Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain (1752)***

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ABSTRACT

George Ballard's *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain* (1752) is of special relevance to the study of early-modern women writers and their subsequent reception, since it contains details of the lives and writings of a considerable number of these women. This type of publication responded to the demand for educative works in general, and particularly to a growing female audience. Thus its chief goal was to provide readers with exemplary models of behaviour. Within the theoretical framework of women's studies and literary biography, the biographies of these women writers are analysed in order to determine whether their lives and careers as writers were in keeping with the didactic purpose of such texts, and the extent to which the fact of being women shaped their biographical portraits.

KEYWORDS: early-modern women writers; literary biography; women's studies; education; eighteenth century; George Ballard.

1. Introduction

One significant contribution to the vogue of biography in the eighteenth century is how George Ballard (c.1706-1755) presented his compilation of biographies to the public in its preface (1985:53).

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However, what made his work different and remarkable with respect to others was the subject, that is, distinguished learned women. In fact, as Ruth Perry maintains in her 1985 edition of Ballard's text, bearing in mind the way women were generally regarded at the time, this book is "a landmark in the history of feminism" (1985:13), owing chiefly to its vindication of women's achievements. Moreover, given the repetitive use that subsequent scholars and writers have made of the sometimes unique materials gathered by Ballard, Margaret Ezell describes his work as "a privileged text in the study of early women writers" (1996:81). Indeed, in *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain, Who Have Been Celebrated for Their Writings or Skill in the Learned Languages, Arts and Sciences*, published privately in 1752, Ballard justified his project by stating that his aim was to fill a gap in knowledge, since "very many ingenious women of this nation [...] are not only unknown to the public in general, but have been passed by in silence by our greatest biographers" (1985:53). Accordingly, he provided his audience with the biographies of 64 British women, arranged chronologically, each of whom had participated in the literary world, be it extensively or briefly. The time span covered is also broad, beginning with Julian of Norwich in the fourteenth century and ending with Constantia Grierson at the outset of the eighteenth century.

The construction of an image for the woman writer in early-modern Britain will be examined here by means of recent theoretical approaches based on the relevance of literary biography to women's studies, a particularly suitable method of exploring issues of female agency in the world of letters. Matters such as education, religion, domestic and family life, or public affairs, as well as literary aspects, such as styles, topics, or genres cultivated, are given by Ballard in the biographies. Furthermore, through an analysis of all such information a portrait of a lady emerges, one which, on an immediate level, is a reflection of the political, cultural, social and literary assumptions of these women's times. Yet, as frequently occurs in texts dealing with past events, on a secondary level, Ballard's biographies of worthy women operate as a displaced arena where eighteenth-century concerns are negotiated; this is particularly so with regard to issues of nationalism and religion, at a time when Britishness and its peculiarities were being vindicated, as opposed to those of other European countries, especially France (Colley 2003). Ballard himself, in the preface to the *Memoirs*, stressed

the secondary role of Britain regarding the compilation of the writings of learned women and the necessity of repairing this state of affairs: "When it is considered how much has been done on this subject by several learned foreigners, we may justly be surprised at this neglect among the writers of this nation" (*MSL* 53).¹ Ballard's special focus on British ladies is relevant, since, as Harriet Guest points out, "representations of learned women in particular are important to the sense of national identity that took shape in the mid-century" (2000:49). Thus, he seems particularly concerned with offering the readers a high number of learned women, so as to compete with other countries and indeed to outnumber them, especially so in this period, when the education of women was considered a sign of cultural progress (Guest 2000:57). Consequently, as will be discussed below, education, as a proof of British superiority, will be a crucial element in Ballard's descriptions, and in many cases the education of these learned women is dwelt upon in great detail.

Although the lives of writers have always been attractive to readers, literary biography has not enjoyed a positive reception within literary studies since the end of the nineteenth century, in that from this moment, first with positivism and then formalism, the text itself became the central focus of literary research; indeed, this has continued more recently with the controversial notion of the death of the author (Dosse 2007:83; Backscheider 2001:177-78). However, the study of literary biography can lead to interesting insights within the realm of women's studies, since it allows for an examination of the discourse of the biographies of women writers and of the extent to which this might have affected the way in which women's literary works were read and received (McDowell 1993; Backscheider 2001; Batchelor 2012). Interestingly, Mary Hays, who years later (1803) would publish a female biographical dictionary addressed specifically to women readers (2013:3-4), indicated in the preface to her biography of Charlotte Smith (1801) that she lamented the double-edged nature of women writers' biography. She believed that this was so because their lives were under much more severe scrutiny than those of their male counterparts, and also because women's lives became part of public opinion, even more than their

¹ This and all subsequent references to Ballard's *Memoirs of Several Ladies* will be abbreviated to *MSL*.

works, which resulted in women's writings being read in the light of the biographies of their authors (Batchelor 2012:181-82).

2. George Ballard and his *Memoirs*

Ballard was a tailor and an amateur antiquarian from Campden, Gloucestershire, who, in spite of his lack of a formal education, was in contact with other important English antiquarians, such as Thomas Hearne and Richard Graves. It was through them that he met Sarah Chapone and Mary Delaney, who along with other women from the bluestocking circle, such as Elizabeth Montagu, Elizabeth Vesey and Frances Boscawen, were well-known for organizing gatherings where mainly literary issues were discussed (Myers 1990:244). Moreover, as wealthy and well-connected women, they used their power and influence to aid other writers. Both Chapone and Delaney participated actively in Ballard's project and encouraged him, to the point that he dedicated the second part of his *Memoirs* to Mrs Delaney. But most importantly, Sarah Chapone introduced Ballard to Elizabeth Elstob, a notable Anglo-Saxon scholar and writer, who had the original idea of collecting the lives of learned women of the past and who had already gathered some information about women scholars from England and the Continent in a notebook (Perry 1985:21, 25; Clarke 2005:218). Ballard took up this project but restricted the scope solely to his own country, as he establishes in the very title of the text and justifies in the preface: "it is pretty certain that England has produced more women famous for literary accomplishments than any other nation in Europe" (*MSL* 53).

Ballard's text is also a part of the long tradition of female worthies, of the *querelle des femmes*, and of defences of women, intended to restore women to a significant role in history by means of exceptional and admirable examples (Spongberg 2005:115). The book was also part of the boom in the publishing of conduct books and didactic texts in this period, when female biographies were already functioning as such and were "central to the unofficial curriculum for middle-class women's education" (Wood 1998:124). He does not mention any specific readership in the preface, suggesting thus a general audience, although he does address his female readers in some of his biographical accounts, for example, in the biography of the poet Katherine Philips: "my female readers will

not be displeased with me [...]” (*MSL* 271).² In any case, Ballard’s didactic rationale is clearly manifested from the very beginning, when he explains in the preface that one of his main purposes is “to inform us of those particulars in [the writers’] lives and manners which best deserve our imitation” (*MSL* 53). However, he does not select writers in general, but only learned women and writers, and includes a justification of this selection of the objects of his biographical venture, an almost compulsory feature of the genre (Dosse 2007:94; Backscheider 2001:39). Ballard, as already mentioned, declares that he desires “the preserving from the oblivion the memory” of those illustrious and learned ladies of the past and their commendable achievements (*MSL* 53).

As an antiquarian, Ballard’s work lay mainly in collecting and gathering as much information as possible for each of the entries, including the use of sources such as manuscripts, archival records, letters, wills, sermons, elegies, and even inscriptions on tombstones and monuments. The result is sometimes quite a complete, cumulative biography, but on occasions the scarcity of materials is acknowledged by Ballard in the text, expressing himself in the first person, a technique that helps to persuade the reader of the accuracy of his sources and hence the veracity of his account (Ezell 1996:83). As for the method employed for presenting these materials, it is evident that Ballard was using the antiquarian system of extracting them from “real” historical sources, with items such as manuscripts, records, and architectural monuments thus used (Sweet 2004:xvi); however, the Enlightenment and the influence of the empirical method is also evident in the treatment of his sources in that he provides abundant bibliographical citations in his biographical entries.

The crucial role of Ballard’s text and its subsequent reception has been noted by Margaret Ezell, who describes it as “the key source for information about women writers in the Renaissance and seventeenth century for almost all subsequent biographical dictionaries including women writers, [...] and] for biographical notices in anthologies of women writers” (1993:78). Evidently, the use of these biographical materials, which involved the corporation

² In fact, the subscription list for Ballard’s book included significantly 142 women among the 398 subscribers (Perry 1985:396-404).

of Ballard's own ideological point of view and didactic purpose, affected and sometimes shaped the way some of these women have subsequently been viewed. For example, at the beginning of the nineteenth century two biographical dictionaries compiled by two women writers were published: the six-volume *Female Biography* by Mary Hays (1803) and Mary Matilda Betham's *Biographical Dictionary of the Celebrated Women* (1804). In an analysis of the scope and content of the latter, the text has been described as a repetition of Ballard's traditional words and judgements (Bailey 2004:389-90). Similarly, in the case of Mary Hays's dictionary, it has been argued that as a consequence of her reliance on earlier sources, she abandoned her initial radical and liberal views and adopted a more conservative perspective and tone, more in accordance with a post-revolutionary atmosphere in Britain (Kelly 1993:234; Sponberg 2002:117).

3. The learned women

Alison Booth in her study of collective biographies maintains that this genre requires an additional rhetorical frame: "the definition of the category or principle of selection" (2004:10), which Ballard, like others presenting such compilations, reveals and explains in the preface. Firstly, he has decided to introduce the learned ladies in chronological order beginning "no earlier than the fourteenth century, because all that could well be collected of such as preceded that period has been already communicated to the world by Bishop Tanner" (*MSL* 54).³ His repertory thus runs from the fourteenth century and finishes in the year 1700, despite the fact that he has gathered "considerable collections" of "many other learned and ingenious women since the year 1700" (*MSL* 54).⁴ Ballard then moves on to explain another criterion of selection, or rather, of omission, this being the scarcity of materials gathered (*MSL* 54). However, such a principle is not always observed, considering the brevity of

³ Bishop Thomas Tanner was an antiquary and prelate, who had published *Biblioteca Britannico-Hibernica* (1748), a collection of literary writers dating from before the seventeenth century, quoted by Ballard as one of his sources in some of the biographies.

⁴ This final date limit does not quite accommodate some of the final biographies, namely, Mary Astell, and especially, Constantia Grierson, whose literary career extended well into the eighteenth century.

some of the biographical accounts, consisting of one rather short paragraph, such as those of Lady Mary Howard, Catherine Tishem, Elizabeth Dancy, and Cecilia Heron.

In Ballard's "A Catalogue of Ladies famous for the Writings, or skill in the Learned Languages" (British Library Manuscript 4244, f.23r-v), it may be inferred that he had considered a larger venture, one which also included 34 new writers (Bigold 2013). Along with the chronological limit of 1700, other motives behind the absence of these women might have been lack of space and the difficulties experienced by Ballard in publishing the book (Perry 1985:40). Nevertheless, it is also important to emphasise Ballard's most significant contention in his *Memoirs*, which stemmed from a clear didactic purpose, that of offering a specific image of a woman writer to his readership, which, as will be analysed in this article, was decisive in the selection of which women were to be included.

4. The biographies

4.1. Education

As the central issue in the biographical compilation of learned ladies' portrayal, education is the axis around which the lives of these women are reconstructed. This aspect is related in the first instance to their family and social class. From the way that the ladies are identified in each entry, it can be observed that a large number of them are aristocrats and indeed appear with their title. Moreover, each biographical account usually starts by naming the lady's father and mother and their family lineage. The first paragraph of Lady Jane Gray's life well illustrates this:

Lady Jane Gray, the eldest daughter of Henry Gray, Marquis of Dorset and Duke of Suffolk, by Frances Brandon, eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, Duke of Suffolk, by Mary, his wife, Queen Dowager to Louis XII of France and youngest daughter of king Henry VII. (*MSL* 128)

Parents from aristocratic and well-to-do families educated their children at home with tutors and instructors. Although women were not offered the same level of education as men, this text provides numerous instances of women who enjoyed a thorough and careful

education. The cases of three renowned households, the Mores, the Seymours and the Cookes, are notable in this regard.

As Ballard states in his biography of Thomas More's eldest daughter, the household of this illustrious sixteenth-century statesman and philosopher, was "reputed a little Academy" (*MSL* 86). More gave the same education to men and women and advocated as much (Smith 1996:22-23). Thus, his three daughters, Margaret Roper, Elizabeth Dancy, and Cecilia Heron, and even their kinswoman, Margaret Clement, were educated with extraordinary care, and some of the best intellectuals of that age, such as Dr. Clement, Mr. William Gonell, and Mr. Richard Hart, were procured as tutors (*MSL* 87). The importance accorded to the value of women's learning in the More household is illustrated by his own words in a Latin poem addressed to a friend, in which he advises him that when choosing a wife "to overlook wealth and beauty, and if he desires a happy life, to join himself with a woman of virtue and knowledge" (*MSL* 85).

Similarly, three other sisters, Lady Anne, Lady Margaret and Lady Jane Seymour – the only instance of more than one woman being included in the same entry – benefited from the presence of a preceptor at their home. Thanks to his tuition they were well-known as learned ladies in the sixteenth century (*MSL* 156). As Ballard himself declares, quoting the words of the scholar Dr. Wotton in *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning* (1694), "no age was so productive of learned women as the sixteenth century" (*MSL* 188), a claim which is underlined by the example of the daughters of another illustrious man of the age, Sir Anthony Cooke, himself tutor to King Edward VI, "who bestowed so liberal an education on his daughters that they became the wonders of the age and were sought in marriage" (*MSL* 189). Ballard includes the biographies of four daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke: Lady Burleigh, Lady Bacon, Lady Russel and Katherine Killigrew, but he also mentions in the entry on the latter one other possible daughter, Mrs. Rowlet (*MSL* 210). When the children of the household were boys and girls, girls on occasions would profit from the resident tutors and instructors whose main task was the education of the sons (Cliffe 1999:142-43), a situation which is also seen in the Honourable Dudleya North's biography (*MSL* 357). Thomas More's family might also be illustrative of this, in that they all lived together: his son and daughter-in-law, his three

daughters and their husbands, together with eleven grandchildren (*MSL* 86), all sharing the same education.

According to the information provided in these ladies' memoirs, it was considered, at least by a great part of the higher ranks of society, that educated women made better wives, and most importantly, better and more prepared mothers, given that they became agents in the education of others (Charlton 2002:17). This is noticeable in many of the biographical entries, in which the mother is the person in charge of the education of her daughters: Queen Mary (*MSL* 147), Margaret Cavendish (*MSL* 277), Lady Gethin (*MSL* 321), and Lady Halket (*MSL* 326). In some cases the portrayed woman herself is in charge of the education of her own children, such as Queen Catherine and her daughter Queen Mary (*MSL* 147), Margaret Roper and her daughter Mary Roper (*MSL* 167), Lady Bacon and her two sons, Anthony and Francis Bacon (*MSL* 195), and Elizabeth Burnet and her stepchildren (*MSL* 348). Cavendish's case, however, is slightly different and is the consequence of new tastes in society, since her education was based on fashionable accomplishments: needlework, dancing, music and French (*MSL* 277). This fact might also be among the causes of the negative critical reputation of Cavendish, which stressed her eccentricities and excess of imagination, and her lack of judgement (Salzman 2006:163-67).⁵

The great majority of the women portrayed in this text seem to have been educated at home under the supervision of their parents; yet girls could be sent to the royal court, "an old chivalric tradition," by which they learned "the appropriate mode of service to their elders, as well as acquire courtly manners and to participate in the religious pattern of the royal household" (Charlton 2002:9). Margaret Cavendish, Duchess of Newcastle,

was made one of the maids of honour to Henrietta Maria, the Royal Consort to King Charles I. And when the Queen by her rebellious subjects was unhappily forced to leave England and go to her native country, she attended her thither. (*MSL* 277)

⁵ Emma Rees, however, views these features as a sort of strategy and claims that "far from being an impediment to her, the singularity in which she delighted proved [...] to be the very means by which she could make her voice and contentious opinions heard" (2003:2-3).

Years later, Anne Finch, Countess of Winchelsea, “was Maid of Honour to the Duchess of York, second wife to King James II” (*MSL* 371). Apart from the advantages of a better and more polished education, to live in the Court also increased the possibility of marrying another courtier, as both of these ladies did.

Just one of the learned ladies in the book attended a school, the poet Katherine Philips: “At eight years of age, she was removed to a school at Hackney and soon made great improvements under the care of Mrs. Salmon” (*MSL* 268).⁶ Interestingly, she did not belong to a wealthy aristocratic family but was the daughter of a merchant, and perhaps he could not afford a tutor at home.

Even though the greater part of the ladies in the *Memoirs* had an above-average education, according to what Ballard states in his text, they all devoted considerable time to learning and studying on their own, demonstrating an innate inclination for the improvement of their mind. Occasionally, as with Elizabeth Legge, they did so to the point of becoming blind, “which was thought to have been occasioned by much reading and writing by candlelight” (*MSL* 320). The most extreme case is that of the Honourable Mrs. Dudleya North, given that her “incessant as well as intense application to study at length brought her into a consumptive disorder, which put a period to her valuable life” (*MSL* 357). Thus, although Ballard without doubt promoted women’s learning, he also warns against the perils of excessive study, which was thought to cause mental and physical diseases and breakdowns (Pearson 1999:4).

Indeed, Ballard insists throughout his *Memoirs* on the necessity of women’s learning and in their right to it and capacity for it. A special case in point is the biography of Lady Pakington, which is almost entirely devoted to a vindication of this woman as the author of *The Whole Duty of a Man* (1658), a very influential devotional manual in the seventeenth century and still so in Ballard’s time (Perry 1985:32). Among the evidence he provides to support his thesis, Ballard declares that “this lady was every way accomplished in all kinds of literature and had the rare endowments of mind which were requisite for composing those admirable treatises,” adding that “That vulgar prejudice of the supposed incapacity of the female sex

⁶ It was a girls’ boarding school where she began to write poetry and where she met two members of her famous literary coterie (Salzman 2006:176-77).

is what these memoirs in general may possibly remove" (*MSL* 293-294). Similarly, in the life of Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, Ballard presents an analogous contention when he mentions the doubts of some scholars regarding her translations of psalms into English. He refutes such sceptical opinions by means of examples, including Lady Paula, Mrs. Anna Maria à Schurman, Mrs. Dudleya North, Mrs. Bland, and Mrs. Bury, who together were well skilled in numerous languages, including Hebrew, the original language of the Holy Scriptures (*MSL* 250-251).

Most importantly, some women included in the book themselves addressed the issue of women's education and Ballard accordingly takes advantage of this to incorporate into his text some of their assumptions and ideas on what was a hot topic of the age. Lady Damaris Masham published the treatise *Occasional Thoughts and Reference to a Virtuous or Christian Life* (1705), in which regarding women's instruction, she

thought a reformation highly necessary and very justly reprehends and reproaches persons of quality for so scandalously permitting their daughters to pass that part of their youth in which the mind is most ductile and susceptible of good impressions in a ridiculous circle of diversions which is generally thought the proper business of young ladies. (*MSL* 334)

She also encourages her own sex to practice extensive learning so as to educate their own children properly (*MSL* 336). In this particular aspect, Ballard mentions the influence of Locke's recommendations in Lady Masham's text (*MSL* 336). In fact, she owed much to this philosopher in many of her skills, as a consequence of a long and lasting friendship with him which began in epistolary form and ended in far more intimate circumstances: Locke would eventually move to the Masham's house, where she cared for him during his fatal illness (*MSL* 337).

Mary Astell – who curiously had a controversial disagreement with Lady Masham and Locke (Springborg 2002:17) –, offers a new agenda, in that she proposes the segregation of women from men, and their affiliation with other women in her well-known treatise *A Serious Proposal to the Ladies, for the Advancement of Their True and Greatest Interest* (1694). As Ballard explains in his entry for Astell, after having observed and lamented the loss of education in those of her own sex, Astell designed "a sort of college for the education and

improvement of the female sex, and as a retreat for these ladies, who nauseated with the parade of the world, might here find a happy recess from the noise and hurry of it" (*MSL* 382-383). Moreover, this venture seemed so reasonable to one great lady that she was inclined to donate ten thousand pounds for the "noble design" (*MSL* 383).⁷

As selected members in a compilation of learned ladies, these women are obviously the quintessence of female knowledge in their age. With few exceptions, they all are well skilled in the basics of a classical education, that is, what Ballard calls learned languages. While this practice was more general during the sixteenth century, as shown by the biographies of the women of the More, Seymour and Cook families, in the seventeenth century the study of the French language became more fashionable, since vernacular translations rendered the classical languages unnecessary (Charlton 2002:13). Be that as it may, until the eighteenth century a classical education was considered indispensable for society's leaders, namely, the men from the upper classes. As women belonging to aristocratic families, the majority of the ladies portrayed here also engaged in the study of such disciplines and the lack of such knowledge was deemed a weakness. As noted above, Cavendish's case is a telling instance of this weakness:

Her mother was remarkably careful in the education of this and her other daughters, giving them all the polite accomplishments in which young ladies are generally instructed [...], it is to be lamented she had not the advantage of an acquaintance with the learned languages, which would have extended her knowledge, refined her genius and have been of infinite service to her in the many compositions and productions of her pen. (*MSL* 277)⁸

Along with a classical learning, these ladies were usually also versed in a variety of other fields. In the sixteenth century, Margaret Roper

⁷ Mary Astell dedicated the second part of her *Serious Proposal to the Ladies* (1697) to Ann of Denmark, the Princess of Wales and later Queen of Great Britain, in the hope that she would offer a significant amount of money to create such a place. The Princess, despite being initially inclined to support Astell's project, was advised not to do so by her counsellor, Bishop Gilbert Burnet, because the language used by Astell might suggest a Catholic nunnery, and she abandoned the idea of providing financial support for such a singular and exceptional residence for women (Astell 2002:127, n1).

⁸ Cavendish admitted her deficient education in her autobiography, *A True Relation of My Birth, Breeding and Life* (1656): "they [her skills] were rather for formalitie than benefit" (Bowerbank & Mendelson 2000:43).

“became a perfect mistress of the Greek and Latin tongues, and well acquainted with philosophy, astronomy, physic, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric and music” (*MSL* 87). A century later, Ballard, quoting one of his sources, explains about Anne Baynard:

As for learning, whether it be to know and understand natural causes and events, to know the courses of the sun, moon, and stars, the verities of the mathematics, the study of philosophy, the writings of the ancients, and that in their own proper language without the help of an interpreter: these and the like are the most noble accomplishments of a human soul, and accordingly do bring great delight and satisfaction along with them. These things she was not only conversant in, but mistress of, to a degree that very few of her sex ever arrive at. (*MSL* 313)

4.2. *Family*

Notwithstanding Ballard’s emphasis on these ladies’ education, their biographies also express the duties that, as daughters, wives and mothers, these women had to fulfil. Thus, many of them, along with much reading and studying, were also well skilled in more domestic tasks, such as needlework. This is even the case with Mary, Queen of Scotland, who “would be employed amongst her women in needle work” (*MSL* 171). Women were conceived of as inferior to men and had to comply with men’s authority. A significant and quite well-known instance of daughters’ obeisance to their parents is the case of Lady Jane Gray, since “by the infinite ambition of her father-in-law and the stupendous folly of her own father, she was violently pushed upon the precipice which proved fatal to her” (*MSL* 131).⁹

After being under the authority of their father, women usually married, and would thus become, in accordance with the legal principle of *coverture*, a kind of property of their husbands (Stretton 2002:41-44). According to Ballard’s *Memoirs*, these ladies dutifully performed their obligations as wives. Katherine Parr, King Henry VIII’s sixth wife, perceiving the disposition and character of her

⁹ As the great-granddaughter of Henry VII, and by means of her family’s scheming, Lady Jane Grey was proclaimed Queen after the death of her cousin, Edward VI, and reigned for nine days. However, the half-sisters of the deceased King recovered their right to succession and Lady Jane was imprisoned and sentenced to death (*MSL* 131-32).

husband, always acted with great humility and submission, acknowledging the inferiority of women with respect to men (*MSL* 115). Katherine Philips “proved a most excellent wife, not only by a strict observance of all conjugal duties, but in being highly serviceable to him [her husband] in affairs in which few wives are supposed capable of serving their husbands” and she also extricated him from certain financial difficulties (*MSL* 269). In the case of Margaret Cavendish, she equally “proved a most agreeable companion to the Marquis” and helped him to solve the pressing financial necessities caused by their exile (*MSL* 278). Finally, as mothers, as has been already noted, they also complied with what was expected from them, particularly in taking good care of the education of their children and thus providing society with excellent citizens.

4.3. Religion

Along with education and their family, religion was crucial in early-modern women’s lives. It was Christianity which provided the specific ideological basis for a patriarchal system, which in turn justified female subordination (Trill 1996:31-32). In his *Memoirs*, Ballard is particularly concerned with emphasising the ladies’ observation of their religious responsibilities and duties. They are all educated and learned women, but what really matters is their piety and virtue. Anne Killigrew, for instance, was eminent in the arts of poetry and painting, but “[t]hose engaging and polite accomplishments were the least of her perfections, for she crowned all with exemplary piety towards God and in due observance of the duties of religion” (*MSL* 304-305). These religious practices are described in more specific terms in some cases; thus, Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby’s piety “was so great that she would be at her devotion soon after five o’clock in the morning, and with the most ardent zeal went through all the religious offices,” which were “so long and frequent as occasioned her bodily indispositions” (*MSL* 65); Lady Halket “allotted five hours a day for devotion: from five to seven in the morning, from one in the afternoon to two, from six to seven, and from nine to ten” (*MSL* 327). This is a pattern which Ballard repeats with few alterations in almost every entry, constantly vindicating Protestantism against any heterodox practice. Ballard’s fervour in his apology of the Church of

England drives him to qualify any deviation from this faith as an error, as occurs in Susanna Hopton's entry, and it is not here the fault of the woman herself, but a consequence of the malicious scheme of a Romish priest (*MSL* 339). When the lady fortunately returns to the true faith, she is accordingly praised and described as an example of proper behaviour.

Indeed, Ballard is particularly harsh when condemning Catholicism, especially Catholic priests, who were eager to lead some of these ladies down the wrong religious path. Both Anne Askew and Lady Jane Gray were examined by Romish priests concerning their faith and on such topics of transubstantiation, reading the Scriptures, and masses, which are fully described in Ballard's text, using one of his most influential sources, John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments of these Latter and Perillous Days, Touching Matters of the Church* (1563), known as *The Book of Martyrs*,¹⁰ a popular anti-Catholic compilation of persecutions against Protestants (Perry 1985:27). These persecutions acquire virulent and bloody traits during the life of Queen Mary I, given that her reign was marked by "so vast an effusion of Christian blood which was poured forth like water in most parts of the kingdom by that barbarous persecution of Protestants" (*MSL* 153).

As Ruth Perry explains, even though some of Ballard's friends warned him about the lies and partiality in Foxe's text, he knew the book almost by heart and its influence is more than obvious in his *Memoirs* (1985:27). Furthermore, the model of woman offered in Foxe's text, of someone patient and suffering, uncomplainingly enduring her lot and tenaciously defending her faith, is at the core of most of the biographies in Ballard's text. Indeed, this theme is granted a significant space in the deathbed scenes of a large number of ladies, who face the final moments of their worldly life not only with resignation and patience – e.g. Anne, Countess of Pembroke (*MSL* 288), Susanna Hopton (*MSL* 344) –, but with hope and happiness – e.g. Lady Gethin (*MSL* 322), Lady Masham (*MSL* 337). In this regard, the minute details with which the illness and death of Mary Astell are described, symbolizing Christian fortitude and acceptance, deserve further attention. She suffered breast cancer and

¹⁰ In Anne Askew's biography, Ballard clearly acknowledges that he has extracted most of the information from this source (*MSL* 103).

had one of her breasts removed, undergoing the operation “without the least struggling or resistance or even so much as giving a groan or a sigh, and showed the like patience and resignation throughout the whole cure” (MSL 391-92). She did not recover properly and while confined to bed, Astell

ordered her coffin and shroud to be made and brought to her bedside and there to remain in her view as a constant memento to her of her approaching fate, that her mind might not deviate or stray one moment from God, its most proper object. (MSL 392)

It is important to note that, when Ballard published his *Memoirs*, Britain was a confessional state, with Protestantism operating as a unifying bond against an essentially Catholic Europe (Colley 2003:18). However, the religious issue was anything but resolved during the eighteenth century, and indeed Catholicism was not the only threat. After the Toleration Act of 1689, in which some dissenter’s practices were tolerated, Ballard and many Britons were concerned about its potentially dangerous consequences. Again, in Mary Astell’s biography, Ballard expresses his anxiety about “the pernicious artifices of the sectaries” while commenting on one of Astell’s treatises, *Moderation Truly Stated: or a Review of a Late Pamphlet Entitled Moderation a Vertue, or, the Occasional Conformist Justify’d from the Imputation of Hypocrisy* (1704), in which she refutes “the doctrines of some, who pretending to be true sons thereof, were then introducing dangerous positions and tenets derogatory to the honour of our blessed Saviour, as lessening his divinity, etc.” (MSL 385).

4.4. Writings

From the very beginning, as the title of Ballard’s text clearly states, these *Memoirs* concentrate mainly on women celebrated for their writings together with their knowledge. Consequently, in nearly all cases their writings are recorded in the biographical entries. Given the enormous importance of religion and devotional practices in women’s lives, the majority of their compositions deal with this topic, which offered them “not only spiritual consolation but also an entry into the public domain” (Pacheco 2002:xix) in an accepted manner. Additionally, translation was the genre which women cultivated the most, on the one hand because it was a “safe” literary

venture for them, in that they were translating biblical and holy texts, and on the other because they were using translation to vernaculars as a service to their fellow citizens, especially women, who were not acquainted with the learned languages. The daughters of Thomas More (Margaret Roper, Elizabeth Dancy, Cecilia Heron) wrote translations, as did many other ladies, particularly during the sixteenth century: Margaret, Countess of Richmond and Derby; Mary, Countess of Arundel; Lady Joanna Lumley; Lady Mary Howard; the Seymour sisters; Lady Burleigh; Lady Bacon; Lady Russel and Queen Elizabeth; and later on, Mary, Countess of Pembroke, and Anne Wharton, among others.

The religious topic was also cultivated in many other compositions by these women, such as psalms, prayers, meditations, or proverbs. A telling instance is Lady Halket, of whom Ballard offers a catalogue of her writings, which encompasses 21 books and 30 shorter works, containing mainly meditations and reflections on the Scriptures (*MSL* 328-31). Nevertheless, when dealing with early-modern women's writings, there is a considerable overlap with diverse other genres of writing (Salzman 2006:17); in the case of Halket, the meditations also refer to public and private affairs which might have affected her life, such as the "return of the King, May 1660" (*MSL* 328), an important event for her, given that she was "a very great royalist and a great sufferer upon that account" (*MSL* 327). Thus, devotional writings and autobiography are intermingled in her writing.

Most autobiographical texts by women were not intended for publication, as with diaries, the writing of which was quite an extended practice as a means of self-examination among women "so that the errors of every day past might be avoided in those that were to follow" (*MSL* 349). Anne, Countess of Pembroke wrote some "abstracts of occurrences in her own life [...] in three volumes of the larger size" (*MSL* 288) and similarly, Elizabeth Bury "left behind her a large diary, which has been abridged and published by her beloved and mournful consort" (*MSL* 368). Notwithstanding their personal and private nature, it was a customary practice to publish the diaries of illustrious and learned women after their death with a didactic purpose. Similarly, personal writings such as letters were also widely published, as Ballard's biographies clearly show. The difference between public and private literary forms was not seen as

conspicuous at that time as it is nowadays, since it is a concept “based on a nineteenth-century commercial literary environment” (Ezell 1996:34). The most common practice was to circulate letters as a public form of address and even to entertain guests by reading aloud someone else’s letters, and in many cases to publish them afterwards.

In the seventeenth century a significant number of women emerged from radical religious movements and expressed their anxiety by means of prophetic and visionary texts (Salzman 2006:109). Also on religious matters, but far more radical in nature, were prophecies by women, and these too are present in Ballard’s text. Such works were composed in a specific context and dealt with specific issues, and as Ballard notes, Lady Eleanor Davies, the only representative of this genre, was almost wholly forgotten by the time the *Memoirs* were published (*MSL* 257). The controversial characteristics of prophecies and visions meant that they were subject to diverse opinions, from severe censure to high commendation, which is also reflected in Ballard’s entry here (*MSL* 262).

Regarding more traditional literary genres, poetry is undoubtedly the most cultivated among these learned ladies. From Mary, Queen of Scotland, and Queen Elizabeth, to Anne, Countess of Winchelsea, and Constantia Grierson, a great number of women wrote poems, usually along with other compositions in prose. Among the most reputed early-modern female poets is Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke, who composed devotional poetry and whose talent led her to translate many psalms into English (*MSL* 250).

Katherine Phillips, the celebrated “Orinda,” composed several poems which were published without her knowledge or consent, an event which “proved so oppressive to her great modesty that it gave her a sever fit of illness” (*MSL* 269). Yet, as Elaine Hobby explains, Phillips constructed and refined through her correspondence a new persona, “Orinda,” which permitted her “to write and gain public acclaim while disavowing any desire to do either” (1998:76). Phillip’s letters have been read as a reflection of her personal feelings and ideas, when at that time letter-writing was regulated by conventions, which required that women should deny any interest in taking up the pen and, obviously, in publishing any of their writings (Hobby 1998:75-76). Ironically, this self-effacing image was to be a key factor

in the publication of her poems in several anthologies and collections over the following centuries. Ballard also offers a kind of critical reception of Philips's poetry in the voice of an anonymous author, who praises her for "her solid, masculine thoughts, in no feminine expression" (*MSL* 274), clearly considering the masculine style as the highest standard possible (Ezell 1996:75).

Another poet, Anne Killigrew, who interestingly wrote some verses in praise of Philips (*MSL* 309), excelled in "the purity and chastity of her compositions" (*MSL* 304) which were published soon after her death (*MSL* 308). In the case of Anne Finch, because her poems had not yet been published and as they were thus known to very few people, Ballard included a number of extracts (*MSL* 371-72).

As for drama, there are five playwrights in Ballard's *Memoirs*: Mary Sidney, Katherine Philips, Margaret Cavendish, Mary Chudleigh and Anne Finch. Their plays do not receive commentaries in general, yet in Cavendish's case, Ballard offers a catalogue of her plays (*MSL* 280-81) and the opinions of two scholars about her dramatic compositions:

Mr. Giles Jacob says she was the most voluminous dramatic writer of our female poets and that she had a great deal of wit and a more than ordinary propensity to dramatic poetry. And Mr. Langbain tells us that all the language and plots of her plays were her own, which is a commendation preferable to fame built on other people's foundation, and will very well atone for some faults in her numerous productions. (*MSL* 278)

Considering this catalogue of women dramatists, Margaret Ezell correctly notes that there are no commercial playwrights, such as Aphra Behn, Mary Pix or Susannah Centlivre, who would fall within Ballard's time frame (1996:85). In the area of prose fiction the prospect is even less encouraging, since, with the exception of Margaret Cavendish's narratives in *Nature's Picture, drawn by Fancie's Pencil, to the Life* (1656), there are no fiction writers represented in the book. This is a consequence of what Paul Salzman notes about prose fiction, namely that there are far fewer works by women than in other early-modern forms of writing, and a greater disparity in the number of male compared to female writers (2002:303). Nevertheless, Ballard could have included Lady Mary Wroth or Aphra Behn as writers of prose fiction.

5. Conclusion

As Margaret Ezell (1996:86-87) and Ruth Perry (1985:12) have noted, Ballard was interested in portraying in his *Memoirs* a specific type of woman: a learned lady and a writer, but also an observant Protestant and a self-sacrificing mother, wife and daughter. By means of this portrait, Ballard's role model was inspired by and closely connected to one of the greatest and lasting literary creation of the eighteenth century, the patient and selfless heroine of Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa* (Ezell 1996:87), which was published a few years before Ballard's text, in 1748. Thus, the *Memoirs* fit perfectly into the context and times of its compilation. As is frequently the case, financial pressures cannot be underestimated, and this, combined with echoes of the literary heroine of the moment, suggests a necessity to comply with readers' tastes, which would in turn lead to more sales. In light of these questions, it is indeed easier to determine the reasons behind some of the compiler's decisions, namely, the omission of those women's biographies which were not consistent with a model of woman characterised particularly for her modesty. Thus, women who wrote for money were conspicuously overlooked. Additionally, as has been noted above, Ballard wanted to construct and convey a confident image of Britain at a difficult moment – one in which the country was practically always at war – by means of the women he described: a nation capable of surpassing others in the number of learned women, when they were increasingly viewed as those in charge of polishing and refining society.

Similarly to earlier female biographies, including hagiographies, catalogues and defences of women, in which women usually had to endure and overcome painful circumstances and were eulogised and admired precisely for their fortitude, the ladies examined in this collection are, on one level, chosen to inspire empathy with their situation as sufferers and accordingly, to facilitate the creation, using the term coined by Benedict Anderson (2006), of imagined communities of women, encompassing women from the past and the present – the portrayed ladies and the readers –, who share comparable circumstances derived from a gendered system of power (Kucich 2000:26). Yet on another level, motivated by the examples of the learned ladies of the past, eighteenth-century women would be allowed to take a more activist role in resisting men's authority, taking books and reading them, or even taking the pen and writing.

Thus women could step out of the reduced province imposed by their sex. However, according to Ballard and the eighteenth-century social conventions he reflects, which obviously did not welcome self-sufficient and independent women, with a considerable number of restrictions applied.

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Adapting *Macbeth* in a Lusophone context: The challenges of intercultural performance

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ABSTRACT

This article analyses the intercultural performance of *The Prayers of Mansata*, an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Macbeth* to the West African context of Guinea-Bissau. After a critical exploration of contemporary intercultural theory, it charts the relationship between the Shakespearean text and this adaptation, before exploring particular questions raised by the circulation of the performance within different Portuguese-speaking contexts. It argues that such performances can represent a potent social and political intervention in contemporary configurations of power within a Portuguese-speaking community of nations by combining concerns with local specificity and wider concerns with a post-colonial present.

KEYWORDS: Shakespeare; *Macbeth*; postcolonial; Lusophone; adaptation; performance.

Introduction

Between 2012 and 2013, the Portuguese theatre association, Cena Lusófona, organized a series of training workshops for performers and technicians in the former Portuguese colonies of Angola, Guinea-Bissau and São Tomé and Príncipe.¹ Several participants from these workshops were then chosen to work with performers

¹ For more details of the project, in Portuguese and English see the Cena Lusófona blog at <http://pstage.wordpress.com>. The author observed the workshops and performances in Bissau in 2013 and 2014 and also saw the performances in Coimbra, Portugal in 2014.

from Portugal and Brazil on the staging of Abdulai Sila's *As Orações de Mansata* (*The Prayers of Mansata*), an adaptation of *Macbeth* to the West African context of Guinea-Bissau. After well-received performances in Portugal and Spain, thirteen actors and actresses from seven different Portuguese-speaking countries travelled to Bissau in May 2014. The performances played to large, responsive audiences who in turn encouraged heightened performances from the actors and actresses. Immediately afterwards, the production left for the final performances in Luanda, Angola. However, three hours before the actors and actresses were due on stage, the Angolan Minister of Culture banned the performances, ostensibly because the building in which they were due to perform was considered unsafe. Unable to convince the authorities to change their minds, the company was forced to cut short their tour and the performers returned to their respective countries. Although the event was mentioned in several newspapers, there was no coordinated response from political authorities or practitioners in any of these countries to this clear violation of freedom of speech in Angola.

The highs and lows of this intercultural production illustrate effectively some of the pleasures and paradoxes of discussing intercultural performances of Shakespeare in a post-colonial context. On the one hand, while Guinea-Bissau and Angola are both former Portuguese colonies, this common history does not explain the very different political reactions of the authorities. Why should the same performance be considered a significant cultural event in one national context and a political threat in another?² Secondly,

² There was much comment within the Angolan media and especially in online social media on the cancellation of the performance. Government-friendly media emphasized the poor conditions of the space while anti-government media spoke of censorship. The opposition Bloco Democrático released a press statement on its blog (23 May, 2014) which affirmed that "The Angolan regime does not want to see itself questioned directly or indirectly, whether through politics or art, regarding the foundations of its regime, a regime that is corrupt and based on absolute power" while the *Diário de Angola* (19 May, 2014) ran the headline "Ministry of Culture censors play which portrays corruption." In another online article in *Folha 8*, (24 May, 2014) entitled "Censored culture or Nepotism" the journalist quotes the academic Eugénio Costa Almeida, who "does not believe that our Minister of Culture is one of those people who believe that culture is a dangerous means of exalting the intelligence and wisdom of the people, otherwise that would be censorship." In an article by Rita Siza in the Portuguese newspaper *O Público* (17 May, 2014), a heading focusing on the cancellation also included the ambivalent sub-heading "The decision is seen as equivalent to censorship because of the political nature of the performance."

questions of Shakespearean status and authority are inflected differently in the two locations. While the combination of Abdulai Sila and Shakespeare worked jointly to enhance the status of both in Guinea-Bissau, Sila's text and the sign of Shakespeare worked against each other in Angola, as the Minister of Culture was clearly expecting a "safe" Shakespeare that would not encourage the kind of controversy that Sila's adaptation was designed to promote. To complicate matters further, it was precisely this "safe" Shakespeare that characterized earlier performances of the play in Portugal and Spain, where reasonable but less enthusiastic audiences read into the performances little of the subversive potential of Sila's play. The fact that no one spoke out against events in Angola within what is increasingly affirmed to be a Lusophone (Portuguese-speaking) community of nations problematizes these already politicized performances.³ Why was the trauma of non-performance in Angola met with an inability to create a coordinated Lusophone response to this event? Might the intersections between local performances in different national contexts, European Union funding for the project, Portuguese production and direction and an English text about Scotland reveal as much about the limitations as the strengths of such intercultural performances?

Critical Interculturalism

After a wave of critical interest in intercultural theory and practice during the '80s and '90s, there was something of a critical backlash against the term around the turn of the century. Theorist and practitioner Richard Schechner had revolutionized the field of performance studies by arguing for the importance of the intercultural over the international as a way of emphasizing exchanges between and within cultures rather than between nation states. This intercultural turn also militated against an exclusively

The Angolan Ministry of Culture alleges it was because of the poor conditions of the space." The practitioner José Mena Abrantes in *Rede Angola* (24 May, 2014) preferred to concentrate on the consequences of such a decision in a country with few permanent theatrical structures.

³ Current members of the Comunidade de Países de Língua Portuguesa (CPLP), the Community of Portuguese-speaking nations, include Portugal, Mozambique, East Timor, S. Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and, more recently and more controversially given its human rights record, Equatorial Guinea.

Western, textual approach to questions of performance. However, Schechner's notion of "cultures of choice," with artists as "bricoleurs" who learnt from and used different performance traditions in their work brought criticism of an "excessive optimism" which ignored the fact that "economic and political conditions probably play a rather more devious and destructive role" than this notion of intercultural exchange suggested (in Pavis 1996:41).⁴ This intense polemic around the intercultural has more recently given way to a more measured assessment of its possibilities. Writing in 2008, Marvin Carlson notes that the intercultural constituted "a kind of bridge between earlier cultural studies and subsequent postcolonial work" (2008:132), a formulation which nevertheless suggests that the critical utility of the term had been provisional. For Patrice Pavis (2010:5), in a 2010 retrospective on "Intercultural Theatre today," the events of 1989 and 9/11 constituted something of a breaking point for interculturalism, after which it tended to be treated either with suspicion or a lack of interest. Pavis goes on to speculate that:

[t]his might be a sign that the metaphor of the exchange between cultures, between past and present, no longer functions very well and that one should at least reconsider its theory. The theory and practice of intercultural theatre of the eighties seem to be left behind by current theatre and performance. *As if it could no longer be thought of in terms of national or cultural identity.* (2010:5; my emphasis)

Pavis' accurate assessment of an interculturalism "caught between asserting universals and unchanging cultural difference" (2010:7) and increasingly irrelevant to a postnational order, suggests that the problem of the first wave of interculturalism lay in its tendency to cast national and cultural identity as fixed, immutable entities and thus to cast interculturalism as the impossible transcendence of such differences. In his attempt to rethink intercultural practice and

⁴ An important aspect of Schechner's work on interculturalism that was often forgotten in this polemic was his emphasis on exchanges between practitioners as always being "modern to modern" (cit. in Pavis 1996:47). In other words, unlike Barba and Grotowski, Schechner was not attempting to work with notions of culturally pure indigenous performance traditions, but rather with contemporary international practitioners who referenced both indigenous and contemporary performance tendencies in their work. It was rather Peter Brook's *Mahabharata* (1985) and the criticism it provoked in Indian practitioners and theorists like Rustom Barucha that brought to a head this polemic around interculturalism.

theory, Pavis makes two interesting observations, almost in passing. Firstly, he points to the fact that the new suspicion among critics surrounding the notion of interculturalism was rarely shared by performers, who tended to have a more positive, pragmatic view of the value of intercultural exchange. Secondly, Pavis suggests that the intercultural might usefully be seen as a variant of the interartistic, as “a form of interdisciplinarity, a crossing, a confrontation and an addition of arts, of techniques, of acting modes?” (2010:14). While such a view shies away from key questions of political (in)equality and geo-political location within both the interartistic and the intercultural, it does usefully point to the ways in which for practitioners, working with performers from other national contexts has often been something of a natural development of their existing intermedial work, rather than being qualitatively different from it. However, a focus on the potential of the intercultural should necessarily be balanced with critical attention to the conditions in which such intercultural exchanges take place. Jacqueline Lo and Helen Gilbert argue that one way to put into practice such a critical interculturalism would be to “explore the rhizomatic potential of interculturalism – its ability to make multiple connections and disconnections between cultural spaces – and to create representations that are unbounded and open, and potentially resistant to imperialist forms of closure” (2002:47). The challenge to formulate a new interculturalism is also taken up by Ric Knowles who argues that such a project “involves collaborations and solidarities across real and respected material differences within local, urban, national, and global intercultural performance ecologies” (2010:59). Within a context where the performances of *The Prayers of Mansata* brought together two former competing colonial powers (England and Portugal) and was funded by one supra-national organization (The European Union) to travel within another supra-national context (Portuguese-speaking countries and Spain) with actors and actresses from a variety of national and cultural backgrounds, a focus on what Ania Loomba (2008:122) has referred to as the “multiple and shifting meanings” of the local, the national and the global suggests how the narrower focus on national and cultural identity in the first wave of intercultural theory might productively give way to more complex readings of the intercultural in contemporary post-colonial performances of Shakespeare.⁵

⁵An excellent example of just such a complex reading within Shakespearean

The Prayers of Mansata and Macbeth

The Prayers of Mansata was Abdulai Sila's first play and the first published play in Guinea-Bissau, although such an affirmation obscures the long and rich history of performance in the country which has been based more on music, dance and physical humour than on written theatrical texts. Sila's play retains a clear intertextual relationship with Shakespeare's *Macbeth*, indicating the key role of Shakespeare as a marker for the coming of age of national drama. As Helen Gilbert and Joanne Tompkins point out:

the ideological weight of Shakespeare's legacy is nowhere felt more strongly than in the theatre, where his work is still widely seen as the measure of all dramatic art, the ultimate test for the would-be actor or director, the mark of audience sophistication and the uncontested sign of "Culture" itself. (1996:20)

Nevertheless, Sila's adaptation interrogates the inevitability of this encounter with Shakespeare and the ideological premises that sustain it. On the one hand, the Shakespeare play functions as a measure of the maturity of the national drama, giving credibility to the play as a product on the international theatrical market. On the other, the fact that *Macbeth* is a useful but by no means essential reference in understanding the play compared with local knowledge of mechanisms of power undermines claims of its geographical and historical universality. The references to *Macbeth* enable a writer within a still volatile political regime to intervene in contemporary questions of power without the direct retribution that might accompany an original play on the same themes. Yet, if *Macbeth* lends its status and authority to a contemporary critique of power in Guinea-Bissau, *The Prayers of Mansata* also points to the limitations of the Shakespeare play in effecting such a critique. It illustrates in particular the inadequacy of *Macbeth's* rather simplistic moral and political framework in analysing contemporary configurations of post-colonial power. In *The Prayers of Mansata*, power is portrayed as circular rather than linear, without any secular or spiritual saviour to

performance studies is W.B. Worthen's 2003 analysis of the Brazilian company Grupo Galpão's *Romeu e Julieta* at the Globe Theatre in London in his chapter "Shakespearean Geographies" (157-68). Through the simple move of employing a Portuguese translator, Worthen avoids the emphasis on immediacy and physicality that characterized most reviews of the performance to show instead the highly contemporary and professional contexts for this particular performance.

save the nation from itself as Macduff does in *Macbeth*. Similarly, gender relations between men and women are not naturalized in *The Prayers of Mansata* in order to demonize the ambitious, childless woman as they are in *Macbeth*, but rely clearly on political and economic power relationships geared towards financial rewards. As such, a relationship of intertextual friction is maintained between the Shakespeare play and Sila's adaptation.

Like other adaptations of *Macbeth* to African contexts,⁶ the focus of *The Prayers of Mansata* is on internal struggles for power within the ruling elite and on the coups and counter-coups which have blighted the history of Guinea-Bissau since it proclaimed its independence from Portugal in 1973.⁷ As in the Shakespeare play, there is a strong emphasis on the connection between spiritual and political power. The first two scenes of *Mansata* introduce the figure of Kemeburema, who is approached by three men and then three women who treat him as their leader despite his protestations of ignorance. The doubling of the number three in both male and female form recalls the witches in *Macbeth*, yet the focus in the adaptation is more on the ways in which the never-ending cycle of violence and bloodshed leads the population to seek spiritual leaders who stand outside this cycle. The two figures with political power in the play, Mwankeh (the Duncan figure) and Amambarka (the Macbeth figure) consult a group of three spiritual councillors in order to convince themselves and others of their legitimacy to rule, but the opportunistic impetus of such consultations is made clear when one of Amambarka's political councillors improvises a connection to a powerful woman

⁶ Examples of other African *Macbeths* would include Welcome Msoni's play *uMabatha* (1970), which places the conflict in a nineteenth-century, South African Zulu context and the film *Makibefo* (1999), directed by Alexander Abela, an adaptation of *Macbeth* to the context of Madagascar. While both these cultural products have used the play to make significant social, political and aesthetic comments with regard to the contexts in which they are located, their reception has often been conditioned by a tendency towards conceiving them as "a site of exotic speculation" (Hinze 2007). Some criticism of *uMabatha* has placed discussion of the play more productively within an analysis of intersections between the local and the global (Orkin 2005) or the place of Shakespeare within post-colonial educational regimes (Distiller 2004). Similarly, useful discussions of *Makebefo* have focused on the politics of the aural and visual (Hinze 2007) or on redefining notions of the *auteur* in post-colonial film (Burnett 2012).

⁷ Guiné-Bissau proclaimed its independence from Portugal in 1973, but it was only after the 1974 Portuguese Revolution that the country's independence was recognized by Portugal.

named Mansata in order to save his life. The ways in which spiritual and political powers reinforce each other is brought home near the end of the play as Amambarka is murdered for a piece of paper that supposedly contains one of Mansata's prayers. In a bloody closing of the circle, a dying Amambarka uses the last of his strength to murder the man who has murdered him. His final words, and the final words of the play are "zero," a stark indictment of the concrete results of such internecine struggles for the people of Guinea-Bissau.

The emphasis on the symbolism of the number three also inflects the decision to have three wives for Amambarka: Annura, Djuku and Nghalula. On the one hand, this emphasizes the power of the Lady Macbeth figure over Macbeth as each of Amambarka's wives persuades him to "be a real man" (59)⁸ and claim back the power he has lost within the ruling elite. On the other, it reflects the continued importance of polygamy in contemporary Guinea-Bissau. The multiplication of the number of wives thus keys into questions of contemporary gender politics, for all three wives see Amambarka as a meal ticket rather than a romantic partner and their financial dependence on him leads to frustration, bitterness and emotional distance at his inability to maintain them. While the wives seem at first glance to control Amambarka, their disobedience is shown to have serious consequences as they are reduced verbally to the status of whores and, in the case of Nghalula, physically attacked.

Violence and the constant threat of betrayal accompany the struggles for power throughout the play. Amambarka's conspiracy against Mwankeh unites Mwankeh's own councillors who then turn on Amambarka to improve their own chances of power. Both leaders consider betrayal the worst possible outcome and Mwankeh reveals in private that the possibility of betrayal haunts him day and night:

I haven't slept peacefully in days, there's so much hatred in the air [...] Sometimes I wake up in the middle of the night and I feel blood, heavy blood, running down my nose, blocking my nostrils and my throat, stopping me breathing [...] When I look around, there's only one thing I see: traitors! This is a nation of traitors! I'm not afraid, I've never have been afraid of anyone or anything, but I can't stand betrayal. (42)

⁸ All excerpts from the play are my own translations.

This fear of betrayal also inflects their paranoid attitude to opposition, whether in the form of political opposition within the country or criticism on the Internet from those in exile, a division which the Internet itself is shown to complicate. However, both Mwankeh and Amambarka continue to betray and to be betrayed despite their attempts to secure the loyalty of the councillors through ritualized oaths of allegiance. In two haunting scenes of the play, the ghosts of those Amambarka has tortured in the past mix with those who have taunted him with his powerlessness in the present. The tortured remind him of the bloody methods he has used against supposed allies and former friends, including *apoloh*, a practice whereby the victim is suspended by their feet while their head is periodically lowered into a tank of water. The way in which these ghosts visit Amambarka recalls the virtual appearance of a bloody Banquo in *Macbeth* but apart from these nightmarish sequences, there is no character in *The Prayers of Mansata* who appears able to break the cycle of betrayal and counter-betrayal. Such a cycle is presented as an inevitable corollary of structures of political power that rely on the oppression of the majority of the population at the expense of a favoured few.

As Russell G. Hamilton (2011:9-10) points out in his preface to the play, the action of the play takes place in a post-colonial setting far removed from Shakespeare's Scotland, although no location is referred to directly within the play. Nevertheless, three factors identified by Joshua Forrest (2002) as continuing concerns in post-colonial Guinea-Bissau are present throughout the play, namely uneven economic development, the continuation of pre-colonial and colonial forms of authority and political personalism. As the councillors dispute financial benefits, for instance, the spiritual councillors remind Mwankeh that the population lack schools, while the influence of the spiritual councillors on Mwankeh and Amambarka points to the continued significance of locally-based spiritual authority. Both Mwankeh and Amambarka consider the cult of personality essential to the maintenance of power and confuse their own rise and fall with that of the nation. However, this post-colonial setting does not mean the legacy of colonialism is entirely erased. Amambarka invokes comparisons with "the whites" in a political speech when he wants to encourage a sense of injustice in his audience in relation to those who continue to have power and might "enslave us once again"(120). There are frequent references to

“our friends abroad,” (35) neo-colonialists who continue to interfere directly or indirectly in questions of economics and politics. As such, despite Ania Loomba’s warning (2008:122) that “it sometimes seems that a neo-imperial Shakespeare and a postcolonial one can be collapsed into a single highly marketable Shakespeare who *simultaneously* represents once-colonized and once-colonizing cultures,” the layering of the precolonial, the colonial and the postcolonial in *The Prayers of Mansata* avoids such a collapsing of different historical moments. It locates the play specifically in contemporary Guinea-Bissau but also leaves it open to resistant readings in other post-colonial contexts. This feature of the Shakespearean adaptation was crucial in constructing a platform for an intercultural performance.

Dramaturgical structure and performance time

The tensions of what is already an interculturally-positioned text can either be downplayed or foregrounded in performance. In this sense, the choice of performers from a variety of national contexts is itself an indication that the director (António Augusto Barros) and the creative team aimed to give prominence to the intercultural features of the play.⁹ In terms of the type of questions which might help to structure critical analysis of such intercultural performances, Julie Holledge and Joanne Tompkins’ call for more critical attention to questions of “intercultural performance time, dramaturgical structures, emotional expression and audience-stage relations” (2000:39) resonates productively with the performances of *The Prayers of Mansata* where the dramaturgical structure combined moments of linearity and non-linearity as well as expansion and contraction and where oral and written languages intersected with and interrogated each other. Additionally, the questions formulated by Jacqueline Lo and Helen Gilbert (2002:42), which include “whose language is used during the rehearsal process? Where does the

⁹ Cena Lusófona first asked Abduali Sila to write a play for their collection of plays by lusophone writers and then chose the text for this particular intercultural project. There were two performative precedents for the intercultural performance. The first was *Makbunhe*, which Cena Lusófona brought to Coimbra when it was Capital of Culture in 2003. Then, in 2007, *Namanha Makbunhe*, which involved several of the practitioners who would later be involved in *The Prayers of Mansata*, was performed in Lisbon.

project take place? How is power inscribed on and negotiated through the body? And how do these bodies encode difference?," raise significant political questions about the premises of specific intercultural performances. Both sets of questions aid analysis of the ways in which "Shakespeare" and "intercultural performance" are constructed and connected at particular moments in time and in particular locations.

In terms of dramaturgical structure, *The Prayers of Mansata* is not simply a linear narrative. Although, like *Macbeth*, the play follows Amambarka's rise and eventual fall from power, the play's structure is more complex than this main narrative suggests and complements the play's thematic focus on power as cyclical. The first act, for instance, where three *talibés* and three *katanderas*¹⁰ predict a bright future for Kememburema creates an interest in the character which suggests he will come to play an important role in the play. However, although the fact that Amambarka accidentally knocks over one of the *Katanderas*' pots is made significant later on in the play, Kememburema himself disappears, to be replaced by the three spiritual councillors and the mythical Mansata. Similarly, although the title of the play carries her name, there is no Mansata character as such. An implicit contrast is sustained between those who seize power for themselves, like Mwankeh and Amambarka, and those like Kememburema and Mansata to whom power is attributed by the people, but there is a sense that the characters themselves are functionally interchangeable within the play's dramaturgical structure.

In the rest of the play, there are several scenes that rely on the notion of repetition with a difference. Mwankeh and Amambarka's separate encounters with the three spiritual councillors in Act Two and Act Six, for instance, reveal the same desire to reinforce their political power with spiritual legitimacy. The scene in Act Two where the councillors swear loyalty to Mwankeh is replayed in a later scene in Act Four where these same councillors swear loyalty to Amambarka. Similarly, while the three scenes with Amambarka's wives might well have been condensed into one scene where Amambarka is castigated for his lack of manhood, each of these

¹⁰ *Katanderas* are young women who serve in places of religious worship while *talibés* are young male Koranic disciples.

separate scenes adds a slightly new angle to this taunt. Annura's monologue first sets out the case against Amambarka. Djuku's scene provides a background for the frustration from the perspective of an educated, more liberated woman and Nghalula embodies the notion of opposition to reinforce the intersections between violence against the wives and violence against the political opposition. In this sense, the repetitions function to provide comparison and contrast or work to strengthen particular themes of the play without creating a sense of linear development.

As is the case with the wives, there are several scenes where the events of the previous scene are carried on into a new scene to provide a slightly different perspective on the events or to develop a minor narrative within the main narrative. Mwankeh's public dealings with his councillors stretch over two scenes in Act Two and contrast with his semi-private admission of fear to the spiritual councillors which extends over the next two scenes. Councillor Nkungha's attempts to save his life cover three entire scenes in Act Five. In the first, he distances himself from Amambarka in order to prove his loyalty to Mwankeh, while in the second, he distances himself from Mwankeh and hails Amambarka's victory as "a work of God, a miracle" (97) before attempting to save his life by proving how much he knows about Mansata. This story of Mansata continues in the next scene where Nkungha provides Amambarka with the information he wants to hear. As in this case, a long scene is often followed by a short scene dealing with the same material or a short scene introduces a theme or story that is developed in subsequent scenes, alternating notions of expansion and contraction within the dramaturgical structure.

These repetitions and continuations of scenes into each other create a dramaturgical structure based on the accumulation of similarities and differences that resonate productively with each other. This structure is reminiscent of the work in the performance workshop in Guinea-Bissau during the previous year around the theme of storytelling, where it became clear that rather than telling stories in a sequential fashion that pointed to markers such as "and then," "next" and so on, the participants used the accumulation of detail to create an open, flexible structure for their storytelling. Sila's text is constructed very much on the same premises, with characters appearing and disappearing and entrances, exits and events not

confined within act and scene divisions. As such, Sila's text subverts the centrality of sequential narrative in a way that also questions narratives of history as objective storytelling. As Ashcroft, Griffiths & Tiffin argue, the post-colonial task:

is not simply to contest the message of history, which has so often relegated individual post-colonial societies to footnotes to the march of progress, but also to engage the medium of narrativity itself, to re-inscribe the "rhetoric," the heterogeneity of historical representation as (Hayden) White describes it. (1995:356; my emphasis)

In its combination of the linear and non-linear, of expansion and contraction, the dramaturgical structure of *The Prayers of Mansata* thus challenges colonial historical narratives through its interrogation of the mechanisms of (his)torytelling and, arguably, comes closer to *Macbeth's* own highly episodic structure.

Heterogeneity also characterizes the inclusion of written and oral languages in the play. In particular, several items of vocabulary specific to Guinea-Bissau are included within the Portuguese text. These range from the responsibilities given to the Ministers (Bagar-Bagar, Kibir-Kabar, Meker-Meker)¹¹ to Act headings such as *Djapuf* Power,¹² to persistent references to *djanfa* (treason) and the linkage of the Internet to an *yan* (god or sacred spirit). Moreover, the play also includes some words invented by Sila himself such as *Suprematura* (the office of the Supreme Chief) while the mystical inscription at the beginning of the published play, "Ko nafata kon fow lorrai" is not explained either by the characters or the author in the glossary at the end of the play. Such linguistic markers were received with recognition and pleasure by audiences in Bissau and also worked to undermine the authority of standard Portuguese by placing local, oral-based languages on an equal footing with written Portuguese and its traces of the English Shakespearean text. As Gilbert and Tompkins (1996:167-68) correctly point out, the inclusion of oral cultures not only gives a particular sound and rhythm to a play, but also emphasizes the site from which language is spoken. They add that "[t]he strategic use of languages in post-colonial plays helps to reinvest colonized peoples and their characteristic systems of

¹¹ Respectively, chaos, anarchy and intrigue.

¹² *Djapuf* is a variety of crab that feeds on detritus. As such, the title means something like dirty or filthy power.

communication with a sense of power and an active place on the stage," a sense of empowerment that applied both to performers and to audiences of *The Prayers of Mansata*.

Each of the performances of *The Prayers of Mansata* lasted two and a half hours, with one interval. Nevertheless, within this external performance time, distinct rhythms co-existed and the development of the action was complemented by moments of song, dance or visual tableaux that punctuated the dramatic narrative. The tableau that opened and closed the performances, for instance (Fig. 1) created a powerful, extended, visual images of the effects of power on the population. To begin with, the lights went up to reveal the performers huddled in and around the wheelbarrows that are used to transport all kinds of produce around Bissau to the sound of the *kora*, a 21-string lute-bridge-harp used extensively in West Africa. The corporeal positioning of the performers made it unclear whether they were asleep or dead, whether they were handling the wheelbarrows or were instead the products to be transported.



Fig. 1. Photograph by Augusto Baptista. Image courtesy of Cena Lusófona.

At this stage, however, the performers rose to their feet and the performance began with a vibrant street scene where the performers exchanged greetings and recriminations while going about their daily business. However, when the same tableau was (re)cited at the end of the performance, after the deaths of all the main characters,

the bodies huddled around the wheelbarrows took on a more sinister meaning, for they seemed more obviously dead, the disposable human cargo of factional struggles for power among the political elite.

The Prayers of Mansata worked with performers from a variety of theatrical backgrounds. Some came from a primarily text-based form of theatre, while others came from backgrounds in physical theatre, comedy or song and dance. In this particular case, it was a Portuguese text-based tradition that predominated in rehearsals and performance, essentially because it was based on a dramatic text in Portuguese and Portuguese was also the language of rehearsals and performance. However, the intercultural positioning of the initiative was complemented by a cross-fertilization of performance forms and theatrical experiences among performers. Indeed, the notion of sharing performance knowledge was built into the rehearsal process. Performers taught each other songs, dances or body movements and experimented with forms of speaking the text in peer-oriented forms of theatrical learning. A professional capoeira teacher (Professor Flajla) was also engaged during the rehearsal period in S. Tomé to work with the cast along with a choreographer (Zebrinha) and musical director (Jarbas Bittencourt). As the performers had a relatively long rehearsal period together in different national contexts and toured together during the performances, formal and informal learning continued to be part of the performance process. A haunting Angolan song dealing with the losses of war, for instance, was taught to other practitioners during rehearsals by an Angolan actress (Marleny Musa) and in the performances, her rendition of the song was taken up as well by others in the cast. In a different form of theatrical crossing, the physical comedy skills of the performer playing Nkungha (Trindade Gomes da Costa), the councillor responsible for *nhengher-nhengher* (conspiracy) were complemented by his skill in speaking a text he had worked on extensively in rehearsal, for Portuguese was not his first language. In a comic set-piece, Nkungha first tried to convince Mwankeh that he had been forced into the conspiracy against him by the devilish Amambarka. However, at the exact moment in which Nkungha was demonstrating physically the compromising position into which Amambarka had forced him, Amambarka himself burst in with his co-conspirators and murdered Mwankeh. This turn of events forced Ngungha into a rapid volte-face that focused the verbal and physical

comic skills of the performer and turned two long scenes of the play into virtuoso, audience-directed moments of performance. As in this instance, several performers relished the opportunity to step in and out of their roles in order to encourage greater interaction with the audience, temporarily creating moments that deferred the development of the dramatic narrative. Moreover, the combination of different stage languages in performance deconstructed the notion of the primacy of the dramatic text as well as the primacy of a text-based theatrical tradition among performers of Shakespeare.

Corporeal stereotypes and collective embodiment

For Lo and Gilbert (2002:47), the central question of intercultural performance remains “[h]ow to avoid essentialist constructions of race and gender while still accounting for the irreducible specificity of certain bodies and body behaviours.” A very simple way of highlighting the specific location of the performing body without reinforcing essentialism is through the use of doubling, which can reveal “the gaps between the performing body and the performing subject,” and give “voice to many and ultimate authority to none” (Gilbert & Tompkins 1996:34, 233). In performances of *The Prayers of Mansata*, only the actor playing Amambarka (Rogério Boane) played just one role. All other performers played at least two different roles. Contrasting with their early appearances as the young *Katanderas*, for example, the appearance of the same three actresses later as Amambarka’s wives left unsettled questions of their age and status. Actors who played spiritual councillors reappeared as their more temporal equivalents, playing against any essentialist division between the political and the spiritual, as well as against moral binaries of good and bad and their location in specific performing bodies. Playing such different roles also required different skills from the actors at different moments of the performance that militated against the fixation of national and cultural stereotypes in relation to performance methods and techniques. This was particularly true of the actor playing Amambarka, an actor born in Mozambique but whose career has developed mainly in Portugal. His was a particularly complex part to play, for the role required mercurial changes of mood as well as intense verbal and physical energy. Towards the end of the Bissau performances, the responses of the audience indicated that they were simultaneously repelled by

and attracted to the figure of Amambarka in a somewhat paradoxical gesture of appreciation for Boane's performance.¹³ This suggested that the audience also moved between moments of identification of the performer with the role and moments that clearly distinguished the two.

A crucial test for intercultural performance is the extent to which group scenes both foreground differences between the actors yet also create a sense of a provisionally homogenous group. In *The Prayers of Mansata*, this was particularly important for the scenes involving the councillors, both spiritual and secular. In the first scene with Mwankeh's inner circle, the group was defined through the intersection between the physical and the textual. The fact that these councillors were responsible for matters of *bagar-bagar* (chaos), *tchumul-tchamul* (disorder) and *mukur-mukur* (secrecy) and that the matter of state to be discussed was the struggle of one of the First Ladies to travel with "a better class of people" (28) in a private jet, framed this first encounter as satirical farce, while the fact that each of the councillors kicked a file representing responsibility for dealing with the matter along the floor to the councillor sitting next to him indicated through a deft physical movement the reluctance to take responsibility of those supposedly in charge of national affairs. Common gestures within the group such as brushing non-existent dust off the shoulders or swivelling the head around abruptly to focus the gaze on the next person in the line were coordinated by all performers and, in a majestic final collective movement away from responsibility, all the councillors turned to one side to reveal bare legs and thighs that counterpointed their otherwise fashionable suits. In this way, despite the different physical appearances, forms of Portuguese and theatrical backgrounds, a coherent image of the chaos of authority was created for the performances.

For the spiritual councillors, proxemics and vocal inflection were important in creating an image of authority as a group. While in

¹³ The Bissau audience actually cheered Amambarka when he appeared in a suit as the new Supreme Chief, though they had mocked his earlier claims to be interested in the social and economic development of the country, indicating that the response was an acknowledgment of the skill of the performer and their presentation of the material rather than agreement with the political content of the speech. Content and presentation did sometimes coincide, as when Amambarka gave his speech on equality between black and white to applause from the audience.

their first encounter with Mwankeh, the three performers were seated on a mat which Mwankeh was then invited to share, the versatility of the simple stage set enabled struggles for power to be conveyed through vertical contrasts in height (Fig. 2). As Amambarka became increasingly desperate to discover the whereabouts of Mansata, his loss of authority was made clear by the fact that while he remained on the ground, the three spiritual councillors spoke to him from above on a platform.



Fig. 2. Photograph by Augusto Baptista. Image courtesy of Cena Lusófona.

As Amambarka became increasingly desperate to discover the whereabouts of Mansata, his loss of authority was made clear by the fact that while he remained on the ground, the three spiritual councillors spoke to him from above on a platform. The Guinean, Portuguese and Brazilian actors (Jorge Biague, Igor Lebreaud and Ridson Reis) who played the councillors maintained different forms of intonation and physicality, but a more sober tone of voice and a slower rhythm in speaking the lines created an effective image of the greater power of these councillors over the politicians.

A scene that involved all performers was the harrowing scene where past and present ghosts visited Amambarka. While Amambarka tossed uneasily in the middle of a bed on a sparsely-lit stage, he was visited by ghosts with bloody hands or misshapen bodies. Their bodily positions ranged from the totally upright to the totally curved over to those crawling along the floor in a scene that resembled an image of hell by Hieronymous Bosch. The ghostly return of Amambarka's victims and their movements around the bed as they spoke, combined with the minimal lighting, created a particularly powerful visual image of the violence associated with personal and political power. As Gilbert & Tompkins (1996:221)

note, often “the personal site of the body becomes a sign of the political fortunes of the collective culture,” and in this particular instance, the fact that all performers were involved in this scene with their own particular body languages created a dramatic and social sense of a post-colonial collective traumatized both by its ghosts and its hallucinatory present.¹⁴

Post-colonial trauma and intercultural farce

Although such a connection was not made explicit, there was an implicit assumption in these performances of *The Prayers of Mansata* that intercultural performance might represent a means of staging the post-colonial trauma of Portuguese-speaking nations. Such trauma results from the frustration of expectations of change after independence and recognition of the non-progressive roles of the former colonizing power, those currently in power and their neo-colonial allies. Yet to what extent can intercultural performance effectively stage such trauma? This particular performance project aimed to balance the specificity of a play from one post-colonial context with a sense that the concerns raised by the play might resonate in other Portuguese-speaking contexts. However, the presence of Brazilian practitioners in particular complicated such a project, for Brazil has a much longer history of independence from the colonizing power than the African nations involved in the project and a substantially different geo-political role from both Portugal and the African nations in the present. Even within the African nations, Angola is fast becoming a major economic and political force in a way that is very different from Guinea-Bissau and S. Tomé and Príncipe. As such, the geo-political axis of centre and periphery within the Lusophone nations is undergoing major changes and such transformations inevitably inflect intercultural performance. In this particular case, this can be seen in the fact that the text for the project combined two authors, one very much connected with the beginnings of colonialism, the other reflecting on its legacy, while the performances were funded by the European Union to travel within a circuit far removed from its usual geographical remit.

¹⁴ A sense that such scenes of torture can resonate beyond national borders was made clear in a post-production conversation, where an Argentinian member of the audience admitted she had been particularly affected by this scene.

Within this context, it might be useful to reflect on the performances' use of farce, both physical and verbal, as a dominant performance form. To adopt the Marxist adage that history repeats itself, first as tragedy, then as farce, there is a sense in these performances that farce as a *genre* encompasses anger both at the tragedy of colonialism and its unwelcome repetition as farce under post-colonialism. The adoption of farce in performance does not minimize the violence and abuses of the colonial or the post-colonial period. Instead, it places them in a framework where they are doubly indicted; firstly, because they do not deal with the historical ravages of colonialism and secondly, because they do not provide the much-desired alternative to it. Farce might be seen as an easy way to work with very different performers and to appeal to widely diverse audiences, but the pleasures of easy recognition should also be balanced against the ability of laughter to ridicule those at whom such laughter is directed. Indeed, it was precisely this staging of power as farce that fuelled a wider political farce with the cancellation of the performances in Luanda. While the Angolan government might have been comfortable with the circulation of the printed text in the country, convinced that its circulation would remain within an educated elite, it seems to have been the performances of the play which aroused the hostility of the Angolan authorities. This suggests that such intercultural initiatives, whatever their limitations, can represent a potent political and cultural intervention in their ability to ridicule those in power and thus demand political transformation. *The Prayers of Mansata* focused some of the contemporary tensions within the notion of a Lusophone community of nations, both in terms of pointing to its precarious balance of power and in terms of highlighting its often unacknowledged divisions, while also pointing through performance to possible countercultural constructions of the Lusophone.

The performances of *The Prayers of Mansata* also raise an important question for Shakespearean performance critics. Invariably, performance criticism is based on one performance in one national context, yet as this series of performances makes clear, such analysis does little justice to the different circumstances of production and reception that characterized this intercultural staging of an intercultural play. This suggests that it may be necessary to think differently about how to analyse such

intercultural performances of Shakespeare, either by bringing together a group of performance critics in different national contexts who could compare their different impressions or through individual performance critics combining their perspectives with practitioners who have been involved in the performances as a whole. In such a way, a richer and more productive analysis of intercultural performances of Shakespeare might be achieved through collaboration, for it might more accurately capture the “rhizomatic potential” of intercultural performances such as *The Prayers of Mansata* to reflect on and destabilize contemporary configurations of post-colonial power.

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Notes

The casting of Sancho in Durfey's *The Comical History of Don Quixote, Parts I-II* (1694)*

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ABSTRACT

Thomas Durfey's *The Comical History of Don Quixote, Part I and Part II* were produced by the United Company in May/June, 1694. As was customary practice, the central characters were taken by the same actors in both plays. The signal exception was the character of Sancho, which in Part I was given to Thomas Doggett, a junior but already popular comedian, and in Part II to old Cave Underhill, who had been acting since the reopening of the theatres in 1660. The reasons for this change seem to be related to the disputes between the managers and actors on the matter of salaries. Textual evidence suggests that, as he was writing the second part, Durfey may not have been certain who would finally play Sancho. Meta-theatrical allusions show that at one point he had Doggett in mind, but eventually revised the dialogue to introduce jokes that were specifically targeted for the older comedian.

KEYWORDS: Thomas Durfey; *The Comical History of Don Quixote*; casting practices; Thomas Doggett; Cave Underhill; restoration drama.

Thomas Durfey's *The Comical History of Don Quixote, Part I and Part II* were performed in quick succession one after the other in May/June, 1694 and, according to contemporary evidence, both plays were very well received (Van Lennep 1965:435-36). In his study of acting in the

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Restoration Peter Holland (1979:69) has argued that Durfey tried to capitalize on the success of Part I while preparing the second, retaining as many actors as possible of the original cast: Bowen (Don Quixote), Bowman (Cardenio), Verbruggen (Ambrosio), Anne Bracegirdle (Marcella), Mrs. Bowman (Luscinda), Mrs. Leigh (Sancho's wife Teresa Pancha) and Mrs. Verbruggen (their daughter Mary the Buxom). The only exception was the character of Sancho, which had been given in Part I to an emerging comic star, Thomas Doggett, and was transferred in Part II to a veteran comedian, Cave Underhill.¹ Holland partly justifies the substitution observing that the role of Sancho was better suited to Underhill (1979:69) but, as shall be argued below, in his still short career on the London Stage Doggett had played the older coxcomb as often the young dolt. Moreover, the change of actor was extremely rare in Restoration practice and deserves further scrutiny. In the case of *The Comical History*, textual evidence suggests that Durfey may have written the part of Sancho in the second comedy with Doggett in mind, but added jokes specifically designed for Underhill once the company decided to replace him.

Durfey's choice of the two-part format, though not very common in Restoration theatre, was not without precedent. The clearest parallel is surely Dryden's *The Conquest of Granada*, which had been produced more than twenty years earlier (December-January 1670-1671). As Durfey did with *Don Quixote*, Dryden saw that his source material afforded abundance of incident enough to extend the adaptation over two plays, and had the shrewd commercial sense to proceed accordingly. The use of the same cast for both Part I and Part II reinforced the unity of the plays and helped entice spectators to return to the playhouse and follow the fortunes of the characters: Hart played Almanzor, Kynaston was King Boabdalin, Lydall Prince Abdalla, Major Mohun Abdemelech, Nell Gwyn Almahide, Rebecca Marshall Lyndaraxa, and Elizabeth Boutell Benzayda. When the two parts were published together, in 1672, the cast was only printed at the beginning, before Part I, inviting the assumption that there were

¹ Durfey eventually wrote a third part, which was produced in November 1695 (Van Lennep 1965:453-54). On this occasion, only Mrs. Verbruggen acted the same character as in Parts I and II: Mary the Buxom. The rest of the cast had to be replaced, since almost all the actors who took the chief roles in the first two plays had defected to Betterton's new company at Lincoln's Inn Fields. Sancho was this time played by Adrian Newth.

no changes for Part II. Should there be any doubt, prompter John Downes in his *Roscius Anglicanus* makes it clear that the roster of actors was the same for both plays, listing their names under the heading “*The Conquest of Granada, 2 Parts*” (1987:38-39).

Even if the plays were not originally conceived in two parts, in the cases when authors wrote a sequel several years later, the custom was still to retain the actors who had played the chief roles the first time. That, for instance was the case with Aphra Behn’s *The Rover* (produced 1677). Behn wrote a second part a few years later (1681), exploring the adventures of the rakish hero Willmore after his wife Hellena died and he removed to Madrid. Willmore, the Rover, was played by William Smith, the actor who had taken the role in the original production; the only other character to reappear in the second part, the country coxcomb Ned Blunt, was also assumed by the same actor as in 1677, Cave Underhill. Otway’s *The Soldier’s Fortune* (1680) and *The Atheist* (1683) – advertised on the title-page as “the Second Part of *The Souldiers Fortune*” (1932:291) – afford another example: the male leads Beaugard and Courtine were acted by Betterton and Smith in both cases. It is true that Sylvia, the only female character that is carried over from the first play, was originally given to Mrs. Price and changed to Mrs. Curren in *The Atheist*, but only because Mrs. Price was no longer available by the time this comedy was produced in 1683: as Highfill *et al.* note (1987:12.158), her last recorded appearance on stage was in the anonymous comedy *Mr. Turbulent*, in January 1682. The practice of maintaining the actors was observed even when the plays had been written by different authors. In January 1696, the Drury Lane company produced Colley Cibber’s *Love’s Last Shift; or, The Fool in Fashion*; by the end of the year they staged *The Relapse*, by John Vanbrugh, a comedy which as the title-page explicitly stated was written as “the Sequel of *The Fool in Fashion*” (1927:1). The central characters were impersonated by the same actors in both plays: Verbruggen played the rake Loveless, Mrs. Rogers his wife Amanda, and Colley Cibber Sir Novelty Fashion.²

² The only other character to reappear was a secondary one, (Young) Worthy, who was played by different actors: Hildebrand Horden in *Love’s Last Shift* and George Powell in *The Relapse*. However, once again the change was due to the fact that the actor who originally created the role was not available. Horden had been killed in a quarrel at the Rose Tavern, Covent Garden, in May 1696 (Highfill *et al.* 1982:7.415).

The use of different actors for Sancho in Parts I and II of *The Comical History of Don Quixote* constitutes therefore a remarkable exception, one that is even more striking since the two plays were staged in the same season, one shortly after the other. In Part I the character was given to Irish born comedian Thomas Doggett, who had first appeared on the London stage c. 1690, but had speedily shot to fame acting precisely in two comedies by Dufey: *Love for Money* (1691) and *The Marriage-Hater Matched* (1692). His performance in *The Marriage-Hater* was especially celebrated and earned him the nickname Solon, after his part in the play. His rendering of this character was so memorable that the *London Mercury* asked its readers

Whether in Justice [the author] is not obliged to present Mr Dogget (who acted Solon to so much Advantage) with half the Profit of his Third Day, since in the Opinions of most Persons, the good Success of his Comedy was half owing to that Admirable Actor? (26 February 1692; Van Lennep 1965:404)

Doggett's popularity could have made him a natural candidate for a leading comic part in any new play the company had in hand but, even so, it may seem surprising at first sight that he should have been cast as Sancho: Doggett was a junior actor; his date of birth is far from certain, but there is general consensus in placing it c. 1670 (Highfill *et al.* 1975:4.442). If this is correct, he would have been in his mid-twenties when he played Sancho, a character old enough to have a grown-up daughter who goes by the name of Mary the Buxom. But either Doggett was older than we believe – his biographer T. A. Cook placed his birth c. 1650 (1908:45) – or he excelled at impersonating older men: the character he played in Dufey's *Love for Money*, Deputy Nicompoop, is the husband of a mature, domineering woman (played by a male actor, Anthony Leigh), and the doting father of a thirteen-year-old romp. In Shadwell's *The Volunteers* he was Colonel Hackwell Sr., described in the *Dramatis Personae* as "an old Anabaptist Collonel of Cromwell's," old enough to have fought in the Civil Wars and to have a grown-up son, Hackwell Jr., who is also a colonel in the army (1930:367). In Congreve's *The Old Bachelor* he played Fondlewife, "the old Banker with the handsom Wife" (2011:1.1. 64). Clearly, casting Doggett as the family man, with grown-up children, was something that was not due to a last minute change, or an emergency because another

actor was unavailable. He had been playing these roles since he first appeared on the London stage.

The United Company's straitened circumstances must also have recommended Doggett for the part of Sancho. Of the trinity of comedians that had formed a pillar of the Duke's, and then the United Company, in the 1670s and 1680s – Cave Underhill, James Nokes, and Anthony Leigh – only Underhill remained by 1694: Leigh had died in 1692 (Highfill *et al.* 1984:9.223) and Nokes had retired (Highfill *et al.* 1987:11.42). Moreover, in the 1693-1694 season the company was heavily in debt and the patentees were trying to recoup their losses cutting on actors' salaries. As Colley Cibber explains, they attempted to execute their plan putting pressure first on the senior members of the company:

The Patentees, it seems, thought the surer way was to bring down their Pay in proportion to the Fall of their Audiences. To make this Project more feasible they propos'd to begin at the Head of 'em, rightly judging, that if the Principals acquiesc'd, their Inferiors would murmur in vain. To bring this about with a better Grace, they under Pretence of bringing younger Actors forward, order'd several of Betterton's, and Mrs. Barry's chief Parts to be given to young Powel and Mrs. Bracegirdle.³ (1968:105-106)

The first part of *The Comical History* was rehearsed and produced as the company was immersed in this war. It makes sense, therefore, that the managers should have pushed for a junior member of the troupe like Doggett, rather than old Underhill, to take on a new comic part. Durfey must initially have assumed that Doggett would act Sancho in both plays, since he introduced jokes in both comedies alluding to roles Doggett had played previously with great success. In Part I, when Sancho's wife Teresa first appears on stage, she angrily scolds her husband for deserting her, piling insults on him:

Oh, thou Dromedary, thou Founder'd Mule without a Pack-Saddle; or what other Beast shall I call thee, for Man thou art not, nor hast not been to me, Heaven knows the time when; art not thou ashamed to see me, thou Nicompoop. (1694a:1.2 p.7)

³ The patentee's plan partly backfired since Mrs. Bracegirdle refused to cooperate, as Cibber notes: "their first Project did not succeed; for tho' the giddy Head of Powel, accepted the Parts of Betterton; Mrs. Bracegirdle had a different way of thinking, and desir'd to be excus'd, from those of Mrs. Barry; her good Sense was not to be misled by the insidious Favour of the Patentees" (1968:106).

The term “nicompoop” recalled the name of henpecked husband Doggett had acted in Duffey’s *Love for Money*. In Part II, when Sancho assumes government of the island of Barataria and surprises everyone exercising shrewd judgement, his subjects acclaim him crying “A Solon, a Solon” (1694b:5.1, p.55). Whereas Cervantes – as Shelton’s English translation faithfully records – has the people compare Sancho to “a second Salomon” (1620:2.45 p.297), Duffey substituted Solon as the prototype of wisdom, playfully pointing to the foolish character in *The Marriage-Hater Matched* that had turned Doggett into a comic star.

The use of these playful allusions to parts taken previously by popular actors was frequent in Restoration comedy. In *The Rise and Fall of Caius Marius* (1679), Otway gave Mrs. Barry an epilogue which pointed to her performance in Shadwell’s recent *The Woman Captain* (1679), in which she had played the title character. The text refers humorously to the recruiting of volunteers prompted by the French invasion scare in the aftermath of the Popish Plot and Mrs. Barry then adds: “Nay, sure at last th’Infection generall grew / For t’other day I was a Captain too” (1968:Epil.13-14). Duffey seems to have been particularly fond of these meta-theatrical jokes. He wrote the Prologue to *The Virtuous Wife* (1679) in the form of a dialogue between Mrs. Barry and two of the company’s chief comedians, James Nokes and Anthony Leigh. Mrs. Barry complains that her part (the “virtuous wife”) must necessarily be dull and finds it unfair that Nokes and Leigh should have been given much better roles. Leigh and Nokes get caught up in the argument and begin to throw barbs at each other:

NOKES Ye lye.
And you’re a Pimp, a Pandarus of Troy
A Gripe, a Fumble.

LEE Nay, and you ‘gin to quarrel,
Gad ye’re a Swash, a Toby in a Barrel,
Would you were here. (1680:Prol.)

Their gibes make comic capital of characters which each of them had played before. Nokes accuses Leigh of being “a Pimp, a Pandarus of Troy,” pointing to his impersonation of Pandarus in Dryden’s *Troilus and Cressida* (1679). He had also acted Fumble in Duffey’s *A Fond Husband* (1677) and, in all likelihood, Gripe in Shadwell’s *Woman Captain*, for which no cast has been preserved. Leigh in turn mocks

Nokes as a “Swash” – a character in *The Woman Captain* that must have fallen to his lot – and a “Toby in a Barrel,” alluding to his part in Durfey’s *Madam Fickle* (1676), which includes a scene in which Toby hides in a barrel to escape the constable (5.2). But the most striking example is perhaps the scene in *The Richmond Heiress* (1693) in which Durfey introduces a character who has a passion for the theatre. He has returned to London after a long absence and wants to hear all about his favourite actors:

And prithee how does the Play-House? How does Mr. Betterton, and my old Friend, Mr. Nokes? Prithce when did he play Sir Martin last, hah? Does Mr. Sandford Act the Villain still, prithee? And jolly Cave Underhill in *Epsom Wells*? How does my Comical Justice do, hah?⁴ (1987:1.1 p.13-14)

He goes on to ask about Mrs. Barry, Powell, Bowen, Mrs. Bracegirdle, and comes at last to an actor that was just then in the ascendancy: “Then there is Mr. Doggett, that Acted Solon so purely, O Lord, what’s become of him, prithee?” (1987:1.1 p.15). The joke, of course, is that the character he is speaking to – Quickwit – was played precisely by Doggett. But the whole scene shows that the playwright expected the audience to be familiar with the most popular parts played by their favourite actors.

As he introduced the allusions to Nicompoop and Solon, then, Durfey was obviously thinking that Doggett would act Sancho. However, when the second part of *Don Quixote* opened, the character was played by Underhill. The removal of Doggett from the cast may, once again, have been related to a squabble over salaries. Doggett’s pay had been substantially reduced during this season and about May/June 1694 he appealed to one of the patentees, Charles Killigrew, who agreed to give him a raise (Sawyer 1986:12). In light of the iron hand policy pursued by the leading manager, Christopher Rich, the chances that this promise would be honoured were slim. Instead, as they had done before with Betterton or Barry, the patentees seem to have decided to teach Doggett a lesson depriving him of a good part.

⁴ James Nokes had played the title character in Dryden’s *Sir Martin Marr-All* (1667), with resounding success. Samuel Sandford was a character actor who specialized in the parts of evil men, such as Maligni in Thomas Porter’s *The Villain* (1662). In Shadwell’s *Epsom Wells* (1672), Underhill had acted Justice Coldpate, a country coxcomb who hates London.

The choice of Underhill to replace Doggett, besides, was far from being a desperate remedy. Underhill was a seasoned comedian and, though he had already turned sixty, he kept appearing regularly and creating new roles. According to Cibber, he excelled in the portrayal of “the Stiff, the Heavy, and the Stupid” (1968:89). He had made a trademark of the characters of the formal fool and the hypocritical puritan, like Obadiah in Sir Robert Howard’s *The Committee* (1662), but he also specialized in rustic types and country clowns, from the Gravedigger in *Hamlet* (1661), to Justice Clodpate in Shadwell’s *Epsom Wells* (1672) or Blunt in Behn’s *The Rover* (1677). Sancho’s sententious speech, his earthy humour and coarse jests would fit him to a tee. Durfey must have been satisfied with the replacement, or at least endeavoured to make the most of the situation, and introduced small changes to adjust the character to the older comedian. The *Dramatis Personae* presents him in Part I as “a dry shrewd Country Fellow, Squire to Don Quixote, a great speaker of Proverbs, which he blunders out upon all occasions, tho’ never so far from the purpose.” In Part II, the description of the character is modified slightly to incorporate the “heaviness” that, according to Cibber, distinguished Underhill: “a dull, heavy, Country Booby in appearance, but in discourse, dry, subtle, and sharp, a great repeater of Proverbs [...]” Moreover, whereas in Part I, there is no reference to Sancho’s age beyond what must be inferred from his family circumstances, in Part II he is clearly portrayed as being older. Thus, in the Epilogue, which he speaks with his daughter, he refers to himself as her “old Dad” (1694b: Epil).

Durfey must also have seen his chance to exploit the comic potential of Underhill’s long career on the Restoration stage and create some jest building on one of his previous roles. The second part of *The Comical History* introduced the episode in which the Duke and Duchess play a prank on Don Quixote and Sancho, making them believe that Dulcinea has been enchanted and that the spell can only be broken if Sancho agrees to take three thousand lashes on his buttocks. Don Quixote is naturally overjoyed to hear that his lady can be disenchanting so easily, but Sancho does not appear too willing to collaborate. When the Duchess insists, trying to persuade him, he retorts:

Why, what a plague has my generous Backside to do with
Inchantments? or why must I be oblig’d to demolish the Beauty of
my Backside, to recover the Beauty of her Face; ‘tis my Masters

business I think, and since he is to enjoy the one, let him take the tother along too, for my part Ile have nothing to do with it. (1694b:2.2 p.20)

At that point, the page impersonating the enchanted Dulcinea breaks in, pretending outrage at Sancho's cowardice and lack of compassion:

Is it then possible, thou Soul of Lead, thou Marble-breasted Rocky-hearted Squire, that thou shouldst boggle at such easie penance, to do thy Lord and me so great a favour? [...] The thing impos'd is but a flaunging, a punishment each paultry School-boy laughs at, and which each rampant antiquated Sinner chooses for Pleasure. (1694b:2.2 p.20)

The page's words introduce a bawdy joke at the expense of the pervasive resort to corporal punishment in English schools and what is presented as an almost natural consequence: a penchant for sadomasochist practices later in life. The contrast between the disciplined schoolboy and the debauched adult who willingly engages in the same activity would be comical enough, but Durfey's choice of the adjective "antiquated" to describe this man turns the jest accusingly on Sancho as impersonated by the ageing Underhill. It slyly suggests that, for all his protests, Sancho may actually relish the prospect of the flogging or, if not, he will very likely warm to the task in time.

For the regular theatre-goer, or avid reader of play-texts, the scene would resonate with added mirth. They had seen Underhill before in the character of such an "antiquated sinner," eagerly demanding a lashing for pleasure. The play was Shadwell's *The Virtuoso* (1676) and Underhill acted Snarl, "an old, pettish fellow, a great admirer of the last age, and a declaimer against the vices of this, and privately very vicious himself" (*Dramatis Personae*).⁵ He is "antiquated," therefore, both in terms of his age and his adherence to old forms and fashions. His professed scorn for the libertine mores of the times, however, is blatantly hypocritical. We soon learn that he keeps a mistress and in Act 3 we see him interacting with her. The

⁵ The quarto edition of Shadwell's comedy published in 1676 does not list the actors' names. However, a manuscript cast has been preserved in the copy held at the Clark Library. Van Lennep (1965:244) gives Underhill as playing Sir Samuel, but as Langhans has pointed out, this is an incorrect transcription: Nokes acted Sir Samuel and Underhill Snarl (1973:152).

humour of the scene is enhanced as Snarl remains true to his character, lamenting the decline of old mores, and railing against the vices of the age just as he is about to indulge in them himself. His mistress Figgup wisely follows suit, exclaiming against the “impudent creatures of the town” (1997:3.2.36-37) and commending Snarl as a “discreet, sober person of the last Age” (1997:3.2.57). Figgup’s act does the trick for Snarl and, as the temperature rises, he asks for a special service which she seems reluctant to perform:

SNARL Ah poor little rogue! In sadness, I’ll bite thee by the lip,
i’faith I will. Thou hast incenst me strangely, thou hast fir’d my
blood, I can bear it no longer, i’faith I cannot. Where are the
instruments of our pleasure? Nay, prithee do not frown, by the
mass thou shalt do’t now.

FIGGUP I wonder that should please you so much, that pleases me
so little.

SNARL I was so us’d to’t at Westminster School, I could never leave
it off since. (1997:3.2.58-66)

Snarl then pulls the carpet from the table and reveals “*three or four great Rods.*” He turns to his mistress and tells her exactly what he wants: “Very well, my dear rogue. But dost hear, thou art too gentle. Do not spare thy pains. I love castigation mightily” (1997:3.2.68-69).

Shadwell’s *The Virtuoso* was a repertory piece. Van Lennep offers evidence of two performances only, in May and June 1676 (1965:244-45), but Downes notes that the comedy was “very well Acted and got the Company great Reputation” (1987:78). The fact that other comedies of the period – like Behn’s *Sir Patient Fancy* (1678) or Dufey’s *Sir Barnaby Whigg* (1681) – allude to some of its characters or episodes bears witness to its continuing popularity.⁶ Besides, the comedy was reprinted in 1691, which suggests that it had been acted recently. It is then reasonable to assume that members of the audience would recall this scene with glee when the page speaks of

⁶ In Behn’s *Sir Patient Fancy*, Sir Credulous, acted by James Nokes, exclaims “then whip slap dash, as Nokes says in the play” (1996:4.1.275); this nonsensical tag was characteristic of Sir Samuel Hearty, the character he himself had played in *The Virtuoso*. Dufey’s *Sir Barnaby Whigg* introduces a comic echo of Shadwell’s play as one character threatens to kill another, having him “dissected, anatomized like a Chichester Cock-Lobster, or so” (1681:2.2 p.23). The dissection of the Chichester lobster is one of the experiments described by the virtuoso (1997:1.1.118-19, 1.1.247-48).

“antiquated sinners” that enjoy a good flogging. Underhill’s physical presence would give the lie to Sancho when he complains against the lashing and would create a meta-theatrical joke that the spectators were bound to enjoy.

Although the use of two different actors to play the part of Sancho in Durfey’s *The Comical History of Don Quixote, Parts I and II* was certainly unusual, a close look at the circumstances surrounding the production of the plays suggests that the change was motivated by the internal disputes affecting the company in the 1693-1694 season and the patentees’ attempts to force the actors to accept cuts in their salaries: they originally chose a junior member of the company, Thomas Doggett, but replaced him with veteran Cave Underhill when Doggett attempted to negotiate better conditions. Textual evidence indicates that Durfey initially assumed that Doggett would act Sancho in both plays. However, when the role was given to Underhill in Part II he clearly was quick enough to react. He made small but effective changes in the script to adapt the character to the older comedian, taking advantage of the audience’s familiarity with Underhill’s most popular parts to introduce jokes specifically designed for him.

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Reviews

Camilla Caporicci. 2013
The Dark Lady. La rivoluzione Shakespeariana nei
Sonetti alla Dama Bruna
Passignano Sul Trasimeno: Aguaplano

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Shakespeare's Dark Lady is undoubtedly one of the most famous characters in world literature. However, among the series of pale and haughty ladies praised by poets throughout the centuries, she stands out for her uniqueness. And the main reason is not only that she is always referred to as "dark," but also that as such she is praised by the Bard: "Then will I swear beauty herself is black, | and all they foul that thy complexion lack" (132). This alone, in the Renaissance world where "black" was usually associated with evil, should have sounded revolutionary. However, as Camilla Caporicci underlines in this gripping monograph, despite her patent difference with the ladies of the previous European poetic tradition, the Dark Lady has often been treated superficially by critics. What this book conversely tries to reassess is how Shakespeare's Lady is not only a paradoxical inversion of the Petrarchan model, but, most importantly, a way of engaging in a deeper analysis of the ontological truth underlying human nature as a whole.

The book is structured in three parts. In the first part, the author analyses the Dark Lady as the last representative of a series of literary women praised by poets. In order to do so, Caporicci starts with a comparative analysis of the several female figures found in Early Modern European poetry, from the Occitan tradition to the Italian, French, and English poetry of the Renaissance. Born from the convergence of Petrarchism, Christianity, and Neoplatonism, those ladies are represented as cold and unattainable lovers, similar to some extent to the aery "Fair Youth" praised by Shakespeare in the first 127 sonnets of his *canzoniere*. The Dark Lady, instead, stands out as the earthly counterpart of those spiritual ladies. She is the

expression, as the author brilliantly explains, of Nature claiming its own status: that is, within the traditional, cultural clash between spirit and matter, the Dark Lady seems to stand for a reevaluation of the importance of the latter, and of natural instincts in particular. Indeed, as Shakespeare wants us to understand, man is not only spirit, but body too. Man actually is "something rich and strange" and the author demonstrates how repressing physical instincts is always shown by Shakespeare as an unnatural and ultimately destructive behaviour, as also emerges from works such as *Venus and Adonis*, *Measure for Measure*, *Julius Caesar*, and *Hamlet*.

In the second part, the author focuses instead on the main feature of this revolutionary Lady: her darkness. In order to explain the novelty of Shakespeare's approach, Caporicci first highlights how the whole Renaissance chromatic ideal revolves around the ancient dichotomy between white and black, perceived as the symbol par excellence of the hierarchy of traditional values. The subversion of this very hierarchy in the Dark Lady sequence, however, is not unique. As the author shows, Shakespeare's impulse to subvert the traditional vision of the world is something which also other European intellectuals and artists felt and tried to give shape to. Even though one cannot claim a direct acquaintance, both Giordano Bruno's philosophical thought and Caravaggio's extravagant luminism share the same anti-conventionality underlying Shakespeare's sonnets to the Dark Lady. What emerges from their works is indeed the willingness to demolish the ancient division between the aery world of ideals and the "lower" world of earthly desires. In such a way, all that was black, once taken as ugly and the colour of the Devil, could instead be considered praiseworthy: "But now is black beauty's successive heir" (127). Such a new idea can indeed be seen, as Caporicci shows, in many other black characters created by Shakespeare, from Aaron to Othello, from Rosaline to Cleopatra. By reading Caporicci's monograph, we thus enter a world where the traditional chromatic hierarchy crumbles and we are convinced that Shakespeare's age was truly the beginning of a new era, where all hierarchy "melts into thin air" and what was once considered low and unworthy could finally start to be raised to the same dignity of what was understood as high and worthy. What eventually emerges from such an analysis of Shakespeare's works is thus no more a negative clash of contraries, but rather the eruption of the dynamic energy of the universe, the latter being alive precisely

due to this regenerating mixture of high and low, heaven and earth, light and dark.

In the third and last part, Caporicci broadens the scope of her research and questions the nature of Shakespeare's art itself. According to the author, there are many instances where Shakespeare showed his awareness of the inadequacy of the traditional poetic system when it came to effectively representing reality. Caporicci demonstrates how Shakespeare eventually admits, in the sonnets to the Fair Youth, the defeat of an art trying to distil the essence of life in eternal lines. While the "aery monuments" erected for the Youth turn out to be his tomb, the sonnets to the Dark Lady reveal instead the liveliness of the earthly dimension and are the final, and most straightforward admission, of the superiority of Nature over Art.

Among the strengths of this book are the numerous close readings of the primary texts, as well as the extensive secondary literature used by Caporicci, who has thoroughly studied the cultural context in which Shakespeare lived so as to confer additional strength to her theories. All this demonstrates the seriousness of the author, and finally convinces the reader of the depth of her study. The only weakness could be the fact that the third part is relatively shorter than the first two. This part is, nonetheless, very well documented and convincing and also contemplates the possibility of further investigating this particular aspect of her study.

In conclusion, the work has many merits, and marks a significant contribution to the body of critical studies on the *Sonnets*. In particular, it shifts the focus of attention from the somewhat fruitless search for the identity of the addressees, or the supposed sexual orientation of the poet, to what these poems actually represent within Shakespeare's philosophical, anthropological, and gnoseological thought.

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Pilar Cuder-Domínguez, ed. 2014
Genre in English Literature, 1650-1700:
Transitions in Drama and Fiction
Amherst, NY: Cambria Press

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The title of this collection of seven essays edited by Pilar Cuder-Domínguez is ambitious in scope, its subtitle, despite excluding poetry, only slightly less so. Titles are tricky things and often have to be negotiated with publishers (an earlier title for this collection, *Critical Explorations of Genre in English Literature, 1650-1700*, appears ghost-like on p. xi); yet on the whole, the book manages to chew most of what it bites off, which is no mean feat. It unpicks what Cuder-Domínguez terms in her brief Introduction the “neat evolutionary pattern” (ix-x) into which critics, sights set firmly on the eighteenth century, generally shoe-horn literature of the second half of the seventeenth century; it throws much new and fascinating light onto Restoration drama; and it corroborates the importance of female agency, whether as author, reader or protagonist, in the gradual emergence of the novel. Indeed, five of the contributions make a convincing case for the need to appraise issues of genre in fiction and drama alike from the perspective of gender. Nonetheless, in the absence of any acknowledgement of other factors like social class and political or confessional allegiance, this emphasis risks distorting the overall picture and might somehow have been adverted in the title.

In the first chapter, “Spatial Practices in the Works of Margaret Cavendish,” Pilar Cuder-Domínguez argues that Cavendish’s generic experimentation is a means to challenging prevailing gender

norms. Taking Cavendish's drama first, Cuder-Domínguez applies Henri Lefebvre's (1974) notion of space as being the historically constituted "result of social interaction" (4) to show how *The Female Academy*, *The Convent of Pleasure*, *Bell in Campo* and *Youths Glory and Deaths Banquet* are organised around female retirement. If in the plays "women's self-sufficient worlds prove to be extremely fragile" (13), Cavendish's female characters attain more lasting agency through the trope of travel as exploited in her prose fiction, which combines forms and modes of romance, utopian fiction and travel writing. As Lady Victoria proclaimed in the second part of *Bell in Campo*, "go[ing] abroad" can release women from "control" and the need to account for their actions (19); Cuder-Domínguez demonstrates through her analyses of *Assaulted and Pursued Chastity* and *The Revision of a New World, Called The Blazing World* how it can also insert them into "masculine roles and spaces" (21) or enable their rise from "silent victim to eloquent absolute monarch" (Wallraven 2004:147; qtd. Cuder-Domínguez 2104:24). In short, Cavendish's drama and, more confidently, her fiction produce "counterspaces" where the female can "resist the dominant" (25).

In chapter 2, "Kaleidoscopic Genres: William Davenant's Interregnum Drama," Rafael Vélez-Núñez offers a new take on his chosen writer's entertainments or "opera" written under the Republic. Against the conventional view that Puritan politics conditioned change in dramatic practice, Vélez-Núñez proposes that Davenant carried on into the period experiments with dramatic form that had commenced under the patronage of Charles I. Thus he was able to "transmut[e] the splendor of courtly masques into public performances" (37) and to combine in "the exemplary genre" of his opera "dramatic restrictions, moral requirements, and his own generic innovations" (40). 1656 becomes a key year in theatre history with *The First Days Entertainment*, which inaugurated newly legalised performances, followed by *The Siege of Rhodes* and its introduction of recitative and scene changes onto the English public stage. It is not clear (nor need it be) whether Davenant's prosecution of Puritan morals and his advocacy of the political function of poetry in *The Preface to Gondibert* (1654-1655) was opportunist or sincere. But Vélez-Núñez argues persuasively for the importance of Davenant's work not only as a technical precursor of Restoration drama, but also as evidence of a more ideologically and aesthetically relaxed interregnum than is commonly supposed.

In chapter 3, "The Making of Restoration Comedy: Critical Theory and Dramatic Practice," Juan A. Prieto-Pablos offers us a masterly synthesis of the development and diversity of the genre based on the practical evidence of the plays rather than the theoretical precepts of Dryden and the rest. The negotiations between "the neoclassical school" and those who pursued "the continuation of the English dramatic forms" (64) fostered a genre which is much more heterogeneous than the focus of conventional histories on the comedy of manners suggests. There was general compliance with moderately elastic unities; hybridization of tragedy and comedy was tolerated; romantic love plots promoting honour were more frequent than sexual comedy, which on Prieto-Pablos's account "was not as pervasive nor [sic] as typical" (76) as is often thought; in the 1660s blank verse coexisted with prose, but was gradually superseded by it in the 1670s; what Dryden termed "repartee," the forerunner of polite conversation, was celebrated, slang, farce and buffoonery, associated with the lower classes, outlawed (except in John Lacy and Richard Flecknoe); and, eschewing the either/or debate of Dryden and Thomas Shadwell, most comedies of the period ably mixed gallants and fools, pure entertainment with edifying satire. Prieto-Pablos should be congratulated for this lucid and fine-tuned perspective from which to reconsider Restoration comedy.

In chapter 4, "The Motives of Tragedy, 1677-1682: Theory and Practice," Zenón Luis-Martínez analyses Restoration tragedy from the challenging vantage gained after grafting Kenneth Burke's theory of action onto Walter Benjamin's ([1928] 1977) concept of baroque German *Trauerspiel*, or play of sorrow. Equating style understood Aristotelically as composed of "plot, character, thought, diction, and spectacle" (103) with Burke's motive of "agency," Luis-Martínez shows how dramatic theory and practice of the period redefined English tragedy, founding its claims to originality on its emphasis on lexis rather than mythos and its replacement of rhyming couplets with blank verse. The upshot was a tragedy whose protagonists, like those of *trauerspiel*, were plunged out of myth or heroism and squarely into "creaturely" history, "often manifested in strained, plaintive representations of subjective uncertainty in a universe devoid of God" (116). Thomas Rhymer's yearning for "poetical justice" becomes "the desire for a harmonious reordering of the chaotic space of history" (119). The third main section,

"Agency: Tragic Manners," draws on Hobbesian psychology to suggest that in tragedies like Nathaniel Lee's *The Rival Queens* "Heroic cogitation is replaced now with a violent poetics of bodily pain" as "the fatal and the physiological are summoned to share a common uncanny space in the character's body" (132, 133). Intellectually bracing and elegantly composed, Luis-Martínez's chapter covering the full spectrum of Restoration tragedians (Dryden, Lee, Nahum Tate, Thomas Otway, Edward Ravenscroft and John Bancroft) is a landmark monograph waiting to be written.

In chapter 5, "'Look to Thy Self and Guard Thy Character': She-Tragedy and the Conflicts of Female Visibility," Paula de Pando provides a succinct, level-headed account of her chosen genre and its evolution through the 1680s and 1690s. In opposition to the prevailing view of a monolithic genre exploiting female performers in order to purvey a balanced mix of titillation and political allegory, de Pando suggests that the she-tragedies of Otway and Thomas Southerne, who are credited with the creation of genre, John Banks, Mary Pix and Catharine Trotter amount to a rich and varied corpus which "unveils repressed anxieties at the core of society and exposes its flaws through their fatal consequences for its weakest members" (173). Thus, Thomas Southerne's *The Fatal Marriage*, far from consolidating gender relations, shows how prostitution and marriage are complementary aspects of the same sexual economy; Pix's *Ibrahim* adumbrates a transformation from passive, female victimhood to "active political commitment" (171); and Trotter's *Agnes de Castro*, in its depiction of self-sacrifice and friendship, aspires to a "feminocentric universe untainted by the corruption of male social dynamics" (172). De Pando is to be thanked for providing in so few pages such a convincing sketch of an all too-often misrepresented sub-genre.

In chapter 6, "Geographies of Interiority: Exile in Women's Epistolary Fiction of the Restoration," Sonia Villegas-López supplies a lack in novel studies by reviewing epistolary fiction produced between 1660-1700, a period usually overlooked in histories of the novel's rise. Her account of influences (Ovid's *Heroides*, Gabriel Joseph de Lavergene, count of Guilleragues's, *Lettres Portugaises*), contexts (the creation of the English Post Office) and critical responses is exemplary, while her narrative of the consolidation of a literary form from Margaret Cavendish's *CCXI Sociable Letters*,

through Aphra Behn's *Love Letters between a Nobleman and His Sister*, in whose three volumes the gradual supersession of first-person letters by third-person narrative answers to increasingly plotted construction; to the greater realism of Catharine Trotter's *Olinda's Adventures* is clear and useful. Less successful is Villegas-López's attempt to position her chosen works within a master-trope of female exile defined so broadly – both “physical departure” and “mental withdrawal” (182) – as to become a catch-all bereft of analytical utility. This misplaced ambition may account for the inclusion of Delarivier Manley's *Letters* (“not properly an epistolary novel” but “a seemingly autobiographical travelogue,” 198-99); fortunately, however, Villegas-López's stated aim takes second place to sound exposition and no-nonsense analysis.

Finally, in chapter 7, “Transgressing Class, Gender and Genre: The Jilt Narratives of Restoration England,” Jorge Figueroa-Dorrego presents an attractive cluster of works from different genres which centre on the female figure of the “jilt.” The anonymous *The London Jilt: or, The Politick Whore*, an early English picaresque novel, charts the progress of Cornelia whose sexual trading anticipates Moll Flanders's; the also anonymous *The German Princess Revived* is a criminal biography of Jenney Voss, an inveterate thief who endured transportation and was hanged at Tyburn; and Alexander Oldys's *The Female Gallant: or, The Wife's the Cuckold* is a short novel whose farcical plotting around mistaken identities, cross-dressing and bed-tricks shows its close kinship with stage comedy. In this respect, Figueroa-Dorrego notes how the “jilt” is the female equivalent of restoration comedy's rake, the main differences being their generic habitats and contrasting roles as villainess and hero respectively. Jilt narratives served to admonish women, caution men and titillate in roughly equal doses, at the same time as they disclose anxiety over the permeability of social and sexual boundaries. While not quite, perhaps, “unsettl[ing]” (246) generic borders as Figueroa-Dorrego contends, the literary jilt's easy adaptation to different genres mirrors the resourceful versatility of her historical counterparts.

Overall, Cuder-Dominguez's collection will be of great use to newcomer and specialist alike as a wide-ranging overview of much of the literature of the period and related literary-critical research, while one or two of its contributions may well set agendas for future scholarship in the field. If fault were to be found it would be with the

not quite satisfying blend of some chapters devoted to individual writers and others tackling whole genres; also with the Introduction, which is a little disingenuous when rueing the absence of “decentr[ing]” (xi) analyses of Restoration fiction and drama: the ample footnotes to each chapter attest to much scholarly attention to the writers and issues treated in this volume, without that being to its or its contributors’ discredit. Yet these are minor cavils. Commendably unfazed by master narratives of literary genesis and evolution, suspicious of facile causalities between generic convulsion and political turmoil, generally uncluttered by jargon and wearing its learning lightly, this collection of essays deserves a large audience and is a welcome reminder that the flies on the axle-wheels of literary history raise their own dust. It also bears impressive testimony to the formidable health of seventeenth-century English literary studies in Spain.

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Andy Kesson. 2014
John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship
Manchester: Manchester University Press

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In his Introduction, Andy Kesson writes, “In 1632, Edward Blount published six of Lyly’s plays, naming the writer, on the title page, ‘the onely Rare Poet of that Time, The Witie, Comically, Facetiously-Quicke and unparalleledd’” (3). It is on the basis of contemporary verdicts such as Blount’s, but also Thomas Lodge’s, Francis Mere’s and Ben Jonson’s, that Kesson proposes a reappraisal of Lyly “using evidence for his unparalleled success and influence to rethink his role as the major literary figure of his age” and “oppos[ing] itself to a conventional critical view of Lyly that sees him as hopelessly irrelevant, pretentious and effete” (10). In this sense, Kesson’s work aspires to overthrow G. K. Hunter’s seminal *John Lyly: The Humanist as Courtier* (1962), which has presided Lyly studies patriarchally for the last half-century, and to reinstate Lyly’s “often dissident and disruptive work” (11) for readers and theatre-goers of the twenty-first century. Indeed, thanks to the good offices of Manchester University Press in making available reliable texts of Lyly’s works over the last twenty-five years and, in particular, to Leah Scragg’s careful unpicking of received wisdom, Lyly is making something of a comeback in university programmes and the theatre; and Kesson himself has been instrumental in this revival, acting as consultant to recent stagings. His book is an attempt to explain why Lyly’s star shone so bright among his contemporaries, waned so fast thereafter, and deserves rekindling today. Drawing on recent studies of the Elizabethan book trade (Halasz 1997, Raven 2007, Squires 2007, Voss 1998), Kesson locates Lyly at the intersection of theatre and printing and makes him the linchpin of the newly emerging market for “printed single-story fiction and printed drama” (19).

The book is divided into three parts. Parts I and II consider Lyly's prose fiction and drama in turn, each devoting a first chapter accounting for Lyly's originality and a second to his impact on the corresponding market (single-story books and printed plays, respectively). The third part traces the history of Lyly's reception in a single chapter.

As for the prose fiction, Kesson notes Lyly's interest in storytelling and plotting, *pace* Hunter (1962:21) and Peter Saccio (1969:31), before questioning the conventional assumption that Lyly's *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578) was a hit on account either of its style, or of its main character, or both. Kesson's point is that the book's initial success "depended on an unprecedented number and range of bookshop customers choosing this new edition in December 1578 and early 1579" (38), before, that is, the style and the hero could have become well-enough known to act as selling points in a marketing campaign. On the basis of *Anatomy's* title-page, Kesson supposes that in contrast to the prose fiction miscellanies of George Painter (*Palace of Pleasure*, 1566), George Pettie (*A Petite Pallace of Pettie His Pleasure*, 1566-1567), Geoffrey Fenton (*Certaine Tragicall Discourses of Bandello*, 1567) and George Gascoigne (*Hundreth Sundrie Flowers*, 1573), Lyly's book appealed to those browsing the counters in Paul's churchyard because it offered a single-story about one person while also "exploiting the current vogue for anatomical spectacle, using the exotic unfamiliarity of the Greek name Euphues, and promoting the book as a dictionary of wit" (48). What Kesson does not explain convincingly is why Lyly and/or his publisher Gabriel Cawood should know that those characteristics would sell: his close attention to the paratextual blinkers his vision of the larger contextual picture. The reader is therefore left to surmise that, perhaps, single protagonists with erudite names would attract an expanding educated middle-class readership avid for quality fictions about upwardly mobile "bourgeois heroism" (Stevenson 1984:6). One also wonders whether title-pages were the only means of marketing new books. Much as the "printing community" was "especially small" (42), so too was the reading and writing community, many of whose members were berthed in the Inns of Court and in daily contact in the lobbies of Whitehall. Networking was inevitable, grapevines took easy root, and Lyly's forthcoming book would have been a topic of general conversation.

Kesson is on securer ground when dealing with the impact of Euphuus on the book market and literary production. After dismissing conventional accounts of a fall from favour (Hunter 1962, Guenther 2002, Wilson 2008) and a Lyly-euphuism fad (17 editions of prose works and plays between 1578 and 1583) consigned to the “ante-room” of Elizabethan literature by “the midday sun” of Shakespeare (Dover Wilson 1905:3, 138-39), Kesson documents how Lyly was continually published in an “unprecedented” (73) number of editions from the 1590s to 1636. Accordingly, Kesson claims that “Lyly’s popularity created new forms of literature and permitted new kinds of authorial careers and reading experiences” (73), with Paul’s churchyard and the book trade acting as the central hub and rivalling the court as prime cultural arbiter. After suggesting that Euphuus is the first prose fiction character to transmute from allegorical figure to psychological realism (77) and presenting Lyly as a philosophical sceptic whose revelling in ambiguity and multiplicity of perspectives created a new, inventive reader, Kesson guides us through Euphuus’ afterlives in Anthony Munday’s *Zelauto* (1580), Barnabe Riche’s *Don Simonides* (1581, 1584), Robert Green’s *Mamillia* (1583), Thomas Lodge’s *Rosalind: Euphuus Golden Legacie* (1590) and John Dickenson’s *Arisbas: Euphuus Amidst His Slumbers* (1594). The upshot is that Lyly “demonstrated new terms and modes of authorship” and that he was “fundamental to constructing paradigms of print storytelling that continued into seventeenth-century pamphlet and novelistic traditions” (96-97).

Turning to the plays, Kesson notes that it is difficult now to fully realize how innovative they are since so few plays from other authors survive from the 1580s. Nonetheless, he proposes that their impact was huge on account of the way they addressed their audiences (what literary pragmatists might call their addressivity), their “performative rhetoric and the establishment of character and fictional worlds” (105); in addition, the plays manifest the same, radical indeterminacy of the prose fiction, a ruse which, by empowering the audience to determine significance, makes it responsible for that significance and exonerates the writer of any commitment to whatever that significance may be. Making his own William West’s judgement that Lyly was the first English playwright to express “the theatre’s indeterminacy” through the “uncertainty [he] built in to performance” (West 2002:121), Kesson implies a refashioning of Lyly in the image of that Shakespeare and those men

of achievement celebrated by John Keats (1954:53) as being “capable of being in uncertainties.” Otherwise, Kesson shows how Lyly’s prose style was able to create space and embedded the kinesics his plays are often accused of lacking, while together with his dramaturgy it helped him “define character by movement, language and effect upon other people in the play” (122). In the process, he invented the humour play (*The Woman in the Moon*), metamorphosed early modern love (*Love’s Metamorphosis*), exploited metatheatrical references and “discover[ed] ways of representing spontaneous thought on stage” (127).

Before analysing Lyly’s impact on the market for printed plays, Kesson provides a useful *mis en scène* depicting current disagreement regarding whether printed plays were automatic moneyspinners or risky business ventures, but consensus regarding the boom in printed plays post-1594, which has been tentatively explained as a ploy to market the reopening of theatres after the plague (Stern 2007:139) or the reorganisation of theatrical companies into the Admiral’s Men and the Chamberlain’s Men (Gurr 2004). Kesson believes that Lyly – conventionally sidelined in Shakespeare-oriented relevant research – was behind this sudden glut, arguing that the plays could be marketed as coming from the same pen as Euphues. That being so, Lyly becomes crucial to the development of the author figure and its potential for commercial exploitation. Certainly, “Lyly was the first Elizabethan writer to see a succession of his plays into print, and the first English writer to see his plays reprinted in a single year” (145), evidence that undermines the standard view that it was the popularity of Shakespeare’s plays which led to the establishment of the playbook market on the back of the prose fiction market, which Lyly had also been instrumental in instituting. Moreover, Lyly seems to have preceded Ben Jonson in the meticulous preparation of playtexts for publication.

The assertion of Lyly’s primacy on numerous heads and the increasingly frequent invocations of Shakespeare prepare us for the final chapter on Lyly’s reception in which Kesson traces a lengthy downward trajectory mirroring almost exactly Shakespeare’s equal and opposite ascent. That reception is in fact not of Lyly but of euphuism, a term which both Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe used, not necessarily in connection with Lyly and certainly not in relation to Lyly’s characteristic (but by no means unique) style. The

problem, according to Kesson, began with Edward Blount's preface to his 1632 edition of Lyly's works, in which he praised an innovative literary style, favoured by the ladies and as foreign but desirable as French. After the pernicious effects of a French Catholic queen and the Civil War, such a style was never likely to remain in favour as the search commenced for "solidly, reassuringly English and masculine literary archetypes" (183). Eighteenth-century misogyny and Francophobia sealed Lyly's fate as Shakespeare's political *caché* rose. Thenceforth, the fall from "corrupt prose stylist" (190) to corrupting bearer of "the English disease" was brought about by the misapprehensions and/or misrepresentations transmitted through the nineteenth century from Walter Scott at the beginning to suspicions of unmanly writing at the end, with Dover Wilson's sympathy for "modern euphuist", and Oscar Wilde (203) hammering the last nail in the coffin.

Kesson's study is, then, an attempt to overturn the prevalent image of Lyly as "a diminutive, uninteresting and sometimes even dangerous literary figure, defined by a pretentious, ridiculous and unmanly style called euphuism" (204). His efforts are largely successful, although after whetting the reader's appetite with glimpses of a dangerous, dissident writer who "repeatedly calls attention to the failings of authority figures in his work, repeatedly confronts censorship and the abuse of power and spent much of his life in apparent disfavour at court" (12), Kesson might have said more about Lyly's art and the thinking behind it. In short, the book is stronger on Lyly's impact than on his originality. There is also something of a paradox in the fact that Kesson's newly rendered Lyly is very much modern *à la* Shakespeare. Uncertainty, ambiguity, character, multiple perspectives, spontaneous thought on stage... these are all features that nowadays make the Bard so allegedly admirable. One is not sure whether Kesson's Lyly is meant as a cuckoo to eject the upstart crow from its nest, or is simply the result of applying aesthetic paradigms shaped inevitably by Shakespeare's literary-historical hegemony. Nonetheless, Gary Taylor's advocacy of Middleton as "our other Shakespeare" (2007) is now joined by Kesson's of Lyly. The question is whether the case for the latter might not stand better on difference than similarity.

Those cavils apart, Kesson is to be congratulated on his eloquent and scholarly reassessment of Lyly; also for suggesting some of the

hefty payoffs that might accrue on rethinking the whole relationship between stage and print. At one point he writes, "Cinemagoers generally do not go to the cinema to see a particular scriptwriter's film, and early modern theatregoers may have likewise watched *As You Like It* as a staging of Lodge's *Rosalind*" (22). That throwaway analogy offers a tantalising glimpse of the dizzying reorientation of hierarchies which is the promise of current research into the Elizabethan book trade. Meanwhile, Marlowe, Shakespeare, Jonson and Middleton should budge up a bit and make room on their pedestal for Lyly.

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Philip Lorenz. 2013
The Tears of Sovereignty:
Perspectives of Power in Renaissance Drama
New York: Fordham University Press

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Reading Lope de Vega or Calderón de La Barca's works against Shakespeare's plays offers potentially substantial perspectives for any scholar interested in those great playwrights of the Baroque period. Lorenz's work transcends mere cross-cultural comparisons in order to explore larger cultural issues related to power and sovereignty and how theatrical representation deals with them. In this sense, Lorenz's book can be rightly associated with the traditional scholarship on the power dispute between the Church and the Monarchy and the more recent interest in Shakespeare's possible sympathies for the Catholic cause.¹

Lorenz's book gains relevance given the twenty-first-century panorama. This century is being marked by a return to religious warfare similar to the one in the seventeenth century. Contemporary political and religious institutions are aware of the importance of adequate manipulation of iconography and imagery. Likewise, words and images understood as metaphors collide in Baroque

¹ See Wilson (2004), Greenblatt (2004), Fielitz, S. (2009), Akroyd (2006). Wilson's self-proclaimed intention is to tackle the issues Shakespeare did not write about. Specifically, he refers to the "'Bloody Question' of religious loyalty which split his contemporaries between the Pope and the Queen" (2). Greenblatt thoroughly deals with Shakespeare's conflicting loyalties toward his Northern Catholic background as well as towards the dominant Anglican Church. This is specifically tackled in Chapter 2, "The Great Fear", in Greenblatt (87-117). Nevertheless, Greenblatt returns to Shakespeare's likely intention of going unnoted in matters of faith. Very likely, for Greenblatt, "he did have a faith (...) but it was not a faith securely bound either by the Catholic Church or by the Church of England" (321).

theatre. Therefore, Baroque Spanish and English drama can be studied in relation to their literary tropes. Against this background, Lorenz's book situates the reader within the challenging interdisciplinary perspectives of Sociology, Law, Theology, Political Theory, and Literature, all of which are energized by metaphorological analyses of five representative works: *Richard II* (Shakespeare), *Measure for Measure* (Shakespeare), *Fuenteovejuna* (Lope de Vega), *Life is a Dream* (Calderón de La Barca), and *The Winter's Tale* (Shakespeare).

The book begins with the theological dispute initiated by the Jesuit Francisco Suárez in *A Defense of the Catholic Faith against the Errors of the Anglican Sect*. Lorenz refers to the explosive impact of this theological work. Suárez's ideas contributed to threaten the allegedly unquestionable authority of James I. The Counter-Reformation cause is defended by Suárez. To this end, he focuses on the concept of sovereignty. Lorenz elegantly disentangles Suárez's dissociation of monarchy from the body of the king. By way of differentiating these two concepts, Suárez collides with the interests of the rising absolutist modern states. Ultimately, this ongoing confrontation would prove as serious as to lead to the European wars of the seventeenth century. Once this controversial dissociation is established, Lorenz manages to present the problematic relationship between metaphors and the objects they represent.

In "Introduction: The Body is Burning – Sovereignty, Image, Trope," Lorenz firstly handles the definition of sovereignty as body, as a sign, and as law-maker. Having isolated the intrinsic power of monarchy to act as a sign, Lorenz connects Baroque political and theological discussions with more contemporary ways of interpreting signs. Additionally, the writer facilitates an understanding on how tropes serve as bridges to tackle the paradoxes resulting from subjugation and resistance to power, both of which apply to contemporary events and ideas. Lorenz contrasts views of twentieth-century philosophers such as Schmitt and Benjamin on the dispute between the analogical representation of metaphysical conceptions of the actual world and the system of digressions and alterations that were designed to show the inner movements of human consciousness through iconographic representation and various tropes. In this sense, the reader is informed of Lorenz's view that intersections between politics and

religion are as important today as in the Baroque period. For Lorenz, the power crisis in the seventeenth century appears firstly emblemized through the “tear,” a dangerously fruitful trope that does not simply mean “tear” as in “mourning” but tear as “ripping apart,” “cutting,” or “threatening.” The tear is just the starting point for the progressive metaphorical movement that Lorenz relies on in order to interpret power in the succession of the five plays chosen.

In the first chapter, “Breakdown: Analogy and Ontotheology in *Richard II*,” Lorenz utilizes Suarez’s metaphysical disputations in relation to the 1606 Oath of Allegiance. The writer brings forward the contradiction between the two natures of the King as an embodiment of temporal and spiritual power. The problem presented for the political thinker of the period is the following: If the body is finite, how can power be infinite? The power of the King is related in analogical terms to divine power. Lorenz investigates and develops the idea of analogy and illuminates the reader with the problem presented by the space between analogy and the object represented, recognising a range of indeterminacy that, in any case, will be re-defined by some kind of significant movement. Here it is that Lorenz alludes to the power of metaphor. In this particular case, the movement carried out by the metaphor will be a falling one, which Shakespeare specifically shows through the metaphors of the two water buckets and the mirror shattered into pieces that are featured in *Richard II* (4.1.184-189, 4.1.276-291). These two images mirror the king’s fall in the deposition scene. Lorenz highlights a mechanistic representation of Richard as an alienated body that, like a clock machine, recognises his own functionality and, therefore, his own human failing substance. The answer is, therefore, that, although the institution of the Crown is eternal, the body of the King is not.

The second chapter, “Reanimation: The Logic of Transfer in *Measure for Measure*” deals with the transference of power via an organ transplant. Lorenz introduces an imaginative comparison between Shakespeare’s play and Almodovar’s *All about My Mother* regarding the theme of fabrication of authenticity. Suddenly, the signifying potential of elements such as silicone ignites a motivating reading on the artifice of power. In this play, power transference is pervaded by images of body parts marketed by the institutions. The theme of exchange extends to money and sex, as well as

maidenheads for the life of one's brother, and the forgiving of one accused for the death of another. Simplifying the substance of the law and its application to the mere exchange of heads for the fulfilment and satisfaction of the parts involved in legal disputes leads to a view of power institutions as inhumane. The institution, thus, as represented, seems satisfied as long as some body parts occupy corresponding vacant places in the system.

The third chapter, "Resistance: Waiting for Power in *Fuenteovejuna*," tackles power structures in Lope de Vega's play. Lorenz approaches how the feminine figure rises against masculine abusive power. Ironically, this female subversion attempts to fill a power vacuum left by the incompetence of male rule. The articulations of two essential concepts for Spanish Literature – *honour* ("honor") and *reputation* ("honra") – appear in the form of signs, marks, and traces. Lorenz interprets the visual marks of dishonour in Laurencia's body as written symbols of rape. Laurencia's emasculating attack on the villagers' pusillanimous inaction advocates an earlier time in which there was friendship between men and women. True authority relies on this idealised primitive *status quo*. In this sense, the women in *Fuenteovejuna* advocate for a more satisfactory system which does not work against the coercive apparatus but rather enforces it.

The fourth chapter, "Transformation: The Body Moves Out in *Life is a Dream*," focuses on Calderón de La Barca's *Life is a Dream* with a study of the iconography of power in the seventeenth-century Spanish court. Lorenz highlights the metaphorical qualities of *Life is a Dream* inasmuch as they instruct on the Machiavellian notion that good government relates to foresight. The Counter-Reformation representation of political power was associated to visual display. Lorenz points out how the Spanish monarchs of the early seventeenth century were aware of the impact which iconography exercised on their subjects and their perception of royal power. Nevertheless, these icons of royal power were often substitutes for the real presence of the Spanish monarchs, who, contrarily to Elizabeth I, more often than not, chose to distance themselves from those they ruled. For Lorenz, the problem in *Life is a Dream* is that Basilio is not a good reader of signs. These "ciphers" or enigmatic figures that keep Basilio mystified are ambiguous. In his inability, Basilio misreads time and that brings defeat upon himself. As

opposed to the Protestant preference for the written word and the individual approach to God, Suárez promotes the Catholic faith as one which urges the believer to avoid any arrogance leading him to believe in his ability to decipher God's true intentions. In this sense, Lorenz reads *Life is a Dream* as a warning against pride derived from the alleged capacity of reading God's plans.

A fifth and visually significant move takes place in the last chapter, entitled "Return: The "Wrinkles" of Mystery in *The Winter's Tale*." In this chapter, Lorenz combines the aforementioned Machiavelli's concept with the notion of images of effective truth as possible traces of sovereignty. This means that, for Lorenz, the play studies the relationship between the monarch's ability to predict events and how images communicate absolute truths rather than metaphors. Consequently images, following Suárez's Mariological disputations, should not be understood as figurative but as representational. According to this premise, for instance, the bread and the wine in the Catholic ceremony should not be taken as metaphors but as genuine representations of Christ's flesh and blood. Following Catholic doctrine, if these elements are understood as metaphoric, the reader will be accused of heresy. The image of sovereignty is, in this play, represented by a statue. The statue is wrinkled, a trope introduced by Shakespeare to add a Christian twist to the Ovidian frame of reference from which the image of the statue derives. In this sense, the wrinkle evinces the idea of representation as truth according to Suárez's view.

Lorenz's "After-Image" examines the conceptual and representational forms of power. This section guides us towards a series of pithy conclusions on the nature of fiction tropes as a means to study the way in which power relates to legal codes, sociological and religious issues. He cleverly rationalizes the movement of tears in a photographic sense and envisages the fears and desires of power as forms of emotional response that remain inalterable over time. Again, the symbols change but the emotional responses have not been eradicated with the coming of secular thinking.

There is one problem the reader may encounter while he reads the book. What is the validity of the connections Lorenz establishes between these five plays? It is not just that Lorenz engages in the challenging intersectional exploration of five Baroque plays and the tropes displayed in them. Also, he goes as far as to apply these

connections to larger issues in matters of law, erudition, politics, and cross-temporal thinking. Lorenz aligns himself with history in a non-linear sense which recognises metaphors, allegories, and analogies, inasmuch as they function as ailments of power. The fact that sovereignty is fallible reflects the potential of metaphors which recur or that are modified through time. In this way, Lorenz beautifully refers to tears as the element that actually allows us to see power, in its pain and its fearful desire to prevail over the resistance it encounters. Thus, the book successfully establishes the failure and suffering of power in the inconsistency of tropes to represent such power. Therefore, Lorenz manages to make the point that tropes may change overtime while the “tears of sovereignty” remain alive and well in the twenty-first century.

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Laura Martínez-García 2014
*Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century English
Comedies as a New Kind of Drama.*
*A Foucauldian Interpretation of Family Relations,
Sexuality, and Resistance as Psychological Power*
Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press.

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Laura Martínez-García is a young researcher from the University of Oviedo who is mainly interested in gender and cultural studies, and usually focuses on the Restoration period. The book reviewed here is her first extensive publication and aims to apply the Foucauldian notions of power and resistance to the analysis of four comedies of the aforementioned period: William Wycherley's *The Country Wife* (1675), George Etherege's *The Man of Mode* (1676), and Susanna Centlivre's *The Busybody* (1709) and *The Wonder* (1714). The author sees these plays as "points of resistance" (ii) in the transition from what Foucault calls the "deployment of alliance" to the "deployment of sexuality" during the early modern period. She really seems to aim high, because she claims that with this book she hopes to open new ways to study Restoration comedy (i) and make the readers "fall in love with a period that has a wealth of things to offer, but which has been unfairly neglected and ignored for far too long" (vi). So, as Dr Álvarez Faedo states in the foreword, this is certainly "an ambitious study" (iv). The enthusiasm with which Martínez-García devotes herself to such challenging undertaking is clear in the more than four hundred pages that follow.

After the prefatory sections of the abstract, forward, preface and acknowledgements, the main core of the study is divided into five chapters before reaching its conclusions. The first is entitled "The

plays in context: history, literature and criticism" (pp. 3-32). This is an introductory section in which the author presents the corpus of her study and justifies the choice of those abovementioned plays, two written by male authors in the 1670s and the other two by a female dramatist of the first decades of the eighteenth century. With this selection, Martínez-García intends to provide a "complete scope of the perceptions of gender and sexuality at the time" (7), although, bearing in mind the title and the aims stated above, one would expect a more extensive corpus. She also explains that she will use the tags *Restoration comedies* and *comedies of manners* to refer to the four texts in a loose manner, simply to avoid repetition and because of a lack of more appropriate terms, since she considers labels such as *sex comedies*, for instance, "too negative and judgemental," as well as too restrictive. Besides, she believes that Centlivre's plays cannot be really considered *sentimental comedies*, as they have been often called. Although it is debatable whether all these texts may really fit into the category of *comedies of manners*, it is understandable for the sake of convenience. However, what is definitely incorrect is to consider *Restoration comedy* a genre, because this denomination makes reference to comic plays written at a particular period of time rather than to a type of text with common generic markers. The first chapter also includes a brief historical contextualization and a concise review of literary criticism about late seventeenth-century comedies.

The following section, "Reconstructing the Restoration" (pp. 35-76), is designed to be "an archaeology of the discourses of truth" that dominated during the period of this study (35). For this purpose, Martínez-García uses Foucault's theories on the evolution of both the punitive system, in *Discipline and Punishment* (1977), and the notion of power, in his *History of Sexuality* (1978). She is particularly interested in Foucault's explanation of how in the early modern period there was a gradual change in punishment practices from the – often public – physical punishment of medieval times to the seizure of property and restriction of freedom after the eighteenth century. Yet she is even more concerned with the parallel shift from the repressive relations of power typical of the "deployment of alliance" towards a seemingly more humane – though eventually more controlling – model of relations that is characteristic of the "deployment of sexuality." Both systems sought to buttress the patriarchal power of rich, educated, middle-aged men over all their

dependants (women, children, and servants), but the philosophical, medical, and moral discourses used are different. As the theoretical basis of the ensuing study, the contents of this chapter are certainly pertinent, but what seems inappropriate is the heading, because no actual *reconstruction* of the late Stuart period is explained there. Similarly, the heading of section 2.2, “Rediscovering the 17th and 18th centuries,” can hardly be considered suitable for what we read in those six pages.

Chapter 3 is entitled “Power, sexuality and resistance: identity in Restoration comedy” (pp. 79-139). Here the author analyses how the three playwrights, according to her, reject the deployment of alliance by condemning the practice of arranged marriage in their plays, but they also seem to be suspicious about the deployment of sexuality. For this analysis, Martínez-García divides this chapter into two sections: one focusing on the changing notions on manhood, and the other on the shifting views on womanhood. In both cases she pays attention to biological and philosophical theories, the manner in which age and marital status interacted with gender hierarchies to produce a complex map of power relations, and how these ideas of gender and sexuality conditioned the notion of honour and, consequently, the behaviour of men and women in the early modern period.

In the next chapter, “Power and the family: patriarchy and social order” (pp. 143-232), the author sets out to analyse the chosen plays by focusing on the type of family relations their characters have. She is especially interested in the clash between parents and children regarding the choice of spouse, and in the conflict between husbands and wives as a result of adulterous affairs. According to Martínez-García, the three dramatists whose plays are studied here condemn not only arranged marriage but also marital violence and repression. For her, the tyrannical fathers and husbands shown in these comedies are representative of the old deployment of alliance that was gradually being replaced by the new deployment of sexuality. By ridiculing those men on stage, the playwrights seem to defend the idea that marriage should be based on affection and respect rather than on social and financial interests, and to favour less repressive relations within the family in general.

Chapter 5, “Power and resistance: disruptive identities” (pp. 235-392), is the most extensive and is subdivided into two main parts:

one about characters that Martínez-García considers gender “misfits” or “unlikely men and women” (237), and one that analyses the endings of the plays. The first of these studies certain characters that the author deems subversive because they disrupt established notions of gender roles, such as libertines (both male and female), eunuchs, male gossips, meek men, fops, jealous men and women, cuckolds, witty heroines, and the “New Gentlemen-Rakes” (348). The use of the plural in some of these categories does not seem justified, since she only talks about one male gossip (Marplot in *The Busybody*), one meek man (Young Bellair in *The Man of Mode*), and one (false) eunuch (Horner in *The Country Wife*, who is not really castrated and is, in fact, also included in the category of male libertine). The rest are all recurrent characters in Restoration comedy and need no explanation here. Martínez-García calls “new gentlemen rakes” those rakish heroes in Centlivre’s plays, such as Colonel Briton or Sir Charles, who are less cold and cynical than Horner and Dorimant, and therefore less offensive to audiences of the early eighteenth century, although still far from the contemporary ideal of a gentleman. For the author, these deviant characters represent alternative identities that challenge the hegemonic discourses of the period. What is not clear is whether she is aware that some are presented as heroes and heroines whereas others are ridiculed on stage, and the difference this is supposed to make for their interpretation. Fops, cuckolds, and jealous people may be considered misfits, but certainly not subversive or with new identities to promote. This is even more problematic when we see that Martínez-García opens a brief section in order to argue that the very dramatists themselves are also misfits because their private lives confirm their commitment to resistance against social and gender roles. Probably Wycherley and Etherege sympathised with Horner and Dorimant, and Centlivre with her witty heroines, but it is surely doubtful that they sympathised with their fops and cuckolds.

In the sixth section of this book, entitled “General conclusions: From the Leprosarium to the Panopticon” (pp. 395-411), the author summarises a series of conclusions that she has made explicit throughout the previous chapters. Basically, she argues that the period between the reigns of Charles II and Queen Anne is a transitional age in Britain, a shift towards modernity that can be explained with the help of Foucault’s theories about the evolution of

the penal system and the conception of sexuality. Applying these theories to her analysis of the plays she selected, Martínez-García reaches the conclusion that they are “spaces of resistance where a group of rebellious characters, living in the fringes of normality and prescription, propose new and revolutionary gender roles for a free society” (406). After these conclusions, the author registers the bibliographical references she has used for this monograph (pp. 415-39). It is an extensive list that includes the most important studies of Restoration comedy and about gender issues in the early modern period. But as usual, one misses the work of authors that would be worth taking into account as well, such as J. Douglas Canfield, Brian Corman, Derek Hughes, Susan Owen, Deborah Payne, and Harold Weber, among others, and texts of the late Stuart period that deal with marriage, sexuality, and gender roles. However, one is also aware that it is not easy to have access to a complete bibliography, and Martínez-García has really worked with an extensive range of critics.

The main problem of this book is perhaps the title, which creates expectations that the contents do not satisfy. The title suggests this will be a study covering many plays and authors of the two centuries mentioned, and about how English comedy changes during that period. Instead, we find a study of only four pieces, and no matter how important and interesting they may be, they can hardly meet the expectations generated. The title may not be the one the author had in mind originally, as seems to be indicated on page 6, where it is referred to as: *Power, sexuality, identity and resistance: a new approach to the works of Etherege, Wycherley, and Centlivre*. This would have been a much more appropriate title, since it conveys what the monograph is about, and it would not have been so misleading. Still, a reference to other plays by those three playwrights, and to other comedies of the period, would have been useful. Even if the reader considers the published title inaccurate (whether by the author’s decision or – most likely – the publisher’s), and that there was never an intention to cover the whole eighteenth century, the explicit aim of showing the evolution from the deployment of alliance to the deployment of sexuality points to the convenience of including other works where this may be more evident. No wonder the author is forced to admit that it is difficult for her to find examples of characters that may reflect the modern concepts of the deployment of sexuality in the plays she focuses on (pp.145 and 209-10). So, why

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not analyse plays where that could really be found? Choosing texts and restricting periods for the purposes of analysis have always been complicated tasks. That said, the book is an insightful study of the four texts chosen, and I warmly encourage the author to continue researching on the Restoration period, which is certainly a fascinating moment in English history and provides plenty of texts and issues worth our attention.

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Ángel-Luis Pujante, Juan F. Cerdá eds. 2014
*Shakespeare en España: Bibliografía anotada bilingüe /
Shakespeare in Spain:
An Annotated Bilingual Bibliography*
Universidad de Murcia-Universidad de Granada:
Editum-EUG

Rui Carvalho Homem
Universidade do Porto, Portugal

The relevance, merits and indeed usefulness of this timely book will be apparent to readers right from the descriptive simplicity of its title: few of those who engage in research on the cultural processing of the Bard in non-English-speaking contexts – or indeed share a broader interest in reception, translation and comparative studies – will remain indifferent to it. But the book's timeliness and consequence are also compounded by the extent to which it firmly rests (to retrieve a phrase that Borges once memorably applied to translations that he admired) on "a rich (prior) process" (2012 [1935]:104) – involving both the previous work of its editors, and developments that have delineated the field in which this *Bibliography* deserves to occupy a salient position. Indeed, the past quarter of a century has seen the steady growth and increased specialisation of the study of "Shakespeare without his language" (to give an extended currency to the phrase memorably used by Dennis Kennedy in the early 1990s to refer to the Bard's afterlife in non-Anglophone performance traditions). Shakespeare's verbal and theatrical transits to a variety of cultures, the manifold appropriations of his work in verbal and other media, have become the object of a burgeoning strand within Shakespeare studies – and one that has actively contributed to the discipline's extension into a

range of concomitant concerns and practices. For reasons relating to history and cultural/linguistic proximity, the (comparatively) tight fabric of European cultures has provided a privileged terrain for such explorations, affording insights that have amply proved George Steiner's argument that the reception (through translation and other forms of linguistic and cultural processing) of key canonical authors lights up – like a “radioactive tracer” (1993:14) – the evolving body of the receiving culture. “European Shakespeare,” as the sub-discipline has sometimes been called, is indeed a territory to which both editors have been actively committed – for temporal reasons, more extensively so in the case of Ángel-Luis Pujante, currently the major translator of Shakespeare into Spanish and active promoter of a few international initiatives involving the Bard's cross-cultural fortunes.

The editors' close awareness of the broader background to their efforts shows in some of the features of this *Bibliography* – from the outset, and to state the obvious, both in the fact that it is bilingual and in the nature and particular contents of the annotations, elements indeed in an overall design determined by the stated ambition to reach a much larger audience than Spanish (or indeed Spanish-speaking) readerships. However, the “rich (prior) process” behind this book also (and centrally) involves the particular engagement that Pujante, together with some of the younger researchers in his team at the University of Murcia, has had for some time with Shakespeare's fortunes in their own country. Indeed, as pointed out by the present editors, this bibliography follows an earlier initiative by Pujante and Laura Campillo – an edited anthology (2007) of Spanish responses to Shakespeare over the period 1764-1916. As Pujante and Cerdá explain in their “Preliminary Note,” the period covered by the present bibliography was too prolific to allow for an extension of the previous anthologising project. This perception accounts for the editors' option as regards the nature of the sequel – an annotated bibliography, rather than a selection of texts that, to be representative at all, would in all likelihood prove too vast for a reasonably sized book; while the sheer volume of the textual wake left by Shakespeare's refractions through the Spanish cultural and literary system fully justifies a bibliography that allows readers to have some sense of their range and diversity.

Pujante and Cerdá's endeavour is predicated on compromise: their listings are sizeable, but also selective. The book lists, in its "General Bibliography" section, roughly one thousand titles; and, of these, it offers almost seven hundred chronologically organised "summaries," in English and Spanish, in the 450 pages of its first (and longer) section. Readers are therefore treated to informed glimpses into almost 70% of the titles recorded in the book; and such entries concern not just academic work, but also journalistic responses to Shakespeare (on page and/or stage), and remarks offered by theatre professionals or public figures from a variety of backgrounds. The range of such sources is discussed by the editors, both in their "Preliminary Note" and "Introduction," as contributing to the book's ability to offer "a more comprehensive appraisal of Shakespeare's image in Spain" and beyond. The editors' choices, in fact, are a key element in this publication, since they amount to an extended critical exercise that directs and substantially enriches the book's basic informative rationale. This critical exercise begins, of course with selection: the editors' prefatory contributions include a few remarks, albeit concise, on their criteria for inclusion – indeed, readers of the "Preliminary Note" may find themselves wishing that such remarks, possibly kept short out of editorial modesty, could be more extensive and provide additional detail. Further, the critical edge that the book derives from its grounding on a selective rationale (rather than a mere programme for compiling information) has also been honed at a deeper level, since, as the editors explain, one key reason why certain texts were given a summary in the volume (rather than remaining as simple descriptive entries on the longer bibliography list) was precisely that they could be seen to convey a critical perspective, offering an argument rather than (e.g.) a mere factual record.

The editorial contributions that frame the book's major sections also include an overview of some of the historical trends that have characterised Shakespeare's reception in Spanish culture during the (roughly) two and a half centuries that the volume covers. Some of these trends are common to the Bard's fortunes in other European cultures – for example, the indirectness of textual transits, as translation of his drama by eighteenth- and nineteenth-century men of letters was frequently carried out from French versions. Other historically prevalent aspects include the close links between an attention to Shakespeare, in the receiving culture, and the

production of national representations – assisted by the interplay of self- and hetero-images. At key moments in the history of Shakespeare's reception (in Spain and elsewhere), this process tended to draw both on the associations carried by certain dramatic characters, and on the national (English) significance attributed to the figure of the Bard – often compared to other national writers as supposed embodiments of the cultures they might be construed as representing. An inevitable, pervasive *topos* in the processing of Shakespeare by Spanish authors and commentators is, therefore, the possibility and desirability of comparing him to Cervantes or, indeed, to Lope de Vega or Calderón – and the attractions and perplexities of such a nexus do not fail to criss-cross the book in a variety of ways.

In general, the summaries that make up the book's most substantial part confirm Shakespeare's capacity indeed to act as a "tracer" (Steiner's trope) that brings out the contours and lineaments of the receiving culture – since responses to the English Bard highlight some of the major developments in Spanish literary and intellectual history over the past two and a half centuries. These include: (1) in the earlier chronological segments (from the eighteenth to the nineteenth centuries), the protracted, resistant presence of neoclassical strictures, followed by a turning of the tide in favour of Romantic aesthetics; (2) over the whole period, and in the broadest possible terms, the tight imbrication of remarks on Shakespeare and discussions about Spain's literary past – its highlights and structuring values; and (3) throughout the twentieth century, culminating in its final quarter (following the watershed moment of Spain's transition to a modern democracy), the gradual and increasing assimilation of the country's academic and intellectual life to major international tendencies.

The latter development has had obvious and indeed deeply felt consequences for the nature, diversity and intensity of the critical response that Shakespeare came to obtain from Spanish critics, academics and theatre professionals. This is also duly noted by the editors in their Introduction, albeit – again – less extensively than some readers might wish: a sharper and more detailed delineation of the historical process that saw Spain's response to the English Bard fall increasingly into line with global academic and intellectual tendencies, and the extent to which this has nonetheless allowed for

the continuity of specificities in his Spanish reception, might indeed make for fascinating reading. The fact that readers browsing this bibliography may find themselves wishing for more – possibly a follow-up project on the part of the team behind it? – is itself, however, testimony to the book's many merits, which prominently include its ability to foster additional debate around its persistently intriguing object.

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Miguel Ramalhete Gomes. 2014
Texts Waiting for History:
William Shakespeare re-imagined by Heiner Müller
Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi

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While much has been published on the work of the German dramatist Heiner Müller since his death in 1995, much of this critical bibliography is in German and deals with either a particular play or his works in general. Hence, a book that focuses in depth and in English on Müller's adaptations of Shakespeare is a welcome addition to existing criticism on the playwright. When this book provides not only an immense wealth of scholarly analysis but also a singular reading of the importance of a philosophy of history to Müller's adaptations of Shakespeare, it becomes an even more valuable addition to a field dominated by an overtly existential approach to the violence and fragmented aesthetics that characterize Müller's work. This approach to Müller's Shakespeare adaptations builds upon the more political readings of the plays within the field of European Shakespeares by scholars such as Lawrence Guntner (1995, 1998, 2006, 2008) and Manfred Pfister (1994) as well as critical work in the field of presentism (Hawkes, 2002; Grady & Hawkes, 2007).

In his introduction, Ramalhete Gomes argues that "Müller's turn to Shakespeare resulted in some of his most complex and daring experiments with the theme of history and its aesthetic shape" (20). His book charts a movement from a focus on history and politics in Müller's early work to the elaboration of a philosophy of history through his adaptations of Shakespeare. It locates the aesthetic development of these adaptations within Müller's testing of the limits of the Brechtian didactic play and the development of

postmodern aesthetics, although the former is explored in more detail than the latter. Within this framework, Ramalhete Gomes avoids considering the plays as “pessimistic products of an existential worldview,” seeing them instead as “powerful interventions in a complex political and cultural context” (262). The book includes separate chapters on *Macbeth, after Shakespeare* (1972), *Hamletmaschine* (1977) and *Anatomy Titus Fall of Rome a Shakespeare Commentary* (1985), and these three chapters are positioned between, at one end, a first chapter on Müller’s initial experiments with *As You Like It* and his poetic/dramatic fragments and, at the other, a discussion of the rehearsal of Brecht’s *Coriolan* in *Germania 3 Ghosts at the Dead Man* (1995) and the “Frozen Tempest” fragments. Both chapters provide useful insights into Müller’s enforced movement away from contemporary political events in the GDR to a philosophy focused on the mechanisms of history and his use of Shakespeare as a way of shaking off the influence of Brecht without altogether abandoning the shape and form of the didactic play.

Throughout the book, Ramalhete Gomes adopts a prismatic rather than a prescriptive approach to his material. Nowhere is this more evident than in his chapter on *Hamletmaschine*, where he provides an intelligent survey of a critically overdetermined field. He brings together these varied approaches within a general argument that the play is “about in-betweenness – being caught in events that signal the end of one era and the beginning of another” (103), while presenting a useful corrective to a psychoanalytical view of Ophelia in his topical analysis of her as “a sociological and philosophical study of terrorism” (134). This combination of a clear general argument and innovative insight characterizes the book as a whole, while this materialist feminist reading of the women characters becomes more evident in his analysis of the rape of Lavinia in *Anatomy Titus*, where Ramalhete Gomes points to the problematic link between the aestheticization of violence and sexual pornography and the problems this raises for a didactic form based on critical distance. In this chapter, he is keen to rescue *Anatomy Titus* from critical neglect, a task that is undertaken with passion, but for me, it is his reading of *Germania 3* and the substitutability of Brecht (and by extension Müller) that quite literally lays Brecht to rest. The chapter’s emphasis on repetition as a philosophy of history and its reading of poststructuralist *difference* does not for me seem to justify the notion of the play as trapped in a “historical limbo” (257)

but his later suggestion that the “Frozen Tempest” fragments are Müller’s attempt to dramatize the flow of capital in a post-1989 Germany is fascinating, though perhaps insufficiently developed here.

The particular paradoxes of Müller’s position as a tolerated critical voice within the GDR and a writer who found it difficult to write about post-1989 Germany are organized around the notion of texts waiting for history that informs the title and that references Müller’s view of the Eastern bloc as a place where history had stopped. Yet perhaps the major paradox explored here is Müller’s own engagement with Shakespeare in the light of his pronouncement that “we will not have arrived at ourselves, as long as Shakespeare writes our plays” (18). Such a making explicit of this contradiction in the case of Müller, however, is something of a welcome relief from the blind allegiance to Shakespeare that has characterized many projects of rewriting Shakespeare and that use Shakespeare to further the reputations of individual writers or for more conservative political projects. Ramalheite Gomes’ insightful deployment of Günter Grass’ *The Plebeians* (1966) as a “vanishing mediator” (243) between Brecht and Müller in *Germania 3* illustrates effectively something of this distinction between rewritings that reinforce the status quo and those that seek to challenge it.

The most innovative feature of this book is the way in which Ramalheite Gomes combines comments on translation, literary analysis of the texts, comments by practitioners and audiences, and comments by Müller himself within his critical commentary in each of the chapters. In the discussion of *Macbeth*, for instance, he provides different perspectives on the literary and theatrical object that is *Macbeth*, after Shakespeare. These include literary analysis of the play, comments by theatre professionals, students and teachers, comments on translation as well as an analysis of the 1982 performance of the play and its anti-naturalist aesthetics. In such wide-ranging discussions, the reader is sometimes left with a sense that they would have liked to read more on how these different approaches relate to and interrogate each other, yet the value of such an approach is that it can account for the ways in which literature is sometimes ahead of theatrical conventions (as in the somewhat perplexed reaction of theatre practitioners and audiences to the appearance of *Hamletmaschine*) and in which social movements

sometimes overtake theatrical events (as, it could be argued, German re-unification overtook Müller himself). The often porous border between translation and adaptation is dealt with particularly well in the book, with perhaps the most notorious example being Müller's joint staging of his translation of *Hamlet* and *Hamletmaschine* as *Hamlet/Maschine* after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1990. As Ramalhete Gomes points out, the two plays "infected each other" (168) to such an extent that *Hamlet* seemed the more contemporary play.

This excellently-researched and clearly argued book will be of interest to any Shakespeareans interested in Müller's adaptations of Shakespeare and those who are interested in the pleasures and paradoxes of rewriting Shakespeare more generally. It combines breadth with depth in an engaging and thoughtful way and argues for the centrality of Shakespeare to Müller's development as a dramatist without suggesting that this is an inevitable or necessary trajectory. As a comprehensive account of Müller's transformative engagement with Shakespeare, it will certainly become a key reference for future studies of these plays.

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Cynthia Richards and Mary Ann O'Donnell eds. 2014
Approaches to Teaching Behn's Oroonoko
New York: Modern Language Association of America

Ángeles Tomé Rosales
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Like the other volumes in the MLA series *Approaches to Teaching World Literature*, *Approaches to Teaching Behn's Oroonoko* also develops from a questionnaire which was completed by a great number of accomplished scholars and experienced teachers who have been using Behn's novel in an incredibly wide variety of courses. Therefore, taking this starting point into account, this volume was clearly conceived to meet the requirements of those instructors in charge of designing and/or teaching a course on, or at least including, the above-mentioned novel. Richards and O'Donnell's volume is split up into Part One, which gathers the information relating to the full range of materials available for both instructors and students; and Part Two, which comprises five different sections: Formal and Thematic Contexts, Cultural Contexts, Pedagogical Contexts, Comparative Contexts, and Authorial Contexts. These two main parts of the volume are preceded by a preface where the authors state the reason why *Oroonoko* was chosen for this series, and are followed by four brief sections: Notes on Contributors, Survey Participants, Works Cited, and an Index of the names which appear throughout the whole volume.

In spite of its briefness, Part One, Materials, includes the basic resources, editions, classroom texts, online editions, concordances, bibliographies, biographies, monographs, collected essays, book chapters and articles, discussions on race and slavery, historical approaches, comparative approaches, maps and illustrations, online resources, and a comprehensive chronology, i.e., everything a teacher may need in order to design and/or teach any course on

Oroonoko. On the contrary, Part Two, entitled Approaches, is far more extensive and, in fact, constitutes the main core of the volume: each of its five sections comprises between four and six chapters on different aspects of Behn's novel. These five sections are preceded by an introductory chapter which summarizes the vast number of questions *Oroonoko* gives rise to in the classroom, questions which will be answered in the different sections which make up Part Two.

The first section, Formal and Thematic Contexts, contains five chapters about the formal and thematic properties which make *Oroonoko* different from other literary works: in the original "What kind of Story is This?," Aravamudan deals with the complexity of genres by analysing the four kinds of "kind" in Behn's novel; Botelho's revealing "Credibility and Truth in *Oroonoko*" is about the slipperiness of truth; in "*Oroonoko*: Romance to Novel," Zimbarido focuses on the two different modes of discourse in the novel: the high heroic style, which delineates the spiritual essence of the hero, and the low realistic mode, which creates the effect of an unadorned account of "reality;" in "The Language of *Oroonoko*," which shows the linguistic complexity of the novel, Overton analyses the way speech is represented, the implications of some words, and the use of different forms of reference for several of the characters; and Maurer's "*Oroonoko* and the Heroics of Virtue" illustrates why this is an excellent text to use to teach students about the changing nature of heroic virtue and about the ways in which a masculine gender identity was itself constructed in relation to heroic ideals.

The second section of this part of the volume comprises six chapters which deal with the influence of the students' cultural context on their interpretation of the text. In "*Oroonoko* and Blackness," Hughes deals with the importance of encouraging students to read about race and culture in the seventeenth century before analysing *Oroonoko*. In "Economic *Oroonoko*," taking her students' concern about money into account, Gevirtz discusses *Oroonoko*'s exploration of the effect of colonialist capitalism on morality. In order to achieve her goals, Gevirtz uses PBS's *Colonial House*, which allows her to exploit students' familiarity with visual media and attraction towards reality television to make the life of the seventeenth century real to twenty-first-century undergraduates. Stevens's "The Traffic of Women: *Oroonoko* in an Atlantic Framework" focuses on the transoceanic movement and the

interrelation of people, objects, and people as objects. As a centerpiece for a course entitled "Women and Writing in the British Atlantic World," *Oroonoko* is bracketed by different texts, because Behn's novel is a product of the emergence and transformation of many literary genres, which took place as a consequence of global exploration, conquest, and trade. Moreover, Stevens tells about her students' reactions toward the texts they have to compare with *Oroonoko*. She makes it clear that reading some texts before Behn's novel is very helpful to understand *Oroonoko*, but the latter also contributes to the understanding of subsequent texts. In "Entering Atlantic History: *Oroonoko*, Revolution, and Race," Doyle deals with the understanding of *Oroonoko* as an Atlantic-world text. According to this contributor, Behn's novel re-creates the century-old, revolutionary Anglo-Atlantic question about proper authority and proper rebellion. However, Behn hints that the reorganization of culture around righteous liberty and levelling values leads to chaos, violence, and the end of properly noble races. In "Writing War in *Oroonoko*," Alker and Nelson list all the overt and covert references to military titles (general, captain, lieutenant general), making reference to other classical and contemporary literary works. Krise's "Oroonoko as a Caribbean Text" tries to justify the fact that, although *Oroonoko* does not meet the criteria of what constitutes a legitimate Caribbean text, it provides one of the earliest literary representations of the people, cultures, and issues of the Caribbean.

The third section, Pedagogical Contexts, comprises the chapters which deal with the aspects of *Oroonoko* the contributors focus on most when teaching the novel. In "How Big Did She Say That Snake Was? Teaching the Contradiction in *Oroonoko*," Turner focuses on the contradictions which can be found, above all, in the descriptive parts of the novel and, at the same time, he encourages instructors to draw attention to these parts. In "Teaching *Oroonoko* in a Literature Survey 1 Course," de Freitas Boe explains how she makes her students realise that ideas can be historically specific by focusing on *Oroonoko*'s beauty. In "Teaching *Oroonoko* in a Literature Survey 2 Course," Cross explains how she tries to make students map the complex dynamism of genre, gender, and race as it shifts with the growth of British imperialism. Rubik's "Teaching *Oroonoko* in the Travel Narrative Course" highlights the importance of teaching it in the context of other colonial travelogues because this makes the students aware of Behn's indebtedness to some of the generic

features of travel literature and also to her originality, especially in her open-minded attitude toward cross-cultural encounters. In "Teaching Oroonoko at a Historically Black University," Richardson explains how she leads her students to realise that the assumptions and ideas which are taken for granted were under construction during the time when Behn was writing her novel. In "Teaching the Teachers: *Oroonoko* as a Lesson in Critical Self-Consciousness," Bond deals with the different frames which can be taken into account in order to teach this novel.

The fourth section, Comparative Contexts, embraces the chapters which deal with the texts which *Oroonoko* can be compared with. Rosenthal's "*Oroonoko's* Cosmopolitans" focuses on the costs and benefits of becoming a citizen of the world. Reading *Oroonoko* after having read works including characters who venture out of their familiar worlds, such as *The Blazing World*, *The New Atalantis*, *Paradise Lost*, and *The Country Wife*, allows the reader to analyse the differences and similarities among works whose main aim is to describe the different ways in which societies can be organized. In "Teaching *Oroonoko* with Milton and Dryden; or, Behn's Use of the Heroic," Runge claims that, in order to understand *Oroonoko*, it is important to go back to the years of its production and to analyse the different conceptions of the heroic. She also points out that *Oroonoko* is more complex than Dryden's or Milton's heroes: Behn borrows from heroic genres but, in the end, she leaves the heroic code fractured. In "Teaching *Oroonoko* with Early Modern Drama," MacDonald remarks that, by comparing it with *Abdelazer*, *Othello*, and Southerne's *Oroonoko*, students discover Behn's work for themselves. Juengel's "Unbearable Theater: *Oroonoko's* Sentimental Afterlife" reflects on teaching *Oroonoko* through its relation to the sentimental theatre which follows from it, i.e., plays by Thomas Southerne, John Hawkesworth, Francis Gentleman, or John Ferrier, among others. In "Two *Oroonokos*: Behn's and Bandele's," Munns compares these two texts in order to analyse their similarities because Bandele's is supposed to be an adaptation of Southerne's *Oroonoko*. In "Representations of Race, Status, and Slavery in Behn's *Oroonoko* and Equiano's *Interesting Narrative*," Carretta deals with his use of these two works in order to analyse the definitions of concepts such as race, identity, status, slavery, and abolition both historically as well as geographically.

Finally, the volume concludes with the four chapters included in Authorial Contexts, which deals with the relationship between Behn and her works. In "The Early Modern Body in Behn's Poetry and *Oroonoko*," Martin explains how to approach *Oroonoko* through Behn's poetry and through both the traditional humoral body and the new science. Anderson's "*Oroonoko* and the Problem of Teaching Novelty" describes how he makes the unfamiliar accessible to readers or students by teaching *Oroonoko* together with other examples of Behn's short fiction. Milling and Richards's "Transatlantic Crossing: Teaching *Oroonoko* with *The Widdow Ranter*" focuses on the advantages and disadvantages of pairing these two works. Finally, Spencer regards this work as an indication of Behn's inclusion in the canon in the early twenty-first century in "Behn and the Canon."

Considering the two main parts this volume is split up into and the different sections of each of its parts, *Approaches to Teaching Behn's Oroonoko* can be regarded as a major source of information and/or inspiration for all those instructors who have to teach this novel. Nevertheless, this work can also be very useful for students or for readers who are just interested in broadening their knowledge of Behn's novel. In fact, Richards and O'Donnell's volume stands out for its perspicuity in spite of the complexity of the different questions relating to the novel and the scholarly concepts it is crammed with. In all, *Approaches to Teaching Behn's Oroonoko* will become a must for those who are proficient in reading Behn's prose-fiction and for those who would like to face the challenge of reading Behn's *Oroonoko* for the first time.

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PERFORMANCE REVIEWS*

Shakespeare in Almagro 2014: Hambret Festival Internacional de Teatro Clásico de Almagro La Veleta, 18 July 2014

Isabel Guerrero
Universidad de Murcia, Spain

Director and adaptation: Jessica Walker

Actors: Ana Planes, Roser Vallvé, David Bocian, Julia Rabadán, Julieta Dentone, Angela F. Palacios, Karla Ontiveros, Camilo Zaffora, Mario González Aragón, Patrick Martino

Lighting: Natalia López Santacruz

Photography: Ulises Fontana

Setting, costumes, choreography and production: Laboratorio Teatro

* *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*.

On the occasion of the 450th anniversary of Shakespeare's birth, the Almagro International Classical Theatre Festival offered eleven productions of his plays – six productions in the official programme and five at the Almagro Off, a contest for new creators established in 2011. Apart from the productions themselves, the festival also held two exhibitions related to Shakespeare: *Vestir a Shakespeare* [*Costumes for Shakespeare*], and *Shakespeare danzas y regocijos* [*Shakespeare dances and joys*]. In the official programme, productions such as *Los Macbeth*, directed by Andrés Lima, with Carmen Machi and Javier Gutierrez in the title roles, and *Othello*, by the company Noviembre Teatro, offered good examples of how Shakespeare has been performed on the Spanish stage in recent years. Whereas the first of these presents an updated version of the play, moving the Shakespearean tragedy to present-day Galicia (which might be considered the Spanish equivalent of Scotland thanks to its forests and *meigas*¹), the second is an abridged version of Shakespeare's play which deploys a mixture of contemporary and classic costumes and props, creating a timeless setting for the play.

In contrast to the official programme, the Almagro Off features more avant-garde and risky productions from new directors. A good example of this is *Hambret*, by the company Laboratorio Teatro, based in Barcelona and directed by Jessica Walker. The title is a combination of *Hamlet* and the Spanish word "hambre" ["hunger"], suggesting that the performance focuses on people's constant search for the satisfaction of their basic needs. The production attempts to dismember the text at the same time that it brings to life all the violence underlying human relations, in particular when love comes into view. The process of dismembering the Shakespearean play takes place as the plot is deconstructed; the performance not only does not remain close to the original play script, but it changes the order of the scenes and acts. Even though Shakespeare's words are only used in some key instances, such as in the "To be or not to be" soliloquy, some of the topics of *Hamlet* dominate the production; love, violence and betrayal are the main issues addressed by the physical presence of the actors on the stage.

¹ "Meiga" is the name used to refer to witches in Galicia and other regions in the north of Spain.

Hambret combines strong visual instances of violence – with the actors slamming the floor with their leather jackets, jumping, running, shouting and throwing sand all over the stage – and more intimate moments with the performance of a monologue or a short scene following (sometimes but not always) Shakespeare’s text. The production works partly as a work-in-progress, given that what happens during those moments of violence is spontaneous. These instances of violence separate the different monologues and dialogues that form the text-based part of the production; but far from being used as a mere form of transition, they also invite the spectator to think about how violence is expressed. Although these transitions are choral, no more than three actors take part in the text-based scenes. Monologues and scenes with two characters prevail, with the “bedroom/closet scene” with Hamlet and Gertrude being a key moment. Another remarkable scene is one in which Rosencrantz and Guildenstern are re-imagined, performed by two women who reflect on identity and seduction using improvisation techniques while they address the audience directly.

The cast is composed of ten actors whose different backgrounds are soon foregrounded, as their accents and identities have a central role. An example of this is the actor playing Hamlet, who recites the “To be or not to be” soliloquy in French, his mother tongue. Rosencrantz and Guildenstern also use Catalan and English in their discourse, and several Latin American accents come into view in the performance of various other actors. The implications of coming from a specific place or being an actor – a common condition to all of those on the stage – are two of the issues raised for the audience’s reflection.

Apart from using strong visual language, other senses are involved. Smell is essential to the creation of the ambience, as incense bars are burnt during the show. Different levels of sensations arise: images of violence, the sound of accents, and the smell of incense. The inclusion of these elements evokes ancient rites; in fact, the ritual features are enhanced by the presence of the bodies on the stage, using physical theatre techniques closer to those of Jerzy Grotowski. The constant presence of the director next to the stage, together with her intervention asking a question to one of the performers, recalls Tadeusz Kantor, another Polish director. Departing from the Eastern European tradition of physical theatre

and approaching post-dramatic practices, this production situates itself in the avant-garde, and reminds us that traditional forms of performance were challenged long ago in favour of new theatrical forms.

The prize awarded for the Almagro Off was not for Laboratorio Teatro, but for another company staging Shakespeare: Los Colochos Teatro, a Mexican company presenting a version of *Macbeth* under the title *Mendoza*. This version places the story in the Mexican Revolution of 1910, mixing Mexican traditions, history, and even national literature (there are several references to Juan Rulfo and Marta Garro). Macbeth is depicted as the general José Mendoza, who ends up becoming major of his regional division after Duncan's death. The actress in the role of Lady Macbeth – here called Rosario Mendoza – also plays the only witch of the production, who uses the typical imagery of Mexican witchcraft such as cockerels to exert her power over Mendoza. The ambience of the production is completely Mexican; the last scene shows the actors – except the one in the title role, who lies dead under a table – singing a *ranchera*² and offering Mexican beer to the audience, which subtly recalls Elizabethan stage jigs.

This is not the first time that a Shakespearean production by a foreign company has won the Almagro Off. In 2012 the Italian company Copione won the award with *Giulio Cesare*, an adaptation of *Julius Caesar*. The fact that the plays of the Almagro Off have to be based or inspired in works written in the “Universal Baroque,” that is, between the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries, seems to attract Shakespearean productions, in particular in the case of international new directors, who rely on Shakespeare's works to present their innovative approaches.

On the other hand, the exhibition “Vestir a Shakespeare” stands in contrast to most of the Shakespearean productions in the festival, as it exhibits the costumes that many acclaimed designers from the forties devised for Shakespeare productions shown on the Spanish stage. By comparing the exhibition and *Hambret* we can see how theatre costumes have evolved in the history of staging Shakespeare in Spain: whereas many of the costumes in the exhibition imitate Elizabethan attire, in *Hambret* actors wear modern dress with some

² A traditional Mexican song.

hints of classical costumes, such as the scarves worn by the male actors. The second exhibition, "Shakespeare, danzas y regocijos," is perhaps closer to the production by Laboratorio Teatro. It is a collection of 50 illustrations by the artist Pablo Márquez based on *The Tempest*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and various flowers and plants mentioned in Shakespeare's plays. The illustrations mix different techniques, with a predominance of collage. The series on *The Tempest* is based on sixteenth-century war maps, the *Dream* collection uses seventeenth-century ballet designs, and flowers and plants are combined for the last series. The illustrations mix Shakespeare's quotations, collage, and drawing. The effect of this mixture of techniques is similar to that of *Hambret* in the sense that both the theatrical and pictorial productions attempt to create a renewed vision of Shakespeare; it does not matter whether the main focus is on violence or on visual beauty. Both the exhibition and the production are an example of how artists from different fields use Shakespeare to give imaginative form to their own personal interpretations of the works of the English poet. Two exhibitions and eleven theatrical productions, thirteen different views on Shakespeare in total, have turned The Almagro International Classical Theatre Festival into a real celebration of Shakespeare's 450th anniversary.

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Abstracts and keywords in Spanish and Portuguese*

Articles

Maurizio Calbi, *Exilic/idyllic Shakespeare: Reiterating Pericles in Jacques Rivette's Paris nous appartient*

RESUMEN

Paris nous appartient, de Jacques Rivette (1961), trata sobre Anne Goupil, una estudiante de literatura que se ve mezclada con un grupo de bohemios reunidos en torno a la figura ausente de Juan, un músico español. La película incorpora el intento por parte del director de teatro Gérard Lenz – en cierta forma un reflejo del propio Rivette – de llevar *Pericles* a escena, aunque el propio Lenz describa la obra como “incoherente” e “imposible de representar.” En este artículo se explora la importancia de esta incorporación y se muestra cómo los ensayos, reiterados y fragmentarios, de esta obra “imposible de representar” son esenciales para entender la lógica inconexa de la película, así como la atmósfera de conspiración que se evoca continuamente. Asimismo, el artículo sostiene que el “Shakespeare” que se muestra en la película es un “Shakespeare del exilio” que no encaja adecuadamente, una clase de espectro que atormenta a los personajes de la película. Este constructo tiene dificultades para coexistir simultáneamente con una versión de “Shakespeare” enfatizada en la película – un “Shakespeare” que, en palabras de Anne, tiene lugar “a otro nivel”, una entidad idílica e idealista.

PALABRAS CLAVE: adaptación de Shakespeare; *Nouvelle vague*; *Pericles*; Shakespeare en el exilio; Jacques Rivette; *Paris nous appartient*; *Paris Belongs to Us*; Shakespeare en la “*Nouvelle Vague*.”

* Translations into Spanish by Tamara Pérez Fernández. Translations into Portuguese by Miguel Ramalhete.

RESUMO

Paris nous appartient (1961), de Jacques Rivette, é um filme sobre uma estudante de literatura, Anne Goupil, que se envolve com um grupo de boémios reunidos em volta da figura ausente do músico espanhol Juan. O filme incorpora a tentativa por parte do encenador Gérard Lenz – em vários aspetos um simulacro do próprio Rivette – de levar à cena *Pericles*, tratando-se embora de uma peça que ele mesmo define como “incoerente” e “irrepresentável”. Este ensaio explora a importância desta incorporação e mostra como os ensaios reiterados e fragmentados desta peça “irrepresentável” são essenciais para um entendimento da lógica (desconjugada) do filme assim como a atmosfera conspiratória que este continuamente evoca. Argumenta-se também que o “Shakespeare” incluído no filme é um “Shakespeare exílico” que não pertence *propriamente*, uma espécie de espectro que assombra as personagens do filme. Este constructo coexiste de forma difícil com uma versão de “Shakespeare” que o filme simultaneamente enfatiza – um “Shakespeare” que tem lugar “a outro nível” (nas palavras de Anne), uma entidade idílica e idealística.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: adaptação de Shakespeare; *nouvelle vague*; *Pericles*; Shakespeare exílico; Jacques Rivette; *Paris nous appartient*; *Paris pertence-nos*; Shakespeare na Nouvelle Vague.



Camilla Caporicci, The tyranny of immaterialism: Refusing the body in *The Winter's Tale*

RESUMEN

El objetivo de este estudio es analizar la manera en la que la obra de Shakespeare revela el fracaso – tanto en la vida pública como en la privada – de un sistema de pensamiento en el que el cuerpo se interpreta como un mero receptáculo de entidades inmateriales “superiores” supuestamente gobernadas por tipos racionales de poder social y político. Tras una breve consideración de *Measure for Measure* como una obra centrada en el poder político que conlleva denegar el aspecto material del individuo, se verá que *The Winter's Tale* presenta un problema similar. En este caso, la aspiración a un ideal de absoluta pureza y la consecuente demonización de la carne sexualizada (algo que deriva tanto de la teología puritana como de la filosofía neoplatónica) se funden con la ansiedad en torno al cuerpo “rebelde” fomentada por la ciencia médica del siglo XVI, que constituye la fuerza disruptiva que inicia el argumento. Esta actitud de negación del cuerpo, relacionada con el poder político, lleva a un colapso psicológico así como, en la esfera pública, a un régimen de tiranía.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Shakespeare; filosofía renacentista; ciencia médica renacentista; puritanismo; cuerpo; sexualidad; Maquiavelo; tiranía; *Measure for Measure*, *The Winter's Tale*.

RESUMO

O objetivo deste estudo consiste em analisar a forma como a obra de Shakespeare revela o fracasso – tanto em vidas privadas como públicas – de um sistema de pensamento em que o corpo é interpretado como um mero recetáculo de entidades imateriais e “superiores”, supostamente governadas por formas racionais de poder político e social. Após uma breve consideração sobre *Measure for Measure* enquanto peça focada no poder político de negar a dimensão material do indivíduo, olhar-se-á para a forma como *The Winter's Tale* apresenta um problema semelhante. Nesta peça, a aspiração a um ideal de pureza absoluta e a consequente demonização da carne sexualizada, derivadas tanto da teologia puritana como da filosofia neoplatónica, fundem-se com a ansiedade em relação ao corpo “rebelde” nutrida pela ciência medicinal do século dezasseis, constituindo a força disruptiva que desencadeia o enredo. Esta atitude de negação do corpo, ligada ao poder político, conduz tanto a um colapso psicológico como, na esfera pública, a um regime tirânico.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Shakespeare; filosofia renascentista; ciência medicinal renascentista; puritanismo; corpo; sexualidade; Machiavelli; tirania; *Measure for Measure*, *The Winter's Tale*.



Andrew Hadfield, Grimalkin and other Shakespearean Celts

RESUMEN

Este artículo examina la representación de Irlanda y de la cultura celta en las Islas Británicas en las obras de Shakespeare. Se sostiene que Shakespeare estaba interesado en las ideas de colonización y salvajismo, y que basó sus percepciones en sucesos contemporáneos, en la historia de las Islas Británicas y en importantes obras literarias como la novela *Beware de Cat*, de William Baldwin. Sus obras de teatro, y más en concreto *The Comedy of Errors* y *Macbeth*, representan a la Inglaterra protestante como una cultura aislada, y rodeada de fuerzas hostiles celtas que conforman un estado sombrío y amenazante. La segunda parte de este artículo explora la influencia que tuvo Shakespeare en la cultura irlandesa tras su muerte, argumentando que fue absorbido en la cultura anglo-irlandesa y que jugó un papel esencial a la hora de establecer la identidad literaria anglófona en Irlanda. Shakespeare importó la cultura de las Islas Británicas en sus obras – y después, a medida que su fama se extendió, sus obras volvieron a exportar lo que él había entendido. Esto constituye una característica importante de

la identidad literaria anglo-irlandesa, tal y como ha sido interpretado por muchos autores posteriores.

PALABRAS CLAVE: colonización; teatro; literatura inglesa renacentista; Irlanda; salvajismo; Shakespeare; James Shirley.

RESUMO

Este ensaio examina a representação da Irlanda e da cultura celta dentro das Ilhas Britânicas na obra de Shakespeare. Argumenta-se que Shakespeare estava interessado em ideias de colonização e selvajaria e baseou as suas percepções em acontecimentos contemporâneos, na história das Ilhas Britânicas, e em textos literários importantes, tais como a ficção em prosa de William Baldwin, *Beware the Cat*. As suas peças, em particular *The Comedy of Errors* e *Macbeth*, representam a Inglaterra protestante como uma cultura isolada e cercada por forças celtas hostis que formam um estado sombrio e ameaçador. A segunda parte deste ensaio explora a influência póstuma de Shakespeare na cultura irlandesa, argumentando-se que Shakespeare foi absorvido pela cultura anglo-irlandesa e representou um papel importante no estabelecimento da identidade literária anglófona da Irlanda. Shakespeare importou a cultura das Ilhas Britânicas para a sua obra – e, mais tarde, à medida que a sua fama se espalhou, as suas peças exportaram de volta o que este havia compreendido, um elemento importante da identidade literária anglo-irlandesa, como vários escritores subsequentes vieram a perceber.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Colonização; drama; literatura do Renascimento inglês; Irlanda; selvajaria; Shakespeare; James Shirley.



Victor Houliston, Filling in the blanks: Catholic hopes for the English succession

RESUMEN

Los católicos ingleses, tanto en Inglaterra como en el extranjero, se enfrentaron a decisiones difíciles a medida que el tema de la sucesión real se agudizó en la última década del reinado de Isabel I. En un intento de analizar la complejidad de las expectativas y maniobras de los católicos, este artículo analiza las acciones y los escritos de tres figuras prominentes: el poeta cortesano y recientemente converso Henry Constable, el líder jesuita Robert Persons y el seglar Sir Thomas Tresham. Sus relaciones con el rey Jacobo VI de Escocia ilustran la precariedad de la posición del rey, y las interacciones de estos personajes durante este período de lealtades cambiantes ponen en cuestión ciertas suposiciones generalmente aceptadas acerca de las divisiones en el seno de la comunidad católica inglesa. A su

vez, al prestar especial atención a sus escritos se pone de manifiesto la importancia que tuvo el llamamiento a un código de honor caballeresco en estas negociaciones político-religiosas.

PALABRAS CLAVE: sucesión inglesa; recusación católica inglesa; jesuitas; caballería; Henry Constable; Robert Persons; Sir Thomas Tresham; Jacobo VI y I; Philippe du Plessis-Mornay.

RESUMO

Os católicos ingleses, tanto em contexto doméstico como no estrangeiro, foram confrontados com escolhas difíceis à medida que a questão da sucessão se tornou cada vez mais crítica na última década do reinado de Elizabeth. Numa tentativa de analisar a complexidade das expectativas e manobras católicas, este artigo examina as ações e textos de três figuras proeminentes: o poeta da corte e recentemente convertido Henry Constable, o líder jesuíta Robert Persons e o leigo Sir Thomas Tresham. As suas relações com o rei James VI da Escócia ilustram a precariedade da posição dele, e as interações entre eles durante este período de alianças oscilantes colocam em questão algumas suposições tradicionais sobre as divisões dentro da comunidade de católicos ingleses. Uma atenção mais próxima aos seus textos revela também a importância de um apelo a um código de honra de cavalaria nestas negociações político-religiosas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Sucessão inglesa; não-conformismo; jesuítas; cavalaria; Henry Constable; Robert Persons; Sir Thomas Tresham; James VI e I; Philippe du Plessis-Mornay.



Begoña Lasa Álvarez, Constructing a portrait of the early-modern woman writer for eighteenth-century female readers: George Ballard's *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain* (1752)

RESUMEN

La obra de George Ballard *Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain* (1752) es de especial relevancia para el estudio de las escritoras británicas anteriores al siglo XVIII y su recepción ulterior, pues contiene detalles de las vidas y escritos de un considerable número de ellas. Este tipo de texto respondía a la demanda general de obras educativas y, en particular, a las necesidades de un público femenino cada vez más amplio. Por ello, su principal objetivo era ofrecer a sus lectoras modelos de comportamiento a imitar. En el marco teórico de los estudios de mujeres y de la biografía literaria, se analizan las biografías de estas escritoras para determinar si sus vidas y sus carreras se ajustaban al propósito didáctico del texto, y para averiguar hasta qué punto el hecho de que fueran mujeres condicionaba sus retratos biográficos.

PALABRAS CLAVE: escritoras renacentistas, biografía literaria, estudios de mujeres, educación, siglo XVIII; George Ballard.

RESUMO

Memoirs of Several Ladies of Great Britain (1752), de George Ballard, tem uma relevância especial para o estudo de mulheres escritoras da Idade Moderna e da sua subsequente receção, visto conter detalhes das vidas e textos de um número considerável destas mulheres. Este tipo de publicação dava resposta à procura por obras educativas em geral, e em particular para um crescente público feminino. Assim, o seu principal objetivo consistia em providenciar aos leitores modelos exemplares de comportamento. Com base no quadro teórico dos estudos de mulheres e da biografia literária, as biografias destas escritoras são analisadas de modo a determinar se as suas vidas e carreiras enquanto escritoras estavam de acordo com o propósito didático de textos como estes, e até que ponto o facto de serem mulheres moldou as suas representações biográficas.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: mulheres escritoras da Idade Moderna; biografia literária; estudos de mulheres; educação; século dezoito; George Ballard.



Francesca Rayner, Post-colonial trauma and intercultural performance: A Lusophone adaptation of *Macbeth*

RESUMEN

Este artículo analiza la representación intercultural de *The Prayers of Mansata*, una adaptación del *Macbeth* shakesperiano en el contexto de Guinea-Bissau, en África occidental. Tras una exploración crítica de la teoría intercultural contemporánea, este artículo registra la relación entre el texto de Shakespeare y esta adaptación, antes de explorar cuestiones particulares planteadas por la circulación de la representación en diferentes contextos de habla portuguesa. Se sostiene que tales representaciones pueden simbolizar una potente intervención social y política de naciones, al combinar asuntos de especificidad local con asuntos más amplios de un presente postcolonial.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Shakespeare; *Macbeth*; postcolonial; lusófono; adaptación; representación.

RESUMO

Este artigo analisa a representação de *As Orações de Mansata*, uma adaptação de *Macbeth* de Shakespeare, ao contexto africano da Guiné-Bissau. Após uma exploração crítica da teoria intercultural contemporânea, o artigo analisa a relação entre o texto de Shakespeare e esta adaptação para depois abordar questões específicas levantadas pela circulação desta representação

em vários contextos lusófonos. O artigo defende que, ao combinar uma preocupação com a especificidade local com questões mais abrangentes sobre o presente pós-colonial, este tipo de projectos pode constituir uma intervenção poderosa numa comunidade de países lusófonos.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Shakespeare; *Macbeth*; pós-colonialismo; lusofonia; adaptação; representação teatral.



Notes

María José Mora, *The casting of Sancho in Durfey's The Comical History of Don Quixote, Parts I-II (1694)*

RESUMEN

En mayo/junio de 1694, la United Company estrenó una comedia de Thomas Durfey en dos partes sobre la figura de Don Quijote: *The Comical History of Don Quixote*. Como era costumbre en el teatro de la Restauración, los papeles principales fueron interpretados por los mismos actores en ambas producciones. La única y llamativa excepción fue el personaje de Sancho, que en la primera parte se asignó a Thomas Doggett, un meritorio que estaba empezando a cosechar bastante éxito, y en la segunda a Cave Underhill, un veterano actor que llevaba en la compañía desde la reapertura de los teatros en 1660. El cambio de intérprete parece haber sido impuesto a Durfey por la dirección de la compañía a raíz de las disputas salariales en las que dirección y actores estaban sumidos cuando se estrenaron las obras. De hecho, el texto de la segunda parte incluye alusiones meta-teatrales que indican que Durfey escribió el papel de Sancho inicialmente para Doggett, pero que posteriormente revisó los diálogos para añadir gags cómicos diseñados expresamente para el lucimiento de Underhill.

PALABRAS CLAVE: Thomas Durfey; *The Comical History of Don Quixote*; repartos; Thomas Doggett; Cave Underhill.

RESUMO

As peças *The Comical History of Don Quixote, Part I and Part II*, de Thomas Durfey, foram produzidas pela United Company em Maio/Junho de 1694. Seguindo uma prática comum, as personagens centrais foram representadas pelos mesmos atores em ambas as peças. A exceção digna de nota foi a personagem de Sancho, que na Parte I foi dada a Thomas Doggett, um comediante jovem mas já popular, e na Parte II ao velho Cave Underhill, que atuava desde a reabertura dos teatros em 1660. As razões para esta alteração parecem ter estado relacionadas com disputas entre os gerentes e

os atores sobre questões salariais. Indícios textuais sugerem que, enquanto escrevia a segunda parte, Durfey pode não ter sabido ao certo quem iria representar Sancho. Alusões meta-teatrais mostram que, num dado momento, Durfey tinha Doggett em mente, mas que acabou por rever o diálogo de modo a introduzir piadas especificamente destinadas ao comediante mais velho.

PALAVRAS-CHAVE: Thomas Durfey; *The Comical History of Don Quixote*; escolha do elenco; Thomas Doggett; Cave Underhill.





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