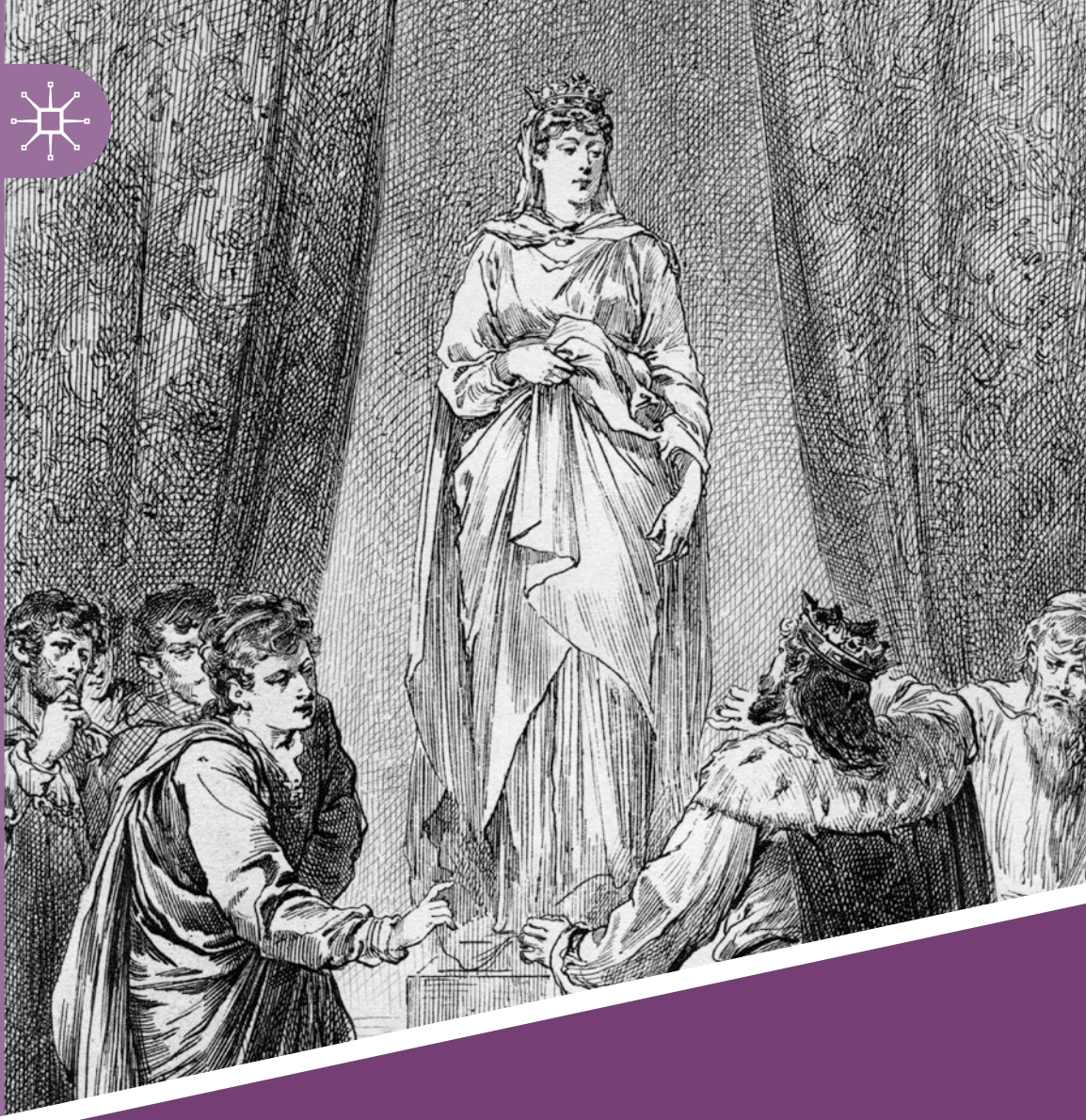

The Palgrave Handbook of Shakespeare's Queens

Edited by
Kavita Mudan Finn · Valerie Schutte

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Queenship and Power

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Editors

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Kavita's dogs, however, have been excluded yet again from these acknowledgments; like Crab in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, they definitely know why.

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List of Abbreviations

1H4	*Henry IV, Part I*
2H4	*Henry IV, Part II*
H5	*Henry V*
1H6	*Henry VI, Part I*
2H6	*Henry VI, Part II*
3H6	*Henry VI, Part III*
H8	*Henry VIII, or, All is True*
R2	*Richard II*
R3	*Richard III*
AW	*All's Well That Ends Well*
A&C	*Antony & Cleopatra*
Cor.	*Coriolanus*
Cym.	*Cymbeline*
Ham.	*Hamlet*
JC	*Julius Caesar*
KJ	*King John*
KL	*King Lear*
LLL	*Love's Labour's Lost*
Mac.	*Macbeth*
MND	*A Midsummer Night's Dream*
MV	*The Merchant of Venice*
Oth.	*Othello*
TA	*Titus Andronicus*
TN	*Twelfth Night*
TNK	*The Two Noble Kinsmen*
TS	*The Taming of the Shrew*
WT	*A Winter's Tale*

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Kavita Mudan Finn and Valerie Schutte

In the brightly costumed alternate universe of Tom Stoppard and John Madden's *Shakespeare in Love* (1998), where Queen Elizabeth I not only attends but comments upon the 1593 premiere of *Romeo and Juliet*, that monarch informs the rising playwright William Shakespeare, "I know something of a woman in a man's profession. Yes, by God, I do know about that."[1] She then commissions "something more cheerful next time, for Twelfth Night," implying the beginning of a beautiful friendship even as Shakespeare's romantic muse, the fictional Lady Viola de Lesseps, gives up her dream of joining a troupe of players to sail to the New World some fifteen years too early. While this scene is most assuredly fiction—Queen Elizabeth and William Shakespeare probably never met in person, and even if they did, it would not have been at the Curtain Theatre—it nonetheless cuts to the heart of the two primary concerns that underpin any discussion of Shakespeare and queenship. The first is the relationship between queens as they appear in Shakespeare's plays and the ambiguous, contradictory figure of Queen Elizabeth I, who ruled during the first ten or so years of his career.[2] The second is the knotty issue of gender presentation when all the roles, including queens, were originally written for and played by young boys rather than by women. The chapters in this volume engage with these concerns in different ways, ranging from close-readings of individual plays to discussions of political or ideological context, contemporary allusion, adaptation, and performance history.

Of Shakespeare's thirty-seven plays, sixteen include at least one character who is described as a queen at some point during the play, not to mention the

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numerous puns on queens and queans.[3] These characters range across his entire career, from the fury of Margaret of Anjou in the *Henry VI* plays (early 1590s) to Hermione's quiet yet powerful dignity in *The Winter's Tale* (1611), from Tamora's bloody revenge in *Titus Andronicus* (*c.* 1593) to Lady Macbeth's madness and Katherine of Aragon's heroic despair in *Henry VIII* (1613). They appear in solo and co-authored plays alike, and while most appear in history plays or tragedies, they can also be found outside those traditional genres. If one counts princesses, it is possible to add *Love's Labour's Lost* (*c.* 1595), which features a princess of France playing what may or may not be political love games with the King of Navarre; and some plays feature both, such as the genre-bending *Pericles* (*c.* 1608), whose queen Thaisa and her daughter Marina undergo well over a play's worth of reversals of fortune before being restored to their rightful titles. This volume brings together scholars and practitioners from history, literature, theater, and fine arts to illustrate the many facets of queenship that Shakespeare explores in his plays.

Queenship as an area of study has exploded over the last thirty years, but it is only within the last ten years that scholarship has shifted from explorations of potential queenly power within a patriarchal framework to investigations that challenge traditional concepts of royal male authority. As this research has evolved, so has our understanding of "queens" potentially being queens consort or queens regnant and the difference in possible political power, authority, and patronage that the different roles afforded. "Kings," in contrast, are by default kings regnant. Scholars such as Theresa Earenfight, Joanna Laynesmith, and Carole Levin have greatly contributed to our understanding of queens and queenship, advancing fresh readings not just of individual queens, but the institution of queenship as a whole.[4] As Earenfight writes: "The sheer abundance of works may seem daunting—the bibliography is impressive—but believe me when I say that this is just the beginning."[5] There have also been several significant anniversaries in recent years, including both the quincentenary of the birth of Queen Mary I and the quatercentenary of the death of Shakespeare in 2016.[6] We envision our volume to contribute to, and expand upon, the excellent scholarship and cultural rememberings that have emerged from these important anniversaries.

While Queen Elizabeth I is always present in the backdrop of any discussion of Shakespeare and queenship, this collection is primarily concerned with queens as characters and theatrical constructs. The twenty-five main chapters in this volume include investigations of rhetoric and theatricality, motherhood, politics, and intertextuality and are organized into eight sections, each comprised of two to four chapters. The first section aims to provide a broad synopsis of queenship in Shakespeare, allowing the following seven sections to delve into more nuanced and specific analyses of different plays. Lori Leigh's chapter offers an overview of the two broad-based critical discussions with which this introduction opened, before considering more closely Marie Axton's theory of the Queen's Two Bodies and its relationship to the use of boy players onstage in female roles.[7] Transitioning from the general to the specific, the chapter by

Ugo Bruschi and Angela Reboli explores a series of instances across Shakespeare's career when he puts his queens into contact with the general public, particularly in moments of unrest.

With three chapters ranging from the early 1590s to the Jacobean period, the second section focuses on the mechanics of queens exercising power onstage. Carole Levin considers the three women of *King John*, two queens and a ruling duchess, who happen to be among the play's most compelling characters, and who exercise a surprising amount of power during the chaotic reign of the titular king. Sandra Logan's chapter looks at King Lear's youngest daughter Cordelia as a case study for how foreign queenship might, under certain circumstances, be deployed as a positive force, while Miranda Fay Thomas' chapter explores alliances between queens in two late romances *The Winter's Tale* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.

One of a queen's primary functions, be she a queen consort or reigning in her own right, was to provide an heir to the throne and to secure the succession. The third section explores the relationship between queenship and motherhood. While it may seem paradoxical to open with two women who are not mothers (at least in their respective plays), Sally Fisher's chapter uses Eleanor of Gloucester (*2 Henry VI*) and Lady Macbeth to interrogate Shakespeare's attitudes toward queenship and motherhood. Lauren Rogener then analyzes two Roman plays, *Coriolanus* and *Titus Andronicus*, which depict mothers (one a queen in name; the other a queen in all but name) going to war for their sons, in the context of Elizabeth I's martial rhetoric and performance, particularly under the threat of the Spanish Armada. Lastly, Mary Villeponteaux offers a wide-ranging study of queens as mothers across Shakespeare's plays.

Two of the four chapters in the fourth section are devoted to Queen Margaret of Anjou, owing to the prominent role she plays in the three parts of *Henry VI* and in *Richard III*, primarily through her rhetoric. Liberty Stanavage uses Galenic theories to explore the gendered aspects of Margaret's rhetoric, while Bella Mirabella focuses on her use of anger as a political tool. The third chapter by Shiladitya Sen compares Cleopatra's deployment of rhetorical and meta-theatrical flourishes to the earlier depiction of Prince Hal, later King Henry V, linking these two complicated characters in significant ways.

Sometimes Shakespeare's adaptation of his source material leads to the excision, conflation, or otherwise minimizing of queens. Especially when compared to the first tetralogy, the lack of prominent women in the second is puzzling, but the chapter by Kavita Mudan Finn and Lea Luecking Frost argues that this absence operates as a signifier of dynastic unrest. Anne Boleyn plays a similar role in Shakespeare's collaborative effort with John Fletcher, *Henry VIII, or, All Is True*, according to the chapter by Rebecca Quoss-Moore, while Nicole Lamont rounds out the section by looking at the queen regnant who is conspicuously present (albeit as an infant) in that same play.

The sixth section considers the depictions of queens in specific plays within their immediate political contexts. Carolyn Brown explores the background politics of the mid-1590s comedy *Love's Labour's Lost* and its potentially troubling

parallels with the internecine struggles of France and Navarre. In her chapter on *Henry VIII*, Mira Assaf Kafantaris focuses on the marital aspirations of James I for his children and the play's inscription of the anxieties generated by those aspirations, and Susan Broomhall's chapter reads a play with no queens—*All's Well That Ends Well*—as a commentary on French politics, particularly the struggle between Catherine de' Medici and Diane de Poitiers earlier in the sixteenth century.

The penultimate section focuses on intertextual links between Shakespeare's queens and texts he may have been responding to or later texts inspired by him. Laura Schecter places Shakespeare's fairy queen Titania from *A Midsummer Night's Dream* alongside his contemporary Edmund Spenser's epic poem *The Faerie Queene*. Aurélie Griffin uses Jacques Derrida's formulation of *différance* to interrogate the role of the Princess of France in *Love's Labour's Lost*, while Livia Sacchetti reads Cleopatra against Lévinas and other philosophers contemplating the infinite. Finally, Courtney Herber sets *Henry VIII* in conversation with Pedro Calderón de la Barca's roughly contemporary play *La cisma de Inglaterra* (1627).

The final section begins with two chapters on adaptation and modern performance of Shakespeare's history plays—Charlene Smith explores nineteenth- and twentieth-century adaptations of the first tetralogy centered on Margaret of Anjou, while Bill Robison analyzes how film adaptation augments or circumscribes the character of Princess Katherine in *Henry V*. The final chapter by Amy Kenny uses the character of Cleopatra to return to the topic with which the volume begins—queenship on the early modern stage and its fraught relationship to the young male actors embodying it.

By drawing on scholarship from literature, history, and theater, these chapters constitute a variety of disciplinary approaches that operate on separate but parallel tracks. The contributions gathered in this collection demonstrate the significance of royal female roles in Shakespeare's plays as agents of change concerning issues such as marriage, royal authority, and cultural and political developments beginning in the early modern period. These discussions of women exercising power and negotiating the often hostile men surrounding them, furthermore, have gained greater importance in recent years, as women's obstacles in the workplace and in positions of power have not so much disappeared as evolved. Shakespeare's queens may or may not provide solutions to the challenges that face women today, but they have captivated audiences for four hundred years, and it is long past time we gave them a book of their own.

Virginia Woolf, we think, would approve.

Notes

1. Tom Stoppard and Marc Norman, *Shakespeare in Love*, dir. John Madden (Los Angeles: Miramax, 1998).
2. Ironically, Shakespeare may well have encountered Elizabeth's successor King James I in person, as his company, renamed the King's Men, performed several times at court, but James has always been less glamorous than his predecessor.

3. These include: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *King John*, *Richard II*, *Henry V*, Parts 2 and 3 of *Henry VI*, *Richard III*, *Henry VIII*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Macbeth*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, *Pericles*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *Cymbeline*.
4. Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013); J. L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship, 1445–1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994).
5. Earenfight, *Queenship*, 28. Palgrave Macmillan's Queenship and Power series, edited by Carole Levin and Charles Beem, has 47 titles as of this writing, ranging from literary and historical studies to portraiture, iconography, and popular media.
6. In addition to the collection *The Birth of a Queen*, edited by Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (2016), other recent studies of Mary I include Duncan, *Mary I: Gender, Power, and Ceremony in the Reign of England's First Queen* (2012), Schutte, *Mary I and the Art of Book Dedications: Royal Women, Power, and Persuasion* (2015), and Thomas, *The King's Pearl: Henry VIII and His Daughter Mary* (2017).
7. Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Swift Printers Ltd. for Royal Historical Society, 1977).

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PART I

General Studies

CHAPTER 2

Stagecraft and Statecraft: Queenship and Theatricality on the Shakespearean Stage

Lori Leigh

That the weak, the sick, and impotent persons shall nourish and keep the whole and strong? And finally, that the foolish, mad, and frenetic shall govern the discreet, and give counsel to such as be sober of mind? And such be all women, compared unto man in bearing of authority.
(John Knox, The Monstrous Regiment of Women, 1558)

I have the body of a weak, feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too.
(Queen Elizabeth I, Tilbury Speech, 1588)

[…] time is cast away and spilt by such stage-playes as make boyes effeminate […] I censured onelie the filth of playing wanton queanes.
(John Rainolds, Th' overthrow of stage-playes , 1592)

Though the exhaustive unease at and distrust of female rule has a long legacy, it found particular resonance in early modern England—first during the reign of Queen Mary I, and then that of her sister Queen Elizabeth I, who ascended the throne a virgin queen and ruled England without a king for forty-four years. Written in the year after Elizabeth's accession in 1559, John Knox's *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstrous Regiment of Women* vehemently argues against all women rulers on biblical grounds. He writes, "Nature, I say, does paint them forth to be weak, frail, impatient, feeble, and foolish; and experience has declared them to be inconstant, variable, cruel, lacking the spirit of counsel and regiment."[1] While Knox's *First Blast* was aimed primarily at Mary Stuart, Queen of Scots, his words level these charges against all women

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and demonstrate the period's generalized anxiety about female power. When a changeable, phlegmatic woman was raised to the status of queen, the fear amplified.

As many studies have established, Queen Elizabeth was "a galvanizing force for a pervasive Elizabethan anxiety about female power."[2] Analogous to the unrest about women, particularly women in power, and also subject to Puritanical attacks, was the theater. In some ways, the two can be viewed as one and the same. Anti-theatrical tracts focus on lustfulness, deceit, and idleness—all similar to allegations against the nature of women in the period. One underlying indictment of the theatre was that it would effeminize. In his 1599 *Overthrow of Stage Plays*, John Rainolds cites the Deuteronomic prohibition of men dressing in women's clothing and warns of boys wearing long hair like women and counterfeiting their voices. Not only is acting a sinful deception but also, according to Rainolds, the boys' performance of women incites further sin in the lust that it arouses. He cautions to beware of beautiful boys "transformed into women by putting on their raiment, their feature, lookes, and facions."[3] Just as Queen Elizabeth must have been the ultimate manifestation of female power-related anxiety, boys playing women or "wanton queans," as Rainolds says, were the epitome of what was troubling and unacceptable about the theater.

What is noteworthy and perhaps ironic is that Rainolds himself played a queen. On September 2 and 4, 1566, boys at Corpus Christi College performed Richard Edwards' now lost play *Palamon and Arcite* for the visiting Queen Elizabeth. Like Shakespeare and John Fletcher's *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Edwards' *Palamon and Arcite* was based on Chaucer's *The Knight's Tale* and seems to have had a similar plotline. Before he became an anti-theatrical Puritan, John Rainolds was a university boy player; and not simply a boy player, but like those he would later rail against, a boy who played women's roles. According to Miles Windsor's narrative in the Records of Early English Drama (REED), Rainolds played the role of Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons and Theseus' wife. In short, Rainolds performed queenship to the queen herself.[4] While we can never be sure what Elizabeth's response to his performance was, Windsor notes that "afterwarde her maiestie gaue vnto one Ihon [John] Raynoldes [Rainolds] a scholler of Corpuschristi colledge which was a player in ye same play viiij olde angels in rewarde."[5] Elizabeth also rewarded the "ladye Emilia" for "gatheringe her flowers pretelie in ye garden & singinge sweetelie."[6] Rainolds, as Hippolyta, and the boy playing princess Emilia are the only two actors who are specifically mentioned as having been personally rewarded by the queen. At minimum, this points to the queen's approval and gratitude for the performance and also a particular affinity or identification she felt for the roles of the queen and princess respectively.

Additionally, the performance must have summoned some sense of reflectiveness for, as the records demonstrate, Elizabeth herself always had an audience. Furthermore, as a queen and a woman allowed to speak and act in

public, she must have provided some sort of model for the players. Even her rewarding of the players constitutes a kind of public act pointing to the fact that queenship is performance. In other words, Rainolds, or any player, is perhaps able to play a queen because to be a queen is to perform queenship. Cleopatra says to her women, "show me […] like a queen."[7] Of course, she is already an Egyptian queen so the directive implies that a large part of queenship is "show." Anne Barton has argued,

> Not only is the actor on the stage committed in the world of illusion to play the king, but the living monarch may see in the player's performance a true dimension of kingship itself. At the point where the distance between the world and the stage might seem the greatest—between the king in his majesty and the poor player with his imitation crown—the play metaphor in fact operates most powerfully, bringing illusion and reality into a juxtaposition that is both poignant and enormously complex.[8]

Many critics have discussed this inherent theatricality in the monarchy and Elizabeth's forms and modes of representation.[9] There is, however, a particular performance strategy the queen employed in response to the concerns circulating with a woman on the throne that provides a framework for exploring the portrayal of queens on Shakespeare's stage: the widely cited doctrine of the king's two bodies. This chapter investigates criticism on queenship and theatricality guided by this pervasive idea, now commonly referred to as "the queen's two bodies," and offers suggestions for further investigation of how this doubleness was actualized in the playhouse, where the boy actors also had "two bodies"—the male body of a boy actor and the female body of the queenly character.

The Queen's Two Bodies

One of the performances inextricably tied with royalty and power is gender. Elizabeth employed forms of political androgyny and gendered rhetoric to negotiate her rule and navigate through the fear of female power in a patriarchal world.[10] One particular strategy the queen adopted was the doctrine of the king's two bodies, a precept developed from medieval political theory. As Ernst Kantorowicz explains in *The King's Two Bodies*, the doctrine is a split between the physical body and political body of a king; and as Marie Axton explains in *The Queen's Two Bodies*, it was a controversial idea but one that was intertwined with Elizabethan rule.[11] Katherine Eggert writes the king's two bodies can be read as

> a response to the debilitating and even destructive effect on the realm of its monarchy's being lodged in an unpredictable and uncontrollable female body […] The sum effect of this legal fiction is that the monarch's body politic not only

> subsumes, but also cures, the weaknesses of his or her physical body, including weakness imparted by the female sex.[12]

Like Eggert, numerous critics have explored Queen Elizabeth's use of the doctrine of the king's two bodies and the androgynous nature of her rule.[13] Scholars disagree about the extent of Elizabeth's agency in her representation and even about the accuracy of the various narratives that constitute the history of the monarch, but overall it is thematically gender bending.[14] What follows is an overview of the ways in which the queen or accounts of the queen—whether real or fictive—incorporated masculine terms and accommodated gender fluidity as discussed by scholars.

Susan Frye writes that in the reign of Elizabeth I the doctrine of the king's two bodies was used in a way that it was never intended.[15] Though Elizabeth's biological body was female her political body was often represented as male. In her consummate study of the relationship between gender and power in Elizabeth I's rule, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*, Carole Levin asserts this controversial policy did not simply necessitate the political body was male:

> The construct implies something a bit more complex than that, however. Rather, it is stating that a woman as queen has the same rights as a male monarch. It may mean that politically she is a man or that she is a woman who can take on male rights. She may be both woman and man in one, both king and queen together, a male body politic in concept while a female body natural in practice. There are several possible interpretations.[16]

Certainly, the binary between the queen's male and female bodies was not always distinct. Frye contends that Elizabeth in fact created a new conception of monarch: "a female body politic."[17] Frye asserts, "This gendering of her two bodies became the queen's justification for what I call engendering herself—assuming the assigned gender roles of women, men, or both, or someone in between, as the occasion demanded."[18] Mary Beth Rose writes that Elizabeth "creates her heroic persona by monopolizing all gendered positions, taking rhetorical advantage of the special prestige of both female and male subject positions as these were understood in the Renaissance without consistently privileging either."[19] Or as Lisa Hopkins remarks, "The queen who could be a king when she wanted to be also knew that sometimes it may pay to be a lady."[20] What is perhaps more interesting, and further to the points of Levin, Frye, and Rose, is that the distinctions between "king" and "lady" often disappeared.

Frye argues that Elizabeth "felt that monarchs created themselves through language and the images that language created in its audience."[21] This use of language and images to create a "persona" or "character" is inherently theatrical, akin to the work of a dramatist. Elizabeth frequently employed and often preferred masculine forms of address such as "king" or "prince."[22] In analyzing the correspondence of Elizabeth and James, Rayne Allinson contends: "When she wanted to assure her subjects of her commitment to defend their rights and

ensure their safety, she was their loving 'wife' and 'mother'; yet when she wished to assert her right to govern or protect her royal prerogative, she was their 'prince' or 'king'."[23] Constance Jordan notes Queen Elizabeth was known at home and abroad as "the female Prince."[24] Using "king," "prince," "husband," as well as "queen," "mother," and "nurse," Elizabeth fluctuated between traditional gendered identities and with titles such as "female Prince" also created new ones. Moreover, in speeches Elizabeth often compared herself to male figures such as the biblical Daniel, David, and Solomon, and to her father, King Henry VIII.

This amorphous identity did not manifest merely in language; the queen also presented herself and was depicted by others as androgynous. Portraiture in the period was an invaluable asset for not only figuring a person's features but also their identity and public image. Those of Elizabeth highlight various aspects of her rule, including her gender duplicity. She usurps traditionally male positions in her portraits, and they often show her to be sexually and politically in control.[25] On her coronation day, she wore white—the color of both chastity and traditionally worn by queen consorts on their coronation day—but part way through the ceremony she was reclothed in "purple-velvet coronation robes" which was the traditional attire of the king.[26] Doubtless the most famous and widely cited example of Elizabeth's "two bodies" is her 1588 speech to the troops at Tilbury. Again, not only is this evident in her gendered rhetoric of "heart and stomach of a king" but also in her appearance. Though there is no conclusive evidence proving exactly how the queen was dressed, she is usually depicted or imagined, if not wearing male garb, at least adorned with elements of masculine warlike attire. Various sources state the queen wore a breastplate, a steel corselet, and a silver cuirass and donned or held a helmet.[27] Eyewitness James Aske describes her as

> riding about through the ranks of Armed men […] with a Leader's Truncheon in her Hand, sometimes with a martial Pace, another while gently like a Woman, incredible it is how much she encouraged the Hearts of her […] Souldiers by her Presence and Speech to them.[28]

Aske figures Elizabeth's physicality as encompassing both a "martial" or masculine stride as well as gentle feminine gait. Finally, in one apocryphal story cited by Levin, Sir James Melville proposed disguising Elizabeth like a page-boy so that she might sneak to Scotland to visit Mary Stuart.[29]

Other scholars have recognized that the ideas behind the "theater" of Queen Elizabeth's gender-blurring rule were actualized in the playhouse through Shakespeare's use of cross-gender disguise and sometimes in his female characters' execution of power. In *Puzzling Shakespeare*, Leah Marcus suggests "there are remarkable correlations between the sexual multivalence of Shakespeare's heroines and an important strain in the political rhetoric of Queen Elizabeth I."[30] Marcus' focus is primarily on the comedies featuring cross-dressed heroines; as she writes,

> The dramatic construct of a boy clothed as a woman, an altogether credible woman, who then expands her identity through male disguise in such a way as to mirror the activities which would be appropriate to her actual, hidden male identity—that construct precisely replicates visually the composite self-image Queen Elizabeth created over and over again through language.[31]

These statements have more affective power than Marcus realizes, as Queen Elizabeth's gender was figured not simply through language but also visually, as discussed above. Levin draws similar conclusions about Shakespeare's comedies and the dual-bodied queen; but unlike Marcus, Levin argues the greatest correlation is not in the cross-dressed characters but in the powerful women in the plays who act in "ways that, might, like the actions of the queen be called male."[32] For example, in *Twelfth Night*, though it is Viola who dons cross-gender disguise as Cesario, it is Olivia who inverts the gender expectations of courtship by wooing Cesario, who is beneath her in both age and rank. The Countess makes free use of speech, and the audience witnesses her doing so in order to rule her household, a task that she apparently enjoys.[33] Though Queen Elizabeth's employment of gender fluidity has been discussed as paralleled and reflected in the plays of Shakespeare, this notion of the doctrine of the king's two bodies can be carried much further as a model for exploring specifically queens on Shakespeare's stage as characters and theatrical constructs.

Marcus claims that the greatest concentration of Shakespeare plays that point to the "latent maleness of at least their central female characters separating male actor from female role" are found toward the end of Queen Elizabeth I's reign, a device that possibly served to revive the image of the aging, declining Queen.[34] Though this may have validity, it is worth noting that Shakespeare's use of female characters that defy gender boundaries continued throughout his career. I have argued elsewhere about the particular patriarchy-defying agency exhibited by female characters in late Shakespeare plays such as *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.[35] For Phyllis Rackin, it is one of Shakespeare's queens (not princesses, as in the comedies), Cleopatra, who "most fully embodies the paradoxical implications of transvestite performance, even though she never appears on stage in male disguise" and also simultaneously represents "Shakespeare's most compelling image of female erotic power."[36] In exploring the relationship between queenship and theatricality, there is much more to be investigated than simply using the reign of Queen Elizabeth as a historical antecedent for specific Shakespearean characters or plays or comparing particular utterances to those of characters. For instance, could the queen's performance of gender roles—and furthermore her resistance to be confined to singular category to negotiate power—serve as a model for thinking about the dramatic representation of queens in general on Shakespeare's stage? This includes plays that were written in the Jacobean period such as *Antony and Cleopatra*. The influence of Queen Elizabeth on the cultural imagination and the effects of her reign lingered long after her death.

If to be a queen is to perform a queen, queenship becomes acting or an action verb. Shakespeare used the concept on more than one occasion. In *The Winter's Tale*, after realizing that her courtship with a prince is doomed due to their perceived social divide, Perdita says, "Being now awake, I'll queen it no inch farther, / But milk my ewes and weep."[37] A similar occurrence appears in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII*. Katherine of Aragon, on her deathbed says, "Then lay me forth: although unqueen'd, yet like / A queen, and daughter to a king, inter me. / I can no more."[38] Though Katherine is referring to her displacement as queen, she is using "unqueen" as an action that is done to her. If one can "queen" then she can also be "unqueen'd." The inevitable link between queenship and theatricality becomes particularly intriguing when one considers the complexities of boy actors playing Shakespearean queens. To "queen it" on the Shakespearean stage or to play a queen was to have two bodies—the body of the boy actor and of the female body of the queenly character. The remainder of this chapter will suggest ways in which this duality might have manifested itself in performance through the mechanics of boy actors playing queens.

A Player's Two Bodies

Modern theories of acting prompt performers to compare and contrast their physical body with the body of the character they are preparing to perform. In Konstantin Stanislavski's influential *Building a Character*, for example, he deals with the physical realization of a role onstage: movement, gestures, expressions, speech, and so forth. Stanislavski speaks of external disguises and how inner faculties respond to externalization or movements and gestures to create character. He discusses dressing as a character and how cosmetics, shoes, and clothing all transform an actor into a character. *Building a Character* also recommends use of dance and gymnastics to make the body expressive, as well as vocal exercises in diction and singing. Stanislavski states: "An actor is split into two parts when he is acting."[39] In another foundational text of acting, *To the Actor*, Michael Chekhov prompts performers to find an imaginary body for the character. Chekhov instructs: "You are going to imagine that in the same space as you occupy with your own, real body, there exists another body—the imaginary body of your character, which you have just created in your mind." He tells actors to put on the clothes of their character but also to remember that they are "wearing another body." He says that "[t]he imaginary body, stands, as it were *between* your real body and your psychology, influencing both of them with equal force." Chekhov speaks of such exercises as transforming an actor into another person or like being "possessed" by a character.[40]

This is not to suggest that early modern actors were familiar with the work of Stanislavski or Chekhov or even any modern-day notions of psychology or psychophysical actor training. The suggestion is—putting aside arguments over the extent to which early modern acting was "realistic" and "naturalistic" or "presentational" and "highly stylized"—the performance technologies that

actors engage to present "character" envisioned as an "imaginary body" come from much the same palette. Some critics, such as Travis Curtright in *Shakespeare's Dramatic Persons*, argue we should "renegotiate the dichotomy between formalism and naturalism" and that even so the "rhetorical style of acting produced claims of life-like characters."[41] Furthermore, oratorical or formal styles may have even been appropriate for the portrayal of queens, who were orators in real life and employed a presentational style in public. Arguing for the affective power of the embodied character, Anthony B. Dawson says "self, role, and body form a kind of trinity, three in one, inseparable but distinct."[42] It is clear that boy actors trained as apprentices, were skilled, and like all actors used the body—in whatever fashion—to register meaning. Boy actors studied speech and rhetoric as well as music, singing, and dance. They gestured. On stage, they wore cosmetics, costumes, and hair—either wigs, beards, or their own. Like modern-day actors, there must have been a paradoxical rupture and fusion that existed between a player and character or role. Stanislavski speaks of an actor being "split into two parts" and Chekhov of another, "imaginary body," while at the same time both acting teachers talk of actors' transformation or subsuming into a character. Writing on Shakespearean acting, Dawson claims the "person forms before me as a curious amalgam of the physical body of the actor […] invested paradoxically with the interior life, however, constructed and culturally determined, of the character."[43]

This ambiguous delineation of actor/character is analogous to the long-standing critical debate involving early modern audiences' reception of boy players as female characters. Like Queen Elizabeth's I rule, this cannot be reduced to a simple binary: an audience cognizant that they were watching a boy play a woman versus an audience only aware of character. Thomas Heywood writes in his 1612 *Apology for Actors*,

> But to see our youths attired in the habit of women, who knows not what their intents be? Who cannot distinguish them by their names, assuredly knowing they are but to represent such a lady at such a time appointed?[44]

Yet, Rainolds and other anti-theatricalists write not that boys were representing women, but that through acting—putting on costumes and using expressions—boys were "transformed" into women. There is the oft-cited eyewitness account of a boy actor from Henry Jackson, of Corpus Christi College, who saw a performance in 1610 of *Othello* by the King's Men:

> But indeed Desdemona, killed by her husband, although she always acted the matter very well, in her death moved us still more greatly; when lying in bed she implored the pity of those watching with her countenance alone.[45]

Jackson is responding emotionally to the character of Desdemona, a testimony to the actor's skill. Michael Shapiro writes of a "dual consciousness," that "The two blend in his [Jackson's] mind, as he uses the character's name and feminine grammatical forms and only indirectly praises the actor's ability to evoke pathos

for Desdemona by referring to her facial expressions."[46] A similar conflation happens in *Hamlet* when the players arrive at Elsinore. Hamlet greets the boy actor, who presumably later will play the queen, "What, my young lady and mistress! By'r Lady, your ladyship is nearer to heaven than when I saw you last by the altitude of a chopine."[47] Hamlet's address to the player involves identifying the boy as a "lady," "ladyship," and "mistress," thereby fusing the identity of the actor with the characters he plays. Again, the actor has two separate, but not always distinct, bodies: his own and that of the character. Dawson argues the two bodies can be reconciled from "oscillation between two different and opposing constructions of the theatre (and the theatrical body), on the one hand as mediated, self-conscious, meta-theatrical, and on the other as immediate and present" through "[p]articipation, involving presence and representation in the ritualized act of [audience] reception."[48] In other words, the player queen can be meta-theatrical and also emotionally moving to "catch the conscience of the king" through the participatory exchange of actor and audience (*Ham.* 2.2.540).

Boys as queens accommodated instances of meta-theatrical self-referencing by exercising at least two of the same strategies employed by Elizabeth I herself in connection with her two bodies. First, she strategically adapted her gendered rhetoric depending on its usefulness in a particular context or situation. For instance, in Elizabeth's letters to James it is natural she would figure herself as "king" and "prince" in order to assert her right to rule to the male king. Similarly, as has been suggested before, boy actors draw attention to (or away) from their "latent maleness" depending on what is called for in the dramaturgical moment of the play.[49] Second, in instances such as at Tilbury when Elizabeth calls herself "weak" and "feeble" (while at the same time insisting on her kingship), she is putting those disparaging labels in her mouth so as to remove them from the mouths of her would-be critics.[50] As Paul Menzer writes, "The stage appropriates the language of its critics to legitimize its own practice."[51] Shortly before her suicide, Cleopatra makes what appears to be an explicit reference to the gender of the actor portraying her. She speaks of a "squeaking" actor who will "boy my greatness" (*A&C* 5.2.219). On the one hand, paradoxically, in this instance Cleopatra can be nothing other than a queen/woman because she has displaced the option of boy; he is "squeaking," temporally and geographically dislocated—in the future and in Rome, undesirable, and other than the female queen here speaking. In this dramaturgical moment, the language of the queen authorizes her as a woman. Alternatively, the boy actor has not simply subverted himself but legitimized his presence as an actor able to accommodate both boy and queen through the representational power of the theater.

"Wanton Queans" and Queens on Stage

On the stage, there are ways in which boy actors might have authorized the imaginary bodies of their queens. Some aspects of a boy's physicality might have challenged his ability to represent a woman, but these might also have

been utilized to produce particular, desired effects. There are specific references in Shakespeare's plays to the unusual stature of women, such Rosalind's "more than common tall" or Helena's "tall personage." Likewise, in Hamlet's greeting to the Player Queen quoted above he notices the boy's height as "nearer to heaven." If boy players often were tall for average women, this takes on a special significance when the role is a queen given the equation of high stature and strength. Divinely tall is a key description of an Amazon, the race of warrior women. It is well established that Amazons, characterized as brave and possessing many stereotypical masculine traits, were a fascination for the early modern imagination, undoubtedly tied up with the reign of Queen Elizabeth I.[52] Heywood's version of the events at Tilbury, moreover, describes the queen as "habited like an Amazonian Queene, Buskind and plumed, having a golden Truncheon, Gantlet, and Gorget; Armes sufficient to expresse her *high* and magnanimous Spirit" (emphasis mine).[53] In Shakespeare, Amazons and queens often figure together, and the boy actor's height and masculine attributes might have served him in playing an Amazon or war-like queen. Hippolyta, Queen of the Amazons, is a central character in both *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. In these plays the Amazonian queens are admirable, but in other instances the word "Amazon" is derogatory. In *Henry VI Part 3*, after his defeat and the murder of Rutland, York rails against the "proud queen" Margaret, "How ill-beseeming is it in thy sex / To triumph, like an Amazonian trull."[54] Regardless of whether the label is used with positive or negative connotations, to be an Amazon is to be a powerful leader.

The Amazonian idea contributes to a larger image of queens as warrior women or soldiers on the battlefield, leading armies. Earlier, as Queen Margaret's armies besieged the castle Richard called her "a woman's general" and asked, "what should we fear?" (*3H6* 1.2.68). In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the second Queen refers to Hippolyta as a "soldieress" and later Hippolyta calls herself a solider.[55] Likewise in *King John*, Queen Eleanor says "I am a soldier," and in *King Lear* Cordelia, now Queen of France, enters the stage *"with drum and colours*" leading an army of soldiers against her sisters.[56] In what might be the only extant contemporary illustration of a Shakespearean performance, the 1595 Peacham drawing of *Titus Andronicus*, Tamora, Queen of the Goths, is sketched after her capture in war with Titus.[57] In the drawing, Tamora is kneeling to Titus for the life of her son Alarbus, yet the queen in a kneeling posture is the same stature as Titus. Even if the Peacham drawing is not realistic but emblematic, the sense is that the queen is towering. Height equates to power, giving one possible example of how the natural body of the boy might contribute to the queenly body of the character.

Boys also had to contend with their natural voices. In her concluding statements aligning Queen Elizabeth I with boy players, Levin claims that "Shakespeare's magnificent heroines, powerful articulate women characters, spoke on the Elizabethan stage in male voices," but this is not strictly accurate.[58] One of the biggest assets of boy players was their unbroken voices, and a defining characteristic of Shakespearean queens is often their voice (and also

their willingness to use it, i.e. not remain silent as an early modern woman). As Hamlet says of the player queen, "the Lady shall say her mind freely or the blank verse shall halt for't" (*Ham.* 2.2.289–90). It is Cordelia's voice that Lear longs for after her death, "What is't thou say'st? Her voice was ever soft, / Gentle, and low, an excellent thing in woman" (*KL* 5.3.270–1). Pericles describes his queen as "silver-voiced […] Who starves the ears she feeds, and makes them hungry, / The more she gives them speech."[59]

Shakespearean queens use their voices to negotiate strong emotions such as crying, again blurring the lines of gendered expression. The queen in *Richard II* and the three queens in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* weep when they mourn the loss of their husbands. Just as often, queens use their voices to refrain from crying. Upon receiving Kent's letters, the gentleman describes Cordelia as holding back weeping,

> And now and then an ample tear trill'd down
> Her delicate cheek: it seem'd she was a queen
> Over her passion; who, most rebel-like,
> Sought to be king o'er her. (*KL* 4.3.11–14)

It is noteworthy that the restraint or command of passion is figured as queenly. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Hippolyta says, "we cannot weep" (*TNK* 1.3.18). When arrested, Hermione notes she is "not prone to weeping, as our sex / Commonly are," which is juxtaposed with her women who she instructs, "Do not weep" (*WT* 2.1.108–9 and 2.1.118). In a similar situation in *Henry VIII*, Katherine of Aragon equates her reluctance to weep with being a queen,

> Sir,
> I am about to weep; but, thinking that
> We are a queen, or long have dreamed so, certain
> The daughter of a king, my drops of tears
> I'll turn to sparks of fire. (*H8* 2.4.67–78)

Thus, the restraint of passion is figured as queenly or noble.

In Galenic humoral theory it is the male voice that is associated with heat and fire. Richard Mulcaster in *The Queen's Majesty's Passage* describes those listening to Elizabeth I as "hearing so princelike a voice which could have but not set the enemy on fire."[60] This use of the word "fire" is particularly interesting when compared with Katherine's use of the term in the speech quoted above. Katherine threatens to transform the cold, wet, phlegmatic tears of a woman into "sparks of fire." Not only did the voices of boy actors parallel the anxiety of powerful women, but also presumably their ability to modulate their voices might have, like Elizabeth, permitted those of their queens to at times sound fiery and "princelike."

After noticing the height of the player queen, Hamlet immediately becomes fixated upon his voice: "Pray God your voice, like a piece of uncurrent gold, be

not cracked within the ring" (*Ham.* 2.3.365–6). In her brilliant chapter on "squeaky voices," Gina Bloom reads the pubescent voice of the boy actor as,

> unpredictably modulating between (female) squeakiness and (male) gravity—not only upset[ting] binary gender systems but the logic and operation of early modern patriarchy itself […] In a patriarchal culture that relied upon clear differentiation of the sexes in order to maintain social and political hierarchies, pubescent boys thus become the repositories and the instigators of social and political anxieties.[61]

Fittingly, Bloom uses John Marston's *Antonio and Mellida*, where the plot portrays the hero disguising himself as an Amazon, as a case study to articulate this view of the boy player's voice as dangerously blurring gender lines.

Though boys used assets of their natural bodies and voices to play queens, they also utilized objects of the theater to enhance the illusion. In the Peacham drawing, the tall Tamora is wearing a crown and a dress like those worn by royalty in early modern England—pointing to the material components that comprised the dual-bodied boy-queens' feminine representation. Costumes or clothing are almost always invoked in anxieties about boy players. Rainolds claims cross-dressing is sinful and incites lust, and others avoided the theater because of it.[62] Though not always enforced, with sumptuary laws dictating the types of clothing worn by various social classes boys wearing the robes of queens would have held a unique place in the playhouse. Central to the stage picture, Cleopatra's "show" of queenship involves Iras bringing the queen's "best attires", crown, and other regalia with which to dress the monarch (*A&C* 5.2.278, 80). When Anne Boleyn's coronation is described in *Henry VIII*, she is wearing "her robe, in her hair; richly adorned with pearl, crowned" and surmised as having "all the royal makings of a queen" (*H8* 4.1.36.17–18, 87). As cited above, boy players wore long hair, which may or may not have been their own, creating an even more fascinating composite of dual bodies. To complete the image of boy as queen, with his gown—which certainly would have affected movement and gestures—and his long hair and crown, cosmetics would have probably been applied. As Farah Karim-Cooper has demonstrated, Mary Queen of Scots, Henrietta Maria, and Queen Elizabeth all used cosmetics. Furthermore, Karim-Cooper argues, in light of the theatricality of kingship, that cosmetics played an important role in legitimizing Queen Elizabeth, who is famous for her use of them.[63] In *Richard III*, Queen Margaret calls Elizabeth a "painted queen."[64] Though in this moment, as is often the case, "painted" is an insult referring to the feigned nature of Elizabeth's rule, the boy player makes his "other face," as Hamlet calls it, the face on his queenly body, by using the same materiality as queens themselves.

In other instances, the femininity of a queen would have been more problematic to represent, requiring boy players to go further in refiguring themselves. Shakespeare's queens are often the site of erotic potential and maternalism, and frequently the drama calls for or draws attention to a woman's sexual or

reproductive features. David Mann has persuasively argued for the use of prosthetic breasts by boy actors.[65] Cleopatra, in all her regalia, dies with an asp at her exposed breast. When wooing Lady Anne, who will later become queen, Richard III wants to "live one hour on" her "sweet bosom" (*R3* 1.2.127). In *Henry VI Part 2*, Suffolk tells Margaret he longs to die in her arms like a baby "with mother's dug beneath its lips" and "to have thee with thy lips stop my mouth."[66] Margaret's breast is simultaneously erotic and motherly.

Shakespeare's queens are typically mothers, and therefore pregnancy is staged, requiring another body or a further form of prostheses, a large belly. Tamora, Hermione, Thaisa, and Anne Boleyn are all Shakespearean queens whose labors feature as part of their respective play's action. Stage directions specify that Thaisa appears on stage "with child" (*Per.* 3.0.14.4), and Hermione is pregnant for the first two acts of *The Winter's Tale*. The depiction of pregnant queens in Shakespeare is unsurprising given a queen consort's prerogative to provide the kingdom with an heir. The issue of one of these laboring queens is the future Queen Elizabeth I. When the Old Lady interrupts official business to inform King Henry that Anne has delivered, a salient exchange occurs:

> King Henry VIII. Now, by thy looks
> I guess thy message. Is the queen deliver'd?
> Say, ay; and of a boy.
> Old Lady. Ay, ay, my liege;
> And of a lovely boy: the God of heaven
> Both now and ever bless her! 'tis a girl,
> Promises boys hereafter. Sir, your queen
> Desires your visitation, and to be
> Acquainted with this stranger 'tis as like you
> As cherry is to cherry. (*H8* 5.1.161–9)

The Old Lady's humorous response to the King creates a verbal sleight-of-hand where the future queen is both a boy and a girl, a legitimate heir who is the spitting image of the King—a staple comparison in the real Queen Elizabeth's reign. King Henry's insistence that the Old Lady affirm the baby is a boy betrays the period's unrest, or even unacceptance, of female legitimacy to rule, and even here—as a baby in a drama—it is met with resistance. Of course, the playhouse audience recognizes there would be no "boys hereafter" and this girl will grow up to become heir and queen regnant of England, "a pattern to all princes" (*H8* 5.4.22). In the drama, she is delivered from a female-bodied queen character portrayed by a male-bodied actor.

In Stephen Gosson's anti-theatrical *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*, he writes,

> The profe is euident, the consequēt is necessarie, that in Stage Playes for a boy to put one the attyre, the gesture, the passions of a woman; or a meane person to take vpon him the title of a Prince with counterfeit porte, and traine, is by outwarde signes to shewe them selues otherwise then they are, and so with in the compasse of a lye.[67]

According to Gosson's "proof," a queen on Shakespeare's stage was the ultimate lie because the character combined both a boy appropriating femaleness and that same boy adopting the titles and qualities of royalty. The irony of Gosson's attacks is that the prince on the throne at the time of his writing was a queen whose statecraft mirrored this stagecraft in the sense that it also trespassed patriarchal gender boundaries and utilized "outwarde signes" of both masculinity and femininity to show monarchy. The concept of two bodies extends beyond cross-dressing, language, and powerful female characters to the entire formulation of performing gender and gender as performance. The totality of Shakespeare's queens, as characters in the plays and their creation through the mechanisms of theater, defy categorization. Their voice, figuratively and literally, is neither male nor entirely female, but perhaps somewhere in between or beyond. The power and agency of Shakespeare's queens comes not from simply appropriating a singular gender identity, but rather from completely redefining the relationship between gender, power, and performance, inspiring new conceptions of roles both onstage and off.

Notes

1. John Knox, *The First Blast of the Trumpet Against the Monstruous Regiment of Women* (Geneva: J Poullian and A. Rebul, 1558).
2. Katherine Eggert, *Showing Like a Queen: Female Authority and Literary Experiment in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 2.
3. John Rainolds, *Th'overthrow of stage-playes, by the way of controversie betwixt D. Gager and D. Rainoldes* (Middelburg: Printed by Richard Schilders, 1599).
4. John R. Elliot, *Oxford 1: the REED series edition of dramatic records of the university and city of Oxford, England up to and including 1642* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 131–133.
5. Elliot, *Oxford 1: REED*, 133.
6. Elliot, *Oxford 1: REED*, 133.
7. William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. by John Wilders, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1995), 5.2.226.
8. Anne Barton, *Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play* (London: Chatto and Windus, 1962), 113.
9. See Stephen Greenblatt, "Invisible Bullets," in *Shakespearean Negotiations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 21–65.
10. See especially Eggert, *Showing Like A Queen;* Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013); and Leah Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare: Local Reading and Its Discontents* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1988) whose criticism will be discussed in this chapter.
11. Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957) and Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Swift Printers Ltd. for Royal Historical Society, 1977), x, 12.
12. Eggert, *Showing Like a Queen*, 4.

13. See note 10.
14. See especially Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I the Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
15. Frye, *Elizabeth I the Competition for Representation*, 12.
16. Levin, *Heart and Stomach,* 121.
17. Frye, *Elizabeth I and the Competition for Representation*, 13.
18. Frye, *Elizabeth I and the Competition for Representation*, 13.
19. Mary Beth Rose, *Gender and Heroism in Early Modern English Literature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 27.
20. Lisa Hopkins, "The Words of a Queen: Elizabeth I on stage and page," in *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern*, ed. Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 152.
21. Frye, *Elizabeth I and the Competition for Representation*, 4.
22. In the period, "prince" could refer to a male or female ruler, but it still carried masculine connotations, and Elizabeth I used the label more than she used "princess."
23. Rayne Allinson, "Conversations on kingship: the letters of Queen Elizabeth I and King James VI," in *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern*, ed. Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2009), 133.
24. Constance Jordan, "Representing Political Androgyny: More on the Siena Portrait of Queen Elizabeth I," in *Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon*, ed. Anne M. Haselkorn (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1990), 157.
25. See Frye, *Elizabeth I and the Competition for Representation*, and Jordan, "Representing Political Androgyny."
26. Susan Watkins, *In Public and in Private: Elizabeth I and her World* (Singapore: Thames and Hudson, 1998), 46.
27. Frye, *Elizabeth I and the Competition for Representation*, 3.
28. Levin, *Heart and Stomach*, 144–45.
29. Levin, *Heart and Stomach*, 125. See also Queen Elizabeth's reported remarks on being the "husband" to King Philip II's widowed sister Juana, 133.
30. Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare,* 14, and also Leah S. Marcus, "Shakespeare's Comic Heroines, Elizabeth I, and the Political Uses of Androgyny," in *Women in the Middle Ages and Renaissance,* ed. Mary Beth Rose (Syracuse, N. Y., 1986), 137.
31. Marcus, *Puzzling Shakespeare*, 101.
32. Levin, *Heart and Stomach*, 128.
33. Levin, *Heart and Stomach*, 133–37.
34. Marcus, "Comic Heroines," 135.
35. Lori Leigh, *Shakespeare and the Embodied Heroine: Staging Female Characters in the Late Plays and Early Adaptations* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).
36. Phyllis Rackin, *Shakespeare and Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 83.
37. William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. John Pitcher, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 4.4.454–55.
38. William Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, ed. Gordon McMullan, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), 4.2.171–73.

39. Constantin Stanislavski, *Building a Character*, trans. Nick O'Brien (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 149.
40. Michael Chekhov, *To the Actor*, ed. Mala Powers (New York: Routledge, 2002), 78–79.
41. Travis Curtright, *Shakespeare's Dramatic Persons* (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2016), 3–4. Curtright's "Introduction" summarizes this argument very well, and his book demonstrates how a rhetorical acting style could present lifelike characters.
42. Anthony B. Dawson and Paul Yachnin, eds., *The Culture of Playgoing in Shakespeare's England: A Collaborative Debate* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 15.
43. Anthony B. Dawson, "Performance and Participation: Desdemona, Foucault, and the actors' body," in *Shakespeare, Theory, and Performance,* ed. James C. Bulman (New York: Routledge, 1995), 41–42. Dawson is discussing Sarah Siddons performance of Lady Macbeth in the "sleepwalking scene," but his conclusions are applied to Elizabethan acting. The chapter in general provides an interesting framework for explaining the relationship between actor and character.
44. Thomas Heywood, *An apology for actors Containing three briefe treatises*, (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, 1612).
45. Quoted in Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stag*e 3rd ed., (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 226.
46. Michael Shapiro, *Gender in Play on the Shakespearean Stage*, (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 43.
47. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, ed. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), 2.2.362–64.
48. Dawson, "Performance and Participation," 40. Dawson writes specifically of the boy actor on pp. 42–45.
49. Marcus, "Comic Heroines," 135.
50. In *Puzzling Shakespeare*, Marcus makes a similar point using a 1566 speech of Queen Elizabeth, 55–6.
51. Paul Menzer, "The Actor's Inhibition: Early Modern Acting and the Rhetoric of Restraint," *Renaissance Drama*, New Series, 35 (2006): 87.
52. See Louis Montrose, *The Purpose of Playing: Shakespeare and Cultural Politics of the Elizabethan Theatre* (University of Chicago Press, 1997) and Simon Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women: Varieties of Feminism in Seventeenth-Century Drama* (Brighton: Harvester, 1981). Shepherd makes a distinction between "warrior women" and Amazons though the terms are often used interchangeably.
53. Qtd. in Shepherd, *Amazons and Warrior Women*, 22.
54. William Shakespeare, *Henry VI Part 3*, ed. John D. Cox and Eric Rasmussen, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), 1.4.113–14.
55. William Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. Lois Potter, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1996), 1.3.18–22 and 1.1.85.
56. William Shakespeare, *King John*, ed. E.A.J. Honigmann, Arden 2nd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1954), 1.2.150; *King Lear*, ed. R.A. Foakes, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1997), 4.4.1.0.
57. There is some debate over the Peacham drawing as a representation of Shakespeare's play. See June Schlueter's "Rereading the Peacham Drawing" and

for a counter-argument, Richard Levin's "The Longleat Manuscript and Titus Andronicus." Either way, the drawing represents a queen character.

58. Levin, *Heart and Stomach*, 148.
59. William Shakespeare, *Pericles*, ed. by Suzanne Gossett, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), 5.1.101–4.
60. Richard Mulcaster, *The Queen's Majesty's Passages and Related Documents*, ed. Germaine Warkentin (Toronto: University of Toronto, 2004), 76. Mulcaster's comments on the voice of Queen Elizabeth are particularly salient when one considers he instructed boys in voice and rhetoric.
61. Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), 26–7.
62. David Mann, *Shakespeare's Women: Performance and Conception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 110. See his reference to Sir Simonds D'Ewes.
63. Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006).
64. William Shakespeare, *Richard III*, ed. by James R. Siemon, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 1.3.240.
65. Mann, *Shakespeare's Women*, 102–4.
66. William Shakespeare, *Henry VI Part 2*, ed. by Ronald Knowles, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1999), 3.2.393–96.
67. Stephen Gosson, *Playes confuted in fiue actions* (London: Imprinted for Thomas Gosson dwelling in Pater noster row at the signe of the Sunne, 1582).

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CHAPTER 3

Shakespeare's Queens and Collective Forces: Facing Aristocracy, Dealing with Crowds

Ugo Bruschi and Angela Reboli

Shakespeare's queens usually move within a limited social circle, but events can bring them onto a larger political stage. Once there, they encounter groups of aristocrats, who act threatening and aggressive or collaborative and subservient, or they feel pressure from the common people, expressed by clamoring crowds or by the burden of their subjects' destinies. On such occasions, queens react differently: sometimes they rise to the challenge of the collective forces they face; sometimes they are slow to acknowledge the voice of the people and to react; sometimes they are openly disdainful. Shakespeare casts his queens in a range of roles: weak and irresolute characters as Gertrude (*Hamlet*) or Isabel (*Richard II*), villains such as Tamora (*Titus Andronicus*), Lady Macbeth, or the anonymous Queen in *Cymbeline*, or political animals like Margaret of Anjou. Appearing in four different plays with a major role in three of them, she is the queen who interacts most frequently with aristocrats and commoners: thus, she becomes a prism, showing different possible attitudes of queens dealing with collective forces. Queens in Shakespeare's later plays such as Cleopatra and Katherine of Aragon, however, find themselves faced with what can only be termed the spirit

The authors wish to make clear that while they both contributed equally to this chapter, Angela Reboli is primarily responsible for Sects. 1, 2 and 3, while Ugo Bruschi is primarily responsible for the Introduction and Sects. 4 and 5.

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of the modern nation—a deeper and more challenging reality. Those were the same forces Queen Elizabeth I and King James I had to deal with. While Elizabeth ruled skillfully thanks to the careful management of a cooperative, though at times unrestful, Parliament and to her understanding of the deep feelings of the nation, James was soon plagued by the nostalgia for the dead Queen.

The Unexpected Power of Shakespeare's First Queen

As Shakespeare's first queen, the young and foreign Margaret is shown fighting her male competitors from her third speech in *2 Henry VI*. Within the first two hundred lines of the play, she will confront the common people of the realm, attempt to assert the king's will in the face of a restless court, conspire with some of the most ambitious peers, attack the Lord Protector, and offend his proud wife. Not bad for the inexperienced lady whose first words had pointed out the necessity, for a woman, not "to be lavish of [her] tongue."[1] Margaret does not mince words, addressing the three petitioners she encounters in Act I as "base cullions" (*2H6* 1.3.41) and explicitly saying that the beloved Lord Protector Gloucester, to whom the petitions are directly addressed, were the charges of treason against him proved, might "quickly hop without [his] head" (*2H6* 1.3.138). The only petitioner to whom Margaret listens is the one whose petition benefits her politically. Furthermore, her scornful reaction—tearing the two other petitions to pieces (in the Folio text)—provides a clear motivation for the growing popular unrest that explodes in Act 4 as the bloody carnival of Jack Cade's rebellion.

In the context of the late sixteenth century, Margaret's reaction is an attack on one of the most cherished ancient liberties of the English nation. In Elizabeth's reign, the extent to which people's grievances could find expression was under discussion, especially depending on the claim of a f(r)action of the House of Commons to a right, or even a duty, to call Her Majesty's attention to the most controversial issues. The obscurity that surrounds parliament in Shakespeare's plays possibly mirrors the somber mood of the last years of Elizabeth's reign.[2] The petitioners in *2 Henry VI* do not venture into such a dangerous field, nor beyond the traditional boundaries of their right.[3] Although their petitions touch on burning issues in Elizabethan parliaments, such as the state of the Church and the growing extension of enclosed lands, they do not ask for general reform but for a specific redress.[4] Indeed, the second petitioner's plea against the Duke of Suffolk for "enclosing the commons of Melford" would have rung true to many Elizabethan audience members (*2H6* 1.3.21).[5]

The tearing of petitions and Margaret's blindness to people's wishes prejudice the audience against her: they represent a reversal of one of the traditional roles of a queen consort, to intercede with her husband for the needs of the common people.[6] Furthermore, her attitude is in stark contrast with Queen Elizabeth's solicitude in receiving petitions, at least until the final decade of her reign. Nevertheless, seeing Margaret as "snarling anti-populist" tells just one side of her story.[7] As soon as the petitioners leave the stage, she asks Suffolk four questions in a row, the first three concerning the way England is ruled.

> My lord of Suffolk, say, is this the guise,
> Is this the fashions in the court of England?
> Is this the government of Britain's isle,
> And this the royalty of Albion's king?
> What, shall King Henry be a pupil still
> Under the surly Gloucester's governance?
> Am I a queen in title and in style,
> And must be made a subject to a duke? (*2H6* 1.3.43–50)

In one sense, here is a foreign queen who attacks the English constitution and the right of the common people to express their needs. Still, Margaret's attention is focused on Gloucester's protectorate and on the frustration she feels as queen consort of a king who does not actually rule. Gloucester, the darling of the people, is the first target of her wrath, but in attacking "the good Duke Humphrey," the queen challenges her subjects.

Although Margaret now knows the trust the people have in the Lord Protector, she decides to embark on a dangerous game where she joins other members of the aristocracy to bring him down. It is open to question how far, in the plot against Gloucester, Margaret manipulates her aristocratic accomplices, or whether she is herself victim of their machinations. However, even if she were the victim, her mistakes cannot be explained away as a woman playing a man's game: in the *Henry VI* plays, male players are often caught on the wrong foot, and failure seems the only common ground these enemies share. Moreover, Margaret's abilities not only rival those of her male competitors and allies, but she also makes use of her gender to achieve her political aims.[8] As this ambiguity about gender was an important element in Queen Elizabeth I's self-presentation, such an attitude can hardly, in itself, be considered a negative trait in Margaret.[9]

It is Margaret who draws attention to the enormity of the king's behavior when Henry leaves the Bury St. Edmunds parliament in the middle of proceedings: a detail Shakespeare invented, stressing with a royal plural uncommon for Henry the constitutional heresy of the king's statement: "Do, or undo, as if ourself were here" (*2H6* 3.1.196). In acting thus, not only does Henry betray his subjects and the Lord Protector, but, by leaving vacant his authority, he also commits political suicide.[10] Commoners are not part of Bury St. Edmunds parliament, but they remain a political factor everybody seems to have forgotten. It is a serious error: as soon as Gloucester's death been announced, they rise and enter the stage. Warwick announces them with words that are the reverse of the conventional image of a busy, disciplined commonwealth: "The commons, like an angry hive of bees / That want their leader, scatter up and down / And care not who they sting in his revenge" (*2H6* 3.2.125–7).[11] Although Margaret is the first to react to the cries of "Down with Suffolk," she does not recognize immediately the commanding voice of the crowd. Shortly afterwards, not just a crowd, but "infinite numbers" of rebels will flood the stage and Cade's revolt will shake the throne.[12]

From She-wolf of France to Nemesis

The leadership displayed by Margaret in the final scenes of *2 Henry VI* makes her a major political force in *3 Henry VI*. While her actions in that play are no worse than her male counterparts, she nonetheless receives additional condemnation for them, and critics often subscribe to York's comparison: "Women are soft, mild, pitiful, and flexible; / Thou stern, obdurate, flinty, rough, remorseless."[13] While there is a woman in the first tetralogy who corresponds to York's model—Lady Anne in *Richard III*—she turns out to be one of the most wretched queens in the Shakespearean canon.[14] Margaret, despite being at ease in what Phyllis Rackin calls the "Machiavellian jungle" of the *Henry VI* plays, is not wrong to enter the field and fight for the throne: she ought to be judged by the same standards as her aristocratic male competitors.[15] When she enters wearing armor and delivers a great oration before her final battle, it is hard not to be reminded of Queen Elizabeth on the field of Tilbury in 1588. Though the armor may have been apocryphal, the queen's display of physical courage, leadership, and sharing of her soldiers' plight, together with her patriotic speech, amounted to a master-stroke of propaganda.[16] Margaret delivers a similar address before the battle of Tewkesbury, and the use of an extended naval metaphor suggests an unmistakable parallel to England's recent brush with Spanish invasion.

> We will not from the helm to sit and weep,
> But keep our course, though the rough wind say no,
> From shelves and rocks that threaten us with wrack.
> As good to chide the waves as speak them fair. (*3H6* 5.4.21–4)

Although Margaret's war is not the great nationally identifying moment that the triumph over the Armada was, she rises to the occasion and her oration conveys a sense of fighting for the same cause, acting as a morale boost for the troops and echoing Elizabeth's speech at Tilbury. Richard of Gloucester's sarcasm—"A woman's general. What should we fear?" (*3H6* 1.2.67)—paradoxically enhances Margaret's image in spite of her final defeat.[17]

Vanquished on the field, Margaret comes back, regardless of historical accuracy, in *Richard III*, when Shakespeare endows her with more powerful weapons: the ability to curse and prophesy. The former queen cannot compete with the aristocracy militarily, but she is still a power to be reckoned with and proves an agent for the downfall of her arch-enemy, Richard of Gloucester. While Richard brings down the men of the aristocracy one by one, he also faces women who have been (Margaret), are (Elizabeth), or will be (Anne) queens, as well as his own mother, who, though not a queen herself, was the mother of two kings. While these women's lot initially appears to be a future of mourning, they instead form the core of the resistance to Richard's misrule. In Act 4, scene 4, Margaret interrupts Elizabeth and the Duchess mourning for Elizabeth's two murdered sons to remind them of the crimes their family committed. Hers is the

voice—though harsh—of justice: the people she curses are guilty. Furthermore, when she leaves, she has not simply taught the other women "how to curse […] enemies," she has given them the rhetorical force to oppose the king.[18] It is the turning point of the play, and it appears as retributive justice that the serial misogynist Richard meets his match in two women, who, in a powerful scene, stop with their presence the king's train. For the first time in the play, Richard is unable to overcome an obstacle either with a trial of strength (as in his ridiculous attempt to silence their voices with flourishes and alarums) or with his rhetoric, in the subsequent exchange with Elizabeth. The audience witnesses the king's army kept at bay by two women and hears the Duchess place upon her last surviving son "my most heavy curse, / Which, in the day of battle, tire thee more / Than all the complete armour that thou wear'st" (*R3* 4.4.188–90). His long tête-à-tête with Elizabeth further demonstrates that Richard is losing his power, as he underestimates her and gives her the chance to ally with his enemies.

While it is the queens who are the most vocal in their resistance to Richard, there is another major, if quieter, force arrayed against him: the common people of England. In two short scenes often cut in performance, ordinary people bitterly comment on events. If their initial grumbling seems passive, the crowd's silence—"like dumb statues or breathing stones"—when Buckingham asks for their support for Richard's claim to the throne is an act of resistance (*R3* 3.7.25). Viewed in light of the monarchical republic of Elizabethan England, where so much depended on the active co-operation of local officers, such a reaction did not bode well, especially as it concerned a succession crisis.[19] There is a correspondence between the mistrust of the people—who seem able to see through the Lord Protector's deceptions—and the hard-won capacity of Elizabeth to cheat the master-cheater: queens and commoners are the only bulwark against Richard's frauds.[20]

Failed Queenship?

Although a queen consort, Margaret clearly wields a great amount of power, and she wields it openly. Other queens consort are seldom put to the test of a direct confrontation with collective forces. At the beginning of *Titus Andronicus*, the queen of Goths, Tamora, shows a remarkable grasp of the values of Rome's polity despite being a prisoner of war and a foreigner. As soon as Saturninus has decided to make her the new empress, she declares herself "incorporate in Rome" and is ready to offer advice to her husband.[21] She warns him that the people might "supplant you for ingratitude, / Which Rome reputes to be a heinous sin" and advises him to "dissemble all your griefs and discontents" until she has time to plan vengeance for both of them (*TA* 1.1.452–3, 448). This knowledge fails her, however, later in the play at a genuine moment of political crisis, when she thinks Saturninus can maneuver the Roman people:

> King, be thy thoughts imperious like thy name.
> Is the sun dimmed, that gnats do fly in it?

> The eagle suffers little birds to sing,
> And is not careful what they mean thereby,
> Knowing that with the shadow of his wings
> He can at pleasure stint their melody:
> Even so mayst thou the giddy men of Rome. (*TA* 4.4.80–6)

The plan she suggests is a spectacular failure, her grotesque masquerade as Revenge leading to the death of her last two sons. Tamora has so distanced herself from the commonwealth that she betrays the same dismissive attitude toward her former subjects, the Goths, who "join forces" with the Romans "over her body: an image that […] is graphically realized at the play's denouement."[22] In light of the atrocities committed by the main characters, it is not surprising that, "dormant throughout the play, the people of Rome emerge" and "the popular element in the body politic […] rises to recover its lost sovereignty," while the Goths transfer their allegiance to the Roman general Lucius.[23] While the metaphor of enraged bees from *2 Henry VI* reappears in the words of the Goths' spokesman, the image is more orderly, as they agree to "follow thee where thou lead'st, / Like stinging bees in the hottest summer's day / Led by their master to the flowered fields, / And be avenged on cursed Tamora" (*TA* 5.1.9–16). Thus, by neglecting both her original and adopted commonwealths to pursue personal revenge, Tamora's downfall is complete.

Queen Isabel in *Richard II* is a weaker, though more positive, character than Tamora; yet her lack of understanding of the feelings of the political nation is obvious. The evils of Richard's rule are pointed out in the garden scene (3.4), where the queen overhears a dialogue between ordinary people, resonating with both scriptural and political undertones. It emerges that Richard is not just a weak king, but a tyrant, in that he puts his own needs before his kingdom's; in spite of that, the queen reacts by challenging the voice of wisdom she has just heard.[24]

Gertrude's case in *Hamlet* is different, in that her status as queen consort seems to rest more on her passive attitude than on her legal condition, at least as far as being "th'imperial jointress of this warlike state" should entail a larger constitutional role than the one she actually plays.[25] Gertrude is one of the few Shakespearian monarchs who face a popular revolt. The cry of the crowd attacking Elsinore, "Choose we" (*Ham.* 4.5.106), is not implausible in the complex Danish constitution, where it is unclear how and by whom the new monarch is chosen, but the announcement calls into question its own legality by drawing attention to the fact that popular support for Laertes is not just against tradition, but custom as well (*Ham.* 4.5.102–8).[26] In her reaction Gertrude appears as an alien, crying, "O this is counter, you false Danish dogs!" (*Ham.* 4.5.110), but the image of the hounds hunting the trail backwards could also be read as a warning indicating that Laertes' rebellion will be counter-productive for the commonwealth. What follows, however, is anticlimactic: after being physically intercepted by Gertrude—an unexpected display of courage on her part—Laertes is quickly manipulated by Claudius and

popular support for him seems to vanish. Despite being a political cipher, in backing Claudius, Gertrude's actions circumvent the people's claims. Unlike the usurpers in *2 Henry VI*, *Richard III*, and *King Lear*, Claudius is curiously not presented as a tyrant despite having murdered his brother to gain his crown, so Gertrude's involvement makes her character more rather than less ambiguous.

Nobody would dream of describing Lady Macbeth as a passive queen consort in the vein of Gertrude or Queen Isabel, but the other characters are unaware that she is politically active, until the last: while she is a main character, her interaction with anyone except her husband is limited. Common people are outside the scope of her actions: even when she confesses her crimes she is speaking to herself or to Macbeth, not to the servants who overhear her. This mirrors the strongly hierarchical society of Scotland, but with the exception of the banquet scene (3.4) Lady Macbeth does not interact with the aristocracy either. The swinging pendulum that denotes the relationship between king and queen is quite evident: when Macbeth is weak, it falls on his wife's shoulders to save the day, whereas when he is strong, it is Lady Macbeth's turn to betray her frailties. In this first, and most embarrassing *public* exposure of Macbeth's weakness, the queen must step into the breach and face the aristocracy of the kingdom, but her situation is impossible, not least because she is the only woman on stage in a patriarchal society.[27] It would be unfair to blame the disaster of the banquet on Lady Macbeth, but her efforts do make matters worse. Her last lines to the departing thanes are the final straw: "At once, good night. / Stand not upon the order of your going, / But go at once."[28] Lady Macbeth's contribution to the failure of the state banquet is to ratify—with her authority as queen briefly acting as regent for her stunned husband—the destruction of that hierarchical order vital to the Scottish society described in the tragedy.[29] In a way, the same hierarchical order she sabotaged with the ambiguities of her language in the first half of the play, that echoed the weird sisters' predictions and pushed her husband to commit regicide, is now once and for all destroyed in her confrontation with the aristocracy. This is a political turning point: when Scotland's noblemen are next on stage, Macbeth is, for the first time, referred to as "tyrant" (*Mac.* 3.6.22).

In *King Lear*, Goneril and Regan are legally queen consorts (although their status is ambiguous), but they wield no small power. Both sisters have their share of responsibility in the ruling of the country, and, although they never face a collective force, they pay the price of their lack of attention to the needs of the commonwealth. The consequences of neglecting the welfare of the nation are quite evident, as the wretched monarch himself realizes after his ordeal in the tempest and just before his meeting with "poor Tom."

> Poor naked wretches, wheresoe'er you are,
> That bide the pelting of this pitiless storm,
> How shall your houseless heads and unfed sides,
> Your looped and windowed raggedness, defend you

> From seasons such as these? O, I have ta'en
> Too little care of this.[30]

Regan and Goneril are oblivious to this political duty and necessity, and whenever they meet a common man, their reaction is of contempt and/or anger. This is especially relevant, as *King Lear* features several instances where the disobedience of a servant or someone lower on the social scale entails serious consequences that are meant to be perceived as virtuous and justified. This leads to the most radical political act performed on the Shakespearian stage, the assassination of Cornwall by one of *his* servants in the presence of Regan, an action amounting to an act of treason, but which is, on the contrary, presented as highly commendable.[31] This appears like the world upside down of Cade's rebellion, or the world starting afresh of the Danish crowd, yet it is not: it is one in which neglect of the rulers' duties has led to the necessity of common people to step in and do the right thing. The anonymous servant who kills Cornwall is not alone: in the Quarto text two more servants help Gloucester; and noblemen like Kent and Edgar must deny their privileged status in order to fight against an evil power.[32] In this context, Regan and Goneril's egoism, their contempt both for society's most sacred duties and for the welfare of their subjects classifies their rule as a tyranny. Strikingly, the necessity of a reversal of the social order is endorsed by the king himself, in his suggestion to "change places" in the social hierarchy and in his denunciation of authority (*KL* 4.6.147–55).[33]

Incidentally, it is especially when there is a failure in queenship that popular reaction seems justified. *Pericles* and *Cymbeline* can be added to the cases mentioned above. In *Pericles*, Dioniza's wickedness, together with Cleon's uxoriousness, brings about an insurrection culminating with the violent death of the rulers. Interestingly, as far as the relationship with common people is concerned, this play finds a different model of queenship in Pericles' daughter, Marina, destined to reign in Tyrus. After rescuing herself from many dangers and opening a school to help girls, she will probably prove a more efficient ruler than her father: her resourcefulness, moral values, ability to employ her skills to the benefit of others and to deal with all social classes bode well for her future as a queen.[34] In *Cymbeline*, the unnamed queen's behavior triggers a series of denials of obedience and leads to the killing of her son, Cloten, by a commoner: an act Cymbeline sees as a subversion of the order of the state.[35] Only providential justice can pardon the murderer through the revelation of his real identity as one of the king's lost sons. The conduct of *Cymbeline*'s queen makes a strong case for disobedience and even rebellion: devious as a wife and stepmother, she is also politically dangerous. The control she exercises over her husband and the selfish ends to which she employs it amount to tyranny; the air of witchcraft about her is an aggravating factor.[36] Apparently, though, the queen shares the feelings of the Britons, in her vehement speech in which she denies the payment of the tribute to Rome (*Cym.* 3.1.14–33), and Cloten backs his mother. Casting the villains of the play as patriots is a puzzling

choice on Shakespeare's part but their behavior is only ostensibly patriotic: the queen's words spring from her ambition, and she does not hesitate to distort the truth.[37] The decision of Cymbeline at the end of the play, when he restores the tribute even though he has won the battle against the Romans, speaks volumes against the honesty of the queen: she is called "our wicked Queen" and is punished for her sins, feigned patriotism included (*Cym.* 5.5.458–64).[38] Her nationalism is therefore not a sign of communion with the political nation, but perhaps the best example of that art of manipulation in which she excels until, like Tamora, it brings about her doom and that of her dynasty.

The Politics of Love

Cleopatra is the only undisputed queen regnant in Shakespeare's works.[39] She is extremely conscious of her role as a head of state, as is shown in the very first scene of the tragedy: not only does she immediately remind audiences both onstage and off that she is "Egypt's Queen," she asks Mark Antony five times to hear the ambassadors from Rome—a clear indication of her interest in affairs of state.[40] Compared to her, in this first scene Antony is in danger of appearing an overexcited man eager to humor his lover, and not a ruler in his own right.

Critics have been quick to point out the shadow of Queen Elizabeth in Shakespeare's queen of Egypt, and there is no denying the similarities between these two queens regnant.[41] Some traits are common to the two queens, both iconographically associated with the goddess of the moon (Isis and Diana): their wit, fascinating personality, and command of foreign languages, their ability to play a part whenever political necessity required, or their outbursts of wrath, perhaps not always genuine, even against their trusted aides. Furthermore, Cleopatra's ability to "transform herself from the object of others' speculations into the author of her own representation" is a sure reminder of Elizabeth.[42] Even specific episodes of the former English queen's life are evoked on stage: Cleopatra's interview with the messenger about Octavia's physical appearance (*A&C* 3.3.7–37) is probably a reference to the meeting between Elizabeth and Mary Stuart's envoy Sir James Melville in 1564, while Enobarbus' description of Cleopatra and Antony's first meeting may be using Thomas North's translation of Plutarch to evoke memories of Elizabeth's state barge on the Thames.[43] What their political strategies have in common is the use of the body natural to achieve the aims of the body politic. Cleopatra explicitly uses her sexuality, while Elizabeth first enthralled her court and Europe as the most eligible lady in Christendom before building her image as "Virgin Queen," but both used their sexual identities to strengthen their position as rulers.[44] Both are also keenly aware of the public nature of monarchy, as Elizabeth I remarked in a 1586 speech, "We princes, I tell you, are set on stages in the sight and view of all the world duly observed."[45] Similarly, Cleopatra is constantly aware of the eyes of the world upon her, when it comes to her policy, her love stories, or even her death.[46]

Cleopatra, in herself, embodies a political force unlike any other character in Shakespeare's works: she *is* Egypt. She is constantly addressed as Egypt; even Antony hardly ever calls her Cleopatra, preferring "Queen" or "Egypt." She embodies the political nation behind her in a way no Roman could ever dream of. Cleopatra's identification with her country is emphasized by Shakespeare's choice to exclude Egyptian crowds outside the court: she identifies so much with her people that she does not need to face them. As such, queen regnant Cleopatra is very different from queen consorts such as Gertrude or Margaret, who are both literally unable to understand the people's voice when they hear it. Cleopatra's subjects can finish her sentences for her or speak on her behalf.[47] It is no coincidence that in the very few occasions Cleopatra is associated with crowds, they are either the cheering multitudes in Enobarbus' dreamlike description of her appearance on the Nile (*A&C* 2.2.200–28), or alien, foreign crowds of Romans, whom she treats with utter contempt. The latter are only evoked in the distasteful image of the Roman mobs "with greasy aprons, rules and hammers" who will have good sport jeering at the Egyptian women during Caesar's triumph or watching Cleopatra and Antony's tale performed in the Roman equivalent of third-rate cabaret (*A&C* 4.12.34, 36).

> Saucy lictors
> Will catch at us like strumpets, and scald rhymers
> Ballad us out o' tune. The quick comedians
> Extemporally will stage us and present
> Our Alexandrian revels; Antony
> Shall be brought drunken forth; and I shall see
> Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness
> I' th' posture of a whore. (*A&C* 5.2.213–20)

As to other collective forces, they hardly interact with the queen; in Shakespeare's play the Egyptian aristocracy is either nonexistent or irrelevant, while Cleopatra has little to no contact with the Roman military aristocracy. Still, whenever she thinks of Roman customs, the queen is uncomprehending or disapproving: the only polity Cleopatra is able to understand is the Egyptian one.

Cleopatra's nature is so closely identified with Egypt that this identification plays a decisive role in two of the most crucial moments within the tragedy. This political dimension underlies Cleopatra's worst decision, which is to urge Antony to fight a naval battle primarily so she can take part. As she explains to Enobarbus at the opening of Act 3, scene 7, Rome declared war on Egypt, and it is therefore her duty to be present. It is in her persona as queen, and not as a woman willing to follow her man, that she makes what turns out to be her worst political mistake: still, one wonders if she had another choice. A parallel with Elizabeth and the Armada is again evident, underlined by the way in which Cleopatra also engenders herself male, that she "as the president of my kingdom, will / Appear there for a man" (*A&C* 3.7.17–18).

Cleopatra's identification with Egypt reaches a climax at the end of the play: even at her death, which occupies and monopolizes the entire last act of the tragedy, Cleopatra behaves not just as a queen, but as the queen of Egypt, the "serpent of the old Nile" succumbing to a real asp. In spite of appearances, it is not a "Roman" death—suicide as an escape from the humiliation of defeat—but the moral victory of a political leader, and of the country she embodies, against an adversary. Almost with her last breath, Cleopatra boasts of how she has tricked her Roman enemies, wishing she could hear the asp "call great Caesar ass / Unpolicied!" the adjective meaning "outwitted in 'policy' or statecraft" (*A&C* 5.2.306–7).[48] When a Roman guard alleges that Caesar is "beguiled," Charmian justifies Cleopatra's actions as "fitting for a princess / Descended of so many royal kings" (*A&C* 5.2.325–6). Her suicide is also a political act: by choosing death in her body natural, she can claim a victory in her body politic.[49]

Katherine of Aragon is the last queen portrayed by Shakespeare, in collaboration with John Fletcher, and *Henry VIII* returns to some of the situations faced by Margaret of Anjou in the plays of the 1590s. In an invented scene, Katherine deals with petitions to her husband the king, but her reaction could not be more different from Margaret's. Whereas Margaret attacked the petitioners, Katherine presents herself first as a kneeling "suitor" and then as the bearer of a "petition" on behalf of the clothiers suffering from heavy taxation at the hands of Cardinal Wolsey.[50] This is her first move in the political arena, and it confirms her both as a spokesperson of the commoners and as opposition to the king's favorite, and thus implicitly to Henry himself, who is unconvincing when pleading his ignorance of the devised taxation.[51] While the petitioners in *2 Henry VI* were acting within the limits of constitutional property, the grievances Katherine is supporting have been expressed in a way "which breaks / The sides of loyalty and almost appears / In loud rebellion" (*H8* 1.2.27–9). In this first attempt Katherine succeeds, but she later fails to save Buckingham and again in the divorce trial. Some scholars point out the similarities between Shakespeare's Katherine and the wife of James I, Anna of Denmark, whose need to assert herself vis-à-vis the relation between the king and his favorites is shadowed in the way Henry VIII leans on his favorites in the play.[52] When *Henry VIII* was first performed in 1613, Anna was building an image of herself as an independent queen with a political role to play, as is evident in the masques that she not only participated in but also helped to write and produce.[53] In the play, Katherine is involved in a masque, the vision of an angelic procession foreshadowing her admission to Heaven. This dream helps establish Katherine as the moral balance of the play, thus exposing the hypocrisy of the Church, of the collective force of the court, and eventually of the king himself.[54] Justice is not the only virtue the queen can claim for herself: by accepting Griffith's vindication of the character of Cardinal Wolsey, Katherine is able to show mercy to her greatest enemy.

The parallel between Anna of Denmark and *Henry VIII*'s Katherine is a plausible explanation for making a Catholic queen such a positive force, and for emphasizing her so prominently over the Protestant queen and mother of

Elizabeth I, Anne Boleyn. That Shakespeare and Fletcher tried to create a strong link between Henry's first wife and her new country, at the cost of adulterating their sources, is even more striking. Not only is Katherine the defender of traditional English liberties, she is also anglicized, both in her language and in her feeling of belonging.[55] Surprisingly for a foreign queen, she demonstrates a communion with the political nation, which translates into identification with the common people's humility as well as the adoption and mastery of a foreign language. The play portrays Katherine as well aware of her royal status, but equally ready to present herself as "part of a housewife," to refer to her "weak wit," to claim "I was set at work / Among my maids," and to protest "You know I am a woman, lacking wit / To make a seemly answer" (*H8* 3.1.24, 72, 74–5, 177–8). Her command of the tongue she has learned while queen plays an important role in the two most important crises she encounters: the divorce trial and her final meeting with Cardinals Wolsey and Campeius. On the first occasion, she displays eloquence reminiscent of Elizabeth's while presenting herself as a "humble wife" and a petitioner requesting "right and justice; / And to bestow your pity on me, for / I am a most poor woman" (*H8* 2.4.21; 11–13). On the second occasion, she scolds Cardinal Wolsey for choosing Latin, the language of the Church and of diplomacy, and urges him to use English instead:

> O, good my lord, no Latin.
> I am not such a truant since my coming,
> As not to know the language I have lived in.
> A strange tongue makes my cause more strange, suspicious. (*H8* 3.1.42–5)

In doing so she arouses sympathy in her ladies in waiting and the same of the audience in the theater, noting "Here are some will thank you" and proving that she has nothing to hide (*H8* 3.1.46). Moreover, the use of English also narrows the distance between a foreign, Catholic queen and commoners who do not speak Latin: a barrier between English subjects and the establishment. This breakdown of communication between court and commons leads to misunderstanding of the people cheering for Anne Boleyn's coronation (*H8* 4.1.70–81) or Elizabeth's christening (*H8* 5.3.1–83). Katherine is the only one to bridge this distance and to listen attentively to street politics. Her identification with England, her willingness to take the parts of some of the most harassed inhabitants of the kingdom, and the way she constructs her image as a housewife in the dramatic showdown with Wolsey and Campeius, make her a figure who can claim a special relationship with the common people.

Katherine's link with her adoptive country is so strong that her divorce strikes at the heart of her identity. As the Old Lady tells Anne Boleyn, once divorced, Katherine becomes an alien in the English commonwealth, "a stranger now again" (*H8* 2.3.16). This perceived loss of identity explains the dejection leading to her lament on why she came to England, a country where she does not have any friends. If the relationship between Katherine, Henry, and his court evokes the one between Anna of Denmark and James I, Katherine's closeness to the people and her understanding of them remind of another

model of queenship: Elizabeth's. The rhetoric of love between the sovereign and the people was a key element in Elizabeth's speeches and propaganda, and also of her relationship with parliament and her subjects.[56] Not only as a historical figure, but also as a character in Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody* (1605), Elizabeth was portrayed as the friend of common people.[57] It is perhaps this perspective that Shakespeare and Fletcher are drawing on in their portrait of Katherine of Aragon.

Dealing with Common People: A Touchstone for Shakespeare's Queens?

As far as the relationship between queens and collective forces is concerned, Shakespeare does not set any fixed pattern over his playwriting career. Yet, through the analysis of his works, a tendency is apparently revealed. The aristocracy and the court act as allies or enemies of the queens in many chronicles and in those tragedies with a strong political topicality in the late Elizabethan or early Stuart age: "British" plays such as *King Lear*, *Cymbeline*, or *Macbeth*, and even *Hamlet*, as far as it can be read as a "succession play."[58] The exception is the second tetralogy, where, as is discussed elsewhere in this volume,[59] queens are either absent, or minor characters never engaging on the political stage. A queen's success in dealing with the commons can be seen as a barometer for her success overall. When queens act as villains, or have a limited political dimension, their attitude towards crowds and the common people is negative. It ranges from being initially puzzled and soon ill-disposed (Margaret in *2 Henry VI*, Isabel, and Gertrude) or dismissive and disapproving (Tamora, Regan, and Goneril) to acting aggressive and/or openly hostile (again Margaret in *2 Henry VI*) and finally manipulative (Cymbeline's Queen and Tamora again). On the contrary, queens who show a better disposition toward common people and display a deeper understanding of their feelings are able to evoke a sense of comradeship (Margaret in *3 Henry VI*), to share the people's response to the injustice of an evil ruler (Elizabeth of York and Margaret in *Richard III*), to put themselves in the place of ordinary women (Katherine of Aragon), and to employ themselves for the benefit of the commonwealth (Marina). Some even identify with the spirit of the nation: this is true partially for Katherine of Aragon and utterly for Cleopatra.

This tendency becomes more marked in the Jacobean plays, especially after the first frictions between the country and the new king: his project for the unification of Britain, his preference for favorites and the Scots, the issue of public debt and taxation, even the way the king's political philosophy sounded threatening to English ears. As James I outlived his credit, possibly more people were ready to regard Elizabeth with nostalgia. The use Stuart propaganda made of the continuity between James and Elizabeth backfired, and his predecessor's example was now haunting the king.[60] Taxation—the factor that had ignited the rebellion which in *Henry VIII* is put down thanks to Katherine's mediation—was becoming more and more controversial in James' reign. Ten months after the Globe burned to the

ground in 1613, the king opened Parliament expressing a wish: "this parliament, I hope, shall be called the parliament of love"; quite soon an MP would comment: "this was titled a parliament of love but the arguments that are made are rather of fear."[61] The 1614 parliament did not go down in history as "the parliament of love": it foundered, among other things, on the matter of subsidies and was soon dissolved by the king, who bitterly grumbled to the Spanish ambassador "that [his] ancestors should ever have permitted such an institution to come into existence."[62] By then, queens subtly obtaining what they wanted thanks to a love relationship with their subjects built on understanding, or speaking on behalf of the nation in a moment of crisis, belonged to the past or to Shakespeare's writings.[63]

Notes

1. According to Q1; see William Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part 2*, ed. Ronald Knowles, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1999), Appendix 2, TLN 409. On the differences in how Margaret is portrayed in the Quarto and the Folio texts, cf. Barbara Kreps, "Bad Memories of Margaret? Memorial Reconstruction versus Revision in *The First Part of the Contention*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 51 (2000): 163–78.
2. John E. Alvis, "Liberty in Shakespeare's British Plays," in *Perspectives on Politics in Shakespeare*, eds. John A. Murley and Sean D. Sutton (Lahnam, MD: Lexington, 2006), 45–46. In 1593, Elizabeth frowned upon the "irreverence" Parliament had "shewed towards Privy Councillors who are not to be accounted as common knights and burgesses of the House, who are councillors but during the Parliament, the other are standing councillors, and for their wisdom and great service are called to the council of state" and attacked those MPs who pretended "to speak there of all causes […] and to frame a form of religion or a state of government, as to their idle brains shall seem meetest," concluding "no king fit for his state will suffer such absurdities." P.W. Hasler, ed., *The House of Commons 1558–1603*, I–II, (London, Her Majesty's Stationery Office: 1981), I: *Introductory Survey, Appendices, Constituencies, Members A–C*, 92; A.N. McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth 1558–1585* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 160.
3. David Zaret, *Origins of Democratic Culture: Printing, Petitions and the Public Sphere in Early-Modern England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2000), 81–98.
4. A reference to the fall in 1551 of Somerset, another Lord Protector accused of courting people's favor, is also plausible: James Holstun, "Damned Commotion: Riot and Rebellion in Shakespeare's Histories," in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works*, vol. II: *The Histories*, eds. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 198–204.
5. In 1596, several years after the composition of *2 Henry VI*, popular discontent about enclosures led to a rebellion in Oxfordshire following a progression not unlike the one seen in the play. Roger B. Manning, *Village Revolts: Social Protest and Popular Disturbances in England, 1509–1640* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1988), 223–26 and 245–46. Cf. also Peter Clark, "A Crisis Contained? The Condition of English Towns in the 1590s," in *The European Crisis of the 1590s. Essays in Comparative History*, ed. Peter Clark (London: Allen & Unwin, 1985), 44–66.

6. In the play, parliament is a stage for raucous confrontations between factions, and it does not seem to hear the people's grievances, whereas in the Elizabethan parliament, during the November 26, 1597 debate on enclosures an MP had reminded his colleagues that "The eyes of the poore are upon this parliament, and sad for the want they yet suffer. The cryes of the poore doe importune much, standing like reedes shaking in every corner of the land." T. E. Hartley, ed., *Proceedings in the Parliaments of Elizabeth I*. I–III, III (London; New York: Leicester University Press, 2003), 220.
7. Chris Fitter, *Radical Shakespeare: Politics and Stagecraft in the Early Career* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 41, 118–20.
8. Theodora Jankowski, *Women in Power in the Early Modern Drama* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 90–91.
9. With a woman on the throne, the theory of the two bodies of the monarch had to explore unknown regions: cf. Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), 38–39; Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 121–23. Throughout her reign, Elizabeth mastered the art of shifting from female to male in her self-representation, while at the same time "redefin[*ing*] the limits of […] traditional gender expectations" (Levin, *Heart and Stomach*, 125). She put this talent to especially good use in moments of danger, such as the Armada crisis, or when she was at loggerheads with parliament: cf. Ilona Bell, *Elizabeth I: The Voice of a Monarch* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 35–39, 111–14; Levin, *The Heart and Stomach*, 138–44. When referring to herself, Elizabeth often used the words "prince" and "king," instead of "princess" and "queen": Leah S. Marcus, "Shakespeare's Comic Heroines, Elizabeth I, and the Political Uses of Androgyny," in *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Literary and Historical Perspectives*, ed. Mary Beth Rose (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1986), 139–42.
10. Cf. Oliver Arnold, *The Third Citizen: Shakespeare's Theater and the Early Modern House of Commons* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007), 80: "When Henry leaves the Parliament, he divides his living body natural from […] 'the Office … royal,' and this objectification of the king's office from his person proves a fatally attractive invitation to a succession of other natural bodies eager to host the body politic Henry has left hovering in the Parliament at Bury."
11. Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 120.
12. Attention to Shakespeare's stage direction in 2H6 4.2.28 is called by Carol Chillington Rutter and Stuart Hampton Reeves, *The Henry VI Plays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), 21.
13. William Shakespeare, *Henry VI Part 3*, eds. John D. Cox and Eric Rasmussen, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), 1.4.141–142.
14. Doris Märtin, *Shakespeares 'Fiend-like Queens': Charakterisierung, Kontext und dramatische Funktion der destruktiven Frauenfiguren in* Henry VI, Richard III, King Lear *und* Macbeth (Heidelberg: Winter, 1992), 41.
15. Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles* (London: Routledge, 1990), 62. See Nina S. Levine, *Women's Matters: Politics, Gender, and Nation in Shakespeare's Early History Plays* (London: Associated University Press, 1998), 82–87; Jankowski, *Women in Power*, 112–13. According to Pierre

Sahel, *La pensée politique dans les drames historiques de Shakespeare* (Paris: Didier Erudition, 1984), 240 Margaret is the last of King Henry's strongmen.

16. Janet M. Green, "I My Self": Queen Elizabeth I's Oration at Tilbury Camp," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 28 (1997): 421–45; Winfried Schleiner, "*Divina Virago*: Queen Elizabeth as an Amazon," *Studies in Philology* 75 (1978): 163–80.
17. There is a topicality to "A woman's general": it is the literal translation of the inscription on a medal struck to commemorate the defeat of the Armada shortly before Shakespeare wrote his play, *Dux Foemina facit*, as discussed in Susan Frye, "The Myth of Elizabeth I at Tilbury," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 23 (1992): 107.
18. William Shakespeare, *Richard III*, ed. by James R. Siemon, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 4.4.117. Marie-Hélène Besnault and Michel Bitot, "Historical Legacy and Fiction: the Poetical Reinvention of King Richard III," in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 117–19; Kavita Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts: Gender, Genre and Historiography, 1440–1627* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 163–70.
19. Patrick Collinson, "The Monarchical Republic of Queen Elizabeth I," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 69 (1987): 394–424; Patrick Collinson, "The Elizabethan Exclusion Crisis and the Elizabethan Polity," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 84 (1994): 51–92; Mark Goldie, "The Unacknowledged Republic: Officeholding in Early Modern England," in *The Politics of the Excluded,* c. *1500–1850*, ed. Tim Harris (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2001), 153–94. For useful *caveats*, though, cf. Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 88–103, Johann P. Sommerville, "English and Roman Liberty in the Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England," in *The Monarchical Republic of Early Modern England: Essays in Response to Patrick Collinson*, ed. John F. McDiarmid (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 201–16.
20. "This graphic demonstration of general hostility to Richard exposes the limits of his political skills, showing that he can succeed in outmanoeuvring corrupt and naïve nobles but cannot deceive the people. Furthermore, it indicates that without a wider basis of support he will not be able to rule for any length of time." Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics* (London: Arden, 2004), 72.
21. William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Jonathan Bate, Arden 3rd Series (London: Routledge, 1995), 1.1.467.
22. Liz Oakley-Brown, "'My Love, Be Ruled by Me': Shakespeare's Tamora and the Failure of Queenship," in *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern*, eds. Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson (Dublin: Four Courts, 2009), 237.
23. Quentin Taylor, "'To Order Well the State': The Politics of Titus Andronicus," *Interpretation: a Journal of Political Philosophy* 32 (2005): 141–42.
24. Robin Headlam Wells, *Shakespeare's Politics: A Contextual Introduction* (London; New York: Continuum, 2009), 114–115.
25. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, eds. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), 1.2.9. Katherine Eggert, *Showing like a*

Queen: Female Authority and Literary Experiment in Spencer, Shakespeare and Milton (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 103–105.

26. "The demand *Choose we!* is remarkable. It implies that the election of Claudius was an oligarchic move, not a popular one." *Hamlet*, ed. T.J.B. Spencer (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1980), p. 316. Cf. also Jeffrey Knapp, "Hamlet and the Sovereignty of Reason," *The Review of Politics* 78 (2016): 648–652.
27. The Folio stage directions do not call for any Ladies, but only for "Lords, and attendants." In production Lady Macbeth is often the only woman in the scene, a trend that persists even when directors use modern dress.
28. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, eds. Sandra Clark and Pamela Mason, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 3.4.116–118.
29. The end of the banquet stands in total contrast to its beginning, when Macbeth had greeted his guests with "You know your own degrees, sit down. At first and last, / The hearty welcome" (*Mac.* 3.4.1–2).
30. William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed. R.A. Foakes, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1997), 3.4.28–33.
31. Cf. Stephen Greenblatt, "Shakespeare and the Ethics of Authority," in *Shakespeare and Early Modern Political Thought*, eds. David Armitage, Conal Condren and Andrew Fitzmaurice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 72–77.
32. Richard Strier, "Faithful Servants: Shakespeare's Praise of Disobedience," in *The Historical Renaissance: New Essays on Tudor and Stuart Literature and Culture*, eds. Heather Dubrow and Richard Strier (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1988), 118–26; Margot Heinemann, "'Demystifying the mystery of state': King Lear and the World Upside Down," *Shakespeare Survey* 44 (1992): 160–61.
33. Annabel Patterson, *Shakespeare and the Popular Voice* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989), 111.
34. Stuart M. Kurland, "'The care…of subjects' good': *Pericles*, James I, and the Neglect of Government," *Comparative Drama* 30 (1996): 236–38; Constance Jordan, *Shakespeare's Monarchies: Ruler and Subject in the Romances* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1997), 62–64.
35. William Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, ed. by Valerie Wayne, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 5.5.286–309
36. Jordan, *Shakespeare's Monarchies*, 70–71.
37. John E. Curran Jr., "Royalty Unlearned, Honor Untaught: British Savages and Historiographical Change in *Cymbeline*," *Comparative Drama* 31 (1997): 287–90.
38. Jordan, *Shakespeare's Monarchies*, 83–85, 105.
39. In fact, the princess of France in *Love's Labour's Lost* looks like a promising queen regnant.
40. William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. John Wilders, Arden 3rd Series (London: Thomson, 1995), 1.1.30. Irene G. Dash, *Wooing, Wedding and Power: Women in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 212–32.
41. Helen Morris, "Queen Elizabeth I "Shadowed" in Cleopatra," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 32 (1969): 271–72, 275–76; Keith Rinehart, "Shakespeare's Cleopatra and England's Elizabeth," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 23 (1972): 81–86; Eggert, "Showing Like a Queen," 134.

42. Richardine Woodall, "Shakespeare's Queen Cleopatra: An Act of Translation," in *Queens & Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 198–99.
43. Morris, "Queen Elizabeth I," 276–77; Rinehart, "Shakespeare's Cleopatra," 82–83.
44. For this interpretation of how Elizabeth developed the image of "Virgin Queen", cf. Ilona Bell, "Elizabeth and the Politics of Elizabethan Courtship," in *Elizabeth I: Always Her Own Free Woman*, eds. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney and Debra Barrett-Graves (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 179–91.
45. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, eds. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 194; Levin, *Heart and Stomach*, 130–31.
46. Jankowski, *Women in Power*, 147–48, 158–61.
47. Clare Kinney, "The Queen's Two Bodies and the Divided Emperor: Some Problems of Identity in Antony and Cleopatra," in *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon*, eds. Anne M. Haselkorn & Betty S. Travitsky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), 177–79.
48. William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. Emrys Jones (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1977), p. 283.
49. Kinney, "The Queen's Two Bodies," 185; Joseph Alulis, "The Tragedy of Politics: Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*," *Perspectives on Political Science*, 41 (2012): 193.
50. William Shakespeare, *Henry VIII*, ed. Gordon McMullan, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), 1.2.9, 17. If the 1525 "Amicable Grant" and the insurrection are historical facts, Katherine's mediation is not on record.
51. Stuart M. Kurland, "*Henry VIII* and James I: Shakespeare and Jacobean Policy," *Shakespeare Studies* 19 (1987): 207–13.
52. Susan Frye, "Anne of Denmark and the Historical Contextualization in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII*," in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700*, ed. James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 181–93; Susan Frye, "Queens and the Structure of History in *Henry VIII*," in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works*, I–IV, vol. IV: *The Poems, Problem Comedies, Late Plays*, eds. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 432–38; Hero Chalmers, "'Break up the court': Power, Female Performance and Courtly Ceremony in *Henry VIII*," *Shakespeare* 7 (2011): 257–68.
53. Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, *Writing Women in Jacobean England* (Cambridge, Mass.; London: Harvard University Press, 1993), 29–38; Effie Botonaki, "Anne of Denmark and the Court Masque: Displaying and Authoring Queenship," in *The Emblematic Queen: Extra-Literary Representations of Early Modern Queenship*, ed. Debra Barrett-Graves (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 136–48.
54. Kim H. Noling, "Grubbing Up the Stock: Dramatizing Queens in *Henry VIII*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39 (1988): 297; Amy Appleford, "Shakespeare's Katherine of Aragon: Last Medieval Queen, First Recusant Martyr," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 40 (2010): 162.
55. Matthew C. Hansen, "'And a Queen of England, too': the 'Englishing' of Catherine of Aragon in Sixteenth-Century English Literary and Chronicle History," in *"High and Mighty Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, eds. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney and Debra Barrett-Graves (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 87–95.

56. Hartley, *Proceedings*, III, 278–81, 289–97; Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I. The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), 104–13; Donatella Montini, *I discorsi dei re. Retorica e politica in Elisabetta I e in* Henry V *di Shakespeare* (Bari: Adriatica, 1999), 30–32, 127–28; Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse*, 246–56.
57. Jankowski, *Women in Power*, 190–95; Teresa Grant, "Drama Queen: Staging Elizabeth in *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody*," in *The Myth of Elizabeth*, eds. Susan Doran and Thomas S. Freeman (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 125–26.
58. Richard Dutton, "Hamlet and Succession," in *Doubtful and Dangerous. The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England*, eds. Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), 173–91; Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism*, 197–98.
59. Cf. chapter 13 (Kavita Mudan Finn and Lea Luecking Frost, 'Nothing hath begot my something grief': Invisible Queenship in Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy).
60. Curtis Perry, "The Citizen Politics of Nostalgia: Queen Elizabeth in Early Jacobean London," *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 23 (1993): 90–99, 110–11.
61. Maija Jansson, ed., *Proceedings in Parliament 1614 (House of Commons)* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1988), 422. Cf. also Paul Christianson, "Royal and Parliamentary Voices on the Ancient Constitution c. 1604–1621," in *The Mental World of the Jacobean Court*, ed. Linda Levy Peck (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 71–95.
62. Samuel Gardiner, *History of England from the Accession of James I to the Outbreak of the Civil War 1603–1642*, I–X, II (London: Longman, Green, and Co, 1889), 251. Even the right to present petitions met with the king's irritation and incomprehension: Simon Healy, "Debates in the House of Commons 1604–1607," in *Parliament, Politics and Elections 1604–1648*, ed. Chris R. Kyle (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 117–18; Diana Newton, *The Making of the Jacobean Regime. James VI and I and the Government of England, 1603–1605* (London: Royal Historical Society, 2005), 79–95.
63. As early as 1607, the Venetian ambassador Nicolò Molin perceived James' incapacity to follow Elizabeth's model and wrote in his report to the duke and Senate that "he does not caress the people nor make them that good cheer the late Queen did, whereby she won their loves; for the English adore their Sovereigns, and if the King passed through the same street a hundred times a day the people would still run to see him; they like their King to show pleasure at their devotion, as the late Queen knew well how to do; but this King manifests no taste for them but rather contempt and dislike. The result is he is despised and almost hated." *Calendar of State Papers. Venice*, X, 513.

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PART II

Queenship and Sovereignty

CHAPTER 4

"I Trust I May Not Trust Thee": Queens and Royal Women's Visions of the World in *King John*

Carole Levin

"I trust I may not trust thee," Constance of Brittany says to the messenger who informs her of the truce between Philip of France and John of England that ignores her son Arthur's claim.[1] Constance's awareness that she cannot trust the world in which she lives, a world that is a "[m]oral swamp and has the 'smell of sin'" in the words of Herschel Baker, is one of the underlying themes of Shakespeare's play, *King John*.[2] Critics have often applauded the character Faulconbridge, bastard son of Richard the Lionheart, for his clear vision of the corrupt world of *King John*, and this assessment of Faulconbridge's character is certainly apt; he is, however, not the only character with this awareness.[3] The play's three female characters—Eleanor, mother of King John; Constance, widow of John's brother Geoffrey and mother of rival claimant Arthur; and Blanche, John's niece—are also far more insightful about the world in which they live. These women, who speak with "strong, irreverent voices," as Jean

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Howard and Phyllis Rackin point out, are also more honest, at least with themselves, than the male characters in the play.[4] But while they are insightful, only one of the three, Eleanor, has any real power. As the play unfolds, we see more and more the painful lessons of powerlessness that both Constance and Blanche, and even sometimes Eleanor, experience—the echoes of which can be seen later in Shakespeare's career, when he writes *Macbeth*.[5]

Since the late 1970s, critics have begun to devote attention to the question of women's roles in Shakespeare's history plays, a genre in which traditional readings have more often emphasized male character and motivation in relation to questions of power. Such critics as Phyllis Rackin, Jean Howard, Juliet Dusinberre, Margaret Loftus Ranald, Madonne Miner, Irene Dash, and Linda Bamber have noted the significant role of women, particularly queens, in the history plays.[6] In *Richard III*, Shakespeare abandons historical accuracy to have the character Margaret return to England years after the actual Margaret's exile to curse the family of the House of York, and her curses more accurately foretell what will happen to these characters than they themselves believe at the time. So, too, in *King John*, are the women more clear-sighted about the world in which they live than their male counterparts. Eleanor, the most unscrupulous of the three, is also the only one who exerts real power; Constance and Blanche attempt to use their insights to manipulate the world around them but are not successful at doing so. Eleanor's power is such that she is the guiding force behind her son, King John. She would, in fact, have ruled far more wisely than he does. We see this at the very beginning of the play when she chides John for his poor decisions. The threatened war between France and England is due in part to Arthur's claim, which King John refuses to recognize or accommodate, and Eleanor is far more insightful about Constance's role in raising support for her son Arthur than John is.

> What now, my son! Have I not ever said
> How that ambitious Constance would not cease
> Till she had kindled France and all the world,
> Upon the right and party of her son?
> This might have been prevented and made whole
> With very easy arguments of love.
> Which now the manage of two kingdoms must
> With fearful-bloody issue arbitrate. (*KJ* 1.1.31–8)

In short, had John listened to his mother's advice and come to a compromise with Constance over Arthur's claim, the war between England and France could well have been avoided. As Juliet Dusinberre argues, Eleanor "assumes authority within a man's universe, the right to declare that John has mismanaged his diplomacy."[7] John, however, has no interest in negotiations at this point, and though Eleanor has the most power of all the female characters, she cannot stop her son from making this mistake. Eleanor also acts as a parallel to Constance, who unsuccessfully attempts to protect her son's claim against

John. Blanche, a pawn caught between the warring factions of France and England, becomes well aware how despairing her position really is.

In the early acts of the play, Eleanor demonstrates both the insight and the force of will that cause her to play such a decisive role in the action. While Eleanor is alive, King John is a far stronger character than he is after her death. Eleanor is cleverer than John, more forceful, and he is more successful when he listens to her advice than when he ignores it. Eleanor publicly supports John's claim to the throne of England, and objects to any question there might be about it. When Chatillon, the messenger from France, refers to John as "borrow'd majesty" (*KJ* 1.1.4), Eleanor interrupts, "A strange beginning: 'borrow'd majesty'!" (*KJ* 1.1.5) But while she supports her son's claim in public, this does not blind her to the reality of the situation as Shakespeare portrays it. When she and John speak privately, John still boasts about his right to the throne, terming it "our strong possession and our right for us" (*KJ* 1.1.39). Eleanor, on the contrary, does not feel the need to lie to either her son or herself:

> Your strong possession much more than your right
> Or else it must go wrong with you and me:
> So much my conscience whispers in your ear,
> Which not but heaven, and you, and I, shall her. (*KJ* 1.1.40–3)

Eleanor knows John's claim is weak, but she is willing to hide that fact and fight for him anyway. In this Shakespeare deviated from what is traditionally considered his source play, *The Troublesome Raigne of King John*, to make it very clear that King John *is* a usurper.[8] It is significant that it is Eleanor who is willing to privately admit this fact even as she publicly supports his claim. Eleanor is honest with herself, even though she is willing to lie when it suits her. Historically, John's claim over Arthur is more complex and ambiguous. Not only did the nobles around the dying Richard I claim that that he had named his brother on his deathbed, but at the end of the twelfth century, the rights of primogeniture were not so clearly demarked. By the late sixteenth century, when Shakespeare wrote his play, the son of an older brother would indeed have had a better claim.[9] By presenting the history in this way, Shakespeare makes John a more problematic character from the very beginning, and portrays Eleanor as strong and astute but also morally ambivalent.

Though Eleanor clearly wished they had worked out a compromise to avoid war, it is not because she is afraid of fighting: "I am a soldier and now bound to France," she states when armed conflict is inevitable, and she goes to war alongside her son (*KJ* 1.1.150). She does realize, however, how uncertain war is and the wisdom of attempting to avoid it. In this regard, Eleanor reflects the values of the reigning queen, Elizabeth, who attempted for years to stave off war between England and Spain, though when it came she addressed her troops in most patriotic language, referring to herself as "king" and heaping scorn on any who might dare invade her shores. There are, however, some

marked differences between Elizabeth and Eleanor and any comparison needs to be made with care.

Other characters also recognize Eleanor's position of influence over her son. Chatillon describes John and Eleanor's descent into France to King Philip in chilling terms: "With him along is come the mother-queen, / An Ate, stirring him to blood and strife" (*KJ* 2.1.62–3). Ate, the daughter of the goddess of strife, Eris, was herself the goddess of mischief and ruin in Greek mythology. She personified such qualities as delusion, rash action, and reckless impulse. From the French perspective, Eleanor's support of her son makes him a more dangerous enemy. The comment is both recognition of Eleanor's power and a way for the French to denigrate her, as in fact she not truly rash and reckless.

We can further see how astute Eleanor is in that she is also the first to recognize that Faulconbridge is really the Bastard son of Richard I.

> He hath a trick of Coeur-de-lion's face;
> […]
> Do you not read some tokens of my son
> In the large composition of this man? (*KJ* 1.1.85, 87–8)

Not only does Eleanor recognize Faulconbridge's identity, it is also Eleanor, rather than John, who first gives Faulconbridge the chance to join the royal family, with a clear statement of what he would lose and what he would gain, which certainly suggests the power she wields with John and how in some ways *she* is the head of the family. The issue of adultery comes early in the play, when the younger brother claims his elder brother is not his father's son and he, the younger brother, should be the heir. While Eleanor allows that by law the older brother is the heir, she asks him,

> Whether hadst thou rather be a Faulconbridge,
> And like thy brother, to enjoy thy land,
> Or the reputed son of Coeur-de-lion,
> Lord of the presence and no land beside?
> […]
> I like thee well: Wilt thou forsake thy fortune,
> Bequeth thy land to him and follow me? (*KJ* 1.1.134–7, 148–9)

This may well be the wisest decision the character Eleanor makes: Faulconbridge continues to grow in stature as a character throughout the play and by the end is the main prop of the monarchy and of England. He states in the last act, for example: "Now hear our English king, for thus his royalty doth speak in me" (*KJ* 5.2.128–9). In choosing Faulconbridge, Eleanor demonstrates that her wisdom is sharply edged with wit, a quality she shares with her newly acknowledged grandson. Faulconbridge responds to Eleanor's offer by stating "Madam, I'll

follow you unto the death" (*KJ* 1.1.154), but Eleanor counters, "nay, I would have you go before me thither" (*KJ* 1.1.155).

While the English are in France, Eleanor's able leadership becomes even clearer. She is the first to agree with the solution offered by Hubert, a citizen of Angiers. He suggests ending France and England's enmity through a marriage of Prince Lewis to John's niece, Blanche. "Son, list to this conjunction, make this match" (*KJ* 2.1.468), admonishes Eleanor. John then agrees. If Eleanor prefers negotiations to war, yet is willing to fully back her son's claim to the English throne, this is also true of her daughter-in-law and rival, Constance. Even though Constance is vehement is support of her son Arthur's claim, she does not want blood shed unnecessarily. When Philip orders the destruction of a resisting town, stating,

> We'll lay before this town our royal bones,
> Wade to the market-place in Frenchmen's blood
> But we'll make it subject to this boy (*KJ* 2.1.41–3)

Constance instead urges Philip to wait:

> Stay for an answer to your embassy,
> Lest unadvis'd you stain your swords with blood:
> My Lord Chatillon may from England bring
> That right in peace which here we urge in war,
> And then we shall repent each drop of blood
> That hot rash haste so indirectly shed. (*KJ* 2.1.44–9)

Yet while Constance urges Philip to wait, her devotion to Arthur's cause is far stronger than that of Philip, who is as willing to make a truce as to shed blood, whatever seems most to his immediate advantage. In this, Philip is far more similar to his enemy, John, who also chops and changes, than to Constance, on whose side Philip is fighting. The men in power in this play are considerably more cynical and lacking moral center than the women such as Eleanor and Constance, even with some of their problematic actions and comments.

If John and Philip share attitudes, so do Eleanor and Constance, much fiercer enemies of each other than their male counterparts. While Margaret Loftus Ranald argues that Eleanor and Constance are complete contrasts with each other, I believe they actually have much in common, and this is what makes their enmity so intense.[10] As soon as Eleanor and Constance see each other, they begin to wrangle and argue. The conflict begins between Philip and John when each accuse the other of usurping authority. Eleanor soon becomes involved, asking Philip, "Who is it thou dost call usurper, France?" (*KJ* 2.1.120). But it is Constance who insists on responding, "Let me make answer," adding, "thy usurping son (*KJ* 2.1.121), and soon the two women are trading insults. When Eleanor moves to the forefront, Constance cannot resist doing likewise. Eleanor accuses Constance of wanting her son to be king so "that

thou mayst be a queen, and check the world!" (*KJ* 2.1.123), a statement that could with even more truth be made about Eleanor herself. From questions of power, the two women move on to even stronger insults. This may appear to be not politically astute and demonstrate a lack of control, as certainly the male characters on stage perceive. But it also allows them at that moment to become more vocal and powerful, and in some ways more concerned with and representing male notions of power and honor than those of women.[11] Both are far from presenting themselves as chaste, silent, or obedient, the perceived virtues of early modern women. Indeed, soon each woman is charging the other with adultery, a theme already introduced in the first act in regard to the claims of Faulconbridge and his younger brother. Not only is this, for a woman, the most dishonorable accusation that could be made, but, if true, would negate the claim of each of their sons. Honor was a vitally important concept at the time Shakespeare was writing his plays but there were significant differences over what constituted male and female honor. While one important aspect of honor for men depended on one's courage on the battlefield, for women, the sole determinant of honor was chastity, not only of body but of reputation. What Constance and Eleanor do is to destroy each other's female honor and even their own, as Constance's defense of herself against Eleanor's accusation is oddly worded and suggestive: "My bed was ever to thy son as true / As thine was to thy husband" (*KJ* 2.1.124–5).

During Eleanor's lifetime there were rumors that she was unfaithful to her first husband, Louis VII. By the sixteenth century, these had developed into rumors about Eleanor's faithlessness to her second husband, Henry II, as well. This is clearly reflected in the popular ballad, "Queen Eleanor's Confession."[12] Eleanor is also the amorous villain of the anonymous Elizabethan play *Looke About You*.[13] For an early modern audience to assume Constance's bed to be as true as Eleanor's was to assume it to be hardly true at all. The two women's enmity is so strong they goad one another into making statements that, even if they believe them to be true, may well be far from wise. As Kristian Smidt points out, the idea of unfaithfulness is one of the themes running throughout much of the play and, in Constance's case, a rather puzzling suggestion.[14] With the comments about Eleanor's sexual reputation on the one hand and her self-presentation as a soldier on the other, along with using her voice to be powerful, Eleanor's honor is very much in the male realm rather than the female. The male characters in this scene do not recognize these qualities in Eleanor and simply see the women by their nature as argumentative.

Constance and Eleanor continue to argue until the men refuse to listen anymore, and the Duke of Austria cries "Peace!"—however, Austria quiets the women only to immediately begin verbal sparring with Faulconbridge (*KJ* 2.1.134). The wrangling of all the characters ends with Prince Lewis commanding: "Women and fools, break off your conference" (*KJ* 2.1.150). Lewis's implication, accepted not only by the other characters but also by the dominant culture, is that women and fools are equivalent and, also, implicitly, without power. Yet though Eleanor, Constance, and Blanche lack power to influence

events in the play, the male characters have little success at controlling them. King John tells Constance, after she has further insulted his mother, "Bedlam, have done" (*KJ* 2.1.183). Even Philip, though fighting on Constance's side, finds her a dubious ally: "Peace, lady! Pause, or be more temperate: / It ill beseem this presence to cry aim / To these ill-tuned repetitions" (*KJ* 2.1.195–7).

I would suggest that Constance continues to bewail the situation with such vehemence in part because that is all she can do. She cannot control events in any way, a fact that becomes tragically clear to her when France and England decide to make peace through the marriage of Blanche and Lewis and ignore Arthur's claim to the throne. While demonstrating how helpless the outraged Constance is, the alliance also demonstrates how much of a pawn Blanche is—an object to be used for political reasons, despite Lewis' initial assertions of affection.

When the idea of the marriage is bruited about, Lewis responds by claiming great passion for Blanche in the typical rhetoric of courtly love. However, even though Lewis is extravagant in his claims of affection, he actually states his feelings solely in terms of self-love:

> and in her eye I find
> A wonder, of a wondrous miracle,
> The shadow of myself form'd in her eye;
> [...]
> I do protest I never lov'd myself
> Till now infixed I beheld myself
> Drawn in the flattering table of her eye. (*KJ* 2.1.496–8, 501–3)

Lewis' self-love is in fact what is most important to him, though he is pretending extravagant affection. Blanche, while positive in her assessment of Lewis, is also far more tempered.

> Further I will not flatter you, my lord,
> That all I see in you is worthy love,
> Than this: that nothing do I see in you,
> Though churlish thoughts themselves should be your judge,
> That I can find should merit any hate. (*KJ* 2.1.516–20)

While Lewis cynically and untruthfully claims to be making the marriage for love, Blanche admits her sense of duty is also a strong motivation. She describes herself to her uncle as one who "is bound in honour still to do / What you in wisdom still vouchsafe to say" (*KJ* 2.1.522–3). This sense of duty will eventually tear Blanche apart, as her duty to her uncle comes into conflict with the allegiance she owes her new husband. Blanche soon will be caught up between the warring factions, just as Constance already is.

Having come to a negotiation of peace themselves, King Philip expresses concern for "this widow lady" Constance (*KJ* 2.1.548). King John assures him that he will "heal up all," but while they intend to compensate Constance with lesser titles for Arthur, they do not consult with her and she is not assuaged

(*KJ* 2.1.550). Rather, she is all too aware of her own weak position: "For I am sick and capable of fears / [...] / A widow, husbandless, subject to fears" (*KJ* 2.2.12, 14). At another dramatic moment she states: "A widow cries; be husband to me, heavens" (*KJ* 3.1.34). Later, after the death of Arthur, Constance even more tragically describes herself as "Constance, I was Geoffrey's wife: / Young Arthur is my son, and he is lost" (*KJ* 3.3.46–7). Shakespeare deviates from historical accuracy by making Constance a widow. Her first husband Geoffrey, Duke of Brittany and son of Henry II and Eleanor, died in 1186 at the age of twenty-seven. They had two daughters, one of whom, Eleanor, survived childhood, and she was pregnant with Arthur at the time of his death. She married twice more after her husband Geoffrey's death. In 1188, she married Raulph de Blondeville, Earl of Chester. The marriage was not a happy one and she was estranged from him, with the marriage being annulled a decade later. Very soon after, she married Guy of Thouars. They had two daughters before her death in 1201. After the deaths of Arthur and Constance, the daughter Eleanor was imprisoned for the rest of her life.[15] But Constance with a husband by her side and other children would not have presented either the courage or the pathos she does as a widow with just one young son. Shakespeare's Constance is indeed powerless to stop this coalition of England and France, and all that she can do is to withdraw herself and refuse to participate. When Philip summons her, his messenger tells her he "may not go without you to the kings" (*KJ* 2.2.66). Constance replies, "Thou mayst, thou shalt, I will not go with thee" (*KJ* 2.2.67). But the refusal will not change the course of events. While Constance is in her way as insightful as Eleanor, she lacks the power the older queen has. In certain ways, this lack of power protects her person because she is treated so contemptuously. When Constance finally does appear for Blanche and Lewis's wedding day, she expresses her fury.

> you are forsworn, forsworn!
> You came in arms to spill mine enemies' blood,
> But now in arms you strengthen it with yours.
> Arm, arm, you heavens, against these perjur'd kings! (*KJ* 3.1.27–9, 33)

The Duke of Austria responds to her spoken outrage—the only weapon at her disposal—by dismissing her as a woman: "O, that a man should speak these words to me!" (*KJ* 3.1.56). But words are the only weapon Constance has, which is why she uses so many. They are not, however, an effective method of gaining what she wants.

Constance is dismissed even more pointedly by the papal legate Pandulph, who has come to curse John due to his treatment of the Church. She is delighted by Pandulph and wants to join him, but he argues that in contrast to her grievance, "There's law and warrant, lady, for my curse" (*KJ* 3.1.110). When Constance continues to speak for another six lines, Pandulph simply ignores her and turns to Philip, asking him if he will risk potential damnation by continuing his association with John. Yet though the male characters clearly

see this question of excommunication as "men's business," the women again attempt to influence events. Eleanor is furious that Philip may forswear his recent peace treaty. "Look'st thou pale, France? Do not let go thy hand" (*KJ* 3.1.121). Constance also attempts to pressure Philip and his son to "stand fast! The devil tempts thee here / In the likeness of a new untrimmed bride" (*KJ* 3.1.134–5). Blanche, stung by Constance's interference, observes that Constance "speaks not from her faith / But from her need," and Blanche is correct in this assessment (*KJ* 3.1.136–7). It would be overwhelmingly to the advantage of Constance and her son if a rift developed between France and England.

But Blanche's needs are also very evident and are ignored by the male characters. When Pandulph convinces Lewis to take up arms, Blanche, like Constance, realizes just how powerless she is. She responds to Lewis:

> Upon thy wedding day?
> […]
> Now shall I see thy love: what motive may
> Be stronger with thee than the name of wife? (*KJ* 3.1.226, 239–40)

Earlier in the play, Lewis used the rhetoric of a lover far more than Blanche, but Blanche obviously takes the marriage and what it represents far more seriously than her new husband. Dusinberre argues that Blanche "transgresses the gentleman's agreement" that her marriage is only a serious political negotiation rather than a significant private relationship.[16] But I would argue that for Blanche what is most significant is her sense of duty and honor, and the difficulty of feeling torn between conflicting duties. The powerlessness of Blanche's position is in this moment at its most poignant, when she declares "I am with both," that "[t]hey whirl asunder and dismember me," before finally concluding that "[w]hoever wins, on that side shall I lose" (*KJ* 3.1.254, 256, 261). We can see that in a sense Blanche is right. She is being dismembered, part of her with the English and part with the French. This suggests a connection between Blanche and Shakespeare's Cressida, who is also metaphorically dismembered in a war setting, as Cora Fox suggests. "Troilus' repetition of Pandarus' praise suggest that Pandarus has objectified and dismembered Cressida's body in the past in his attempt to sell her to Troilus."[17]

If Blanche really does not matter to Lewis, at least Eleanor does to John. During the battle, he is most concerned about her welfare. He admits to Faulconbridge, "My mother is assailed in our tent, / And ta'en I fear" (*KJ* 3.2.6–7). The Bastard, however, reassures him: "My lord, I rescued her" (*KJ* 3.2.7). It is significant as well that by Act 3 Faulconbridge is already beginning to take on kingly responsibilities. Eleanor chose well when she asked him to join the royal family. One can also see by Act 3, however, that Eleanor's influence with her son is dwindling. Perhaps the most crucial, and in the long run disastrous, decision John makes in the play is to order Hubert to murder his nephew Arthur. And Eleanor is neither consulted nor even informed about it.

One can sense here some similarity to *Macbeth*, where Macbeth does not even consult with Lady Macbeth about the murder of Banquo. For both the legendary Scottish king and the more historical English one, this detachment from the important woman in his life leads to bad decisions and the eventual death of the king.

The capture and subsequent death of Arthur has great impact not only on John but also on Arthur's mother. Again powerless, Constance takes refuge in a highly rhetorical form of grief as her only possibility of comfort.

> I am not mad: I would to heaven I were!
> For then 'tis like I should forget myself:
> O, if I could, what grief should I forget!
> […]
> If I were mad, I should forget my son. (*KJ* 2.3.48–50, 57)

Because of what they perceive as her excess, the male characters Philip and Pandulph are simply annoyed by her lamentations. Philip tells her, "O fair affliction, peace!" (*KJ* 2.3.36), adding later, "You are as fond of grief as of your child" (*KJ* 2.3.92). Pandulph concurs, "Lady, you utter madness and not sorrow" (*KJ* 2.3.43). Yet Philip had no interest in Constance's grief or in aiding her, no matter *how* she framed it, and Pandulph cynically tells Lewis later that Arthur's death will simply help his own cause. When Lewis asks him "But what shall I gain by young Arthur's fall?" (*KJ* 3.3.141), Pandulph reassures him.

> You, in the right of Lady Blanche your wife,
> May then make all the claim that Arthur did.
> […]
> How green you are and fresh in this old world!
> John lays you plots; the times conspire with you. (*KJ* 3.3.142–3, 145–6)

It is obvious that the male characters do not take Constance seriously, and a number of critics assess her from this point of view. M.M. Reese doubts Shakespeare intended the audience to be sympathetic with Constance. "If [Shakespeare] uttered his own feelings at all, it is likelier to have been through those characters who blamed Constance for lamenting overmuch."[18] While E.A. Peers calls Constance "a sublime figure" he still refers to her as "half-crazy."[19]

In yet another way, the play *Macbeth* serves as a parallel and response to the earlier *King John*. Macduff's response—"He has no children"[20]—to Malcolm's suggestion to "make us med'cines of our great revenge, / To cure this deadly grief" (*Mac.* 4.3.213–15) when Macduff learns that Macbeth has had his wife and all his children killed, is an echo of Constance. When Pandulph remarks that she "hold[s] too heinous respect of grief," she replies "He talks to me that never had a son" (*KJ* 3.3.90–1). Critics are far more generous about Macduff's response to his loss than about Constance. K. Knowles suggests that "[t]he

effect of Macduff's grief-stricken repetition of 'all' in 4.3 serves to make his loss seem immeasurable."[21] Lynne Dickson Bruckner also mentions "Macduff's unfathomable loss," adding that "Macduff's grief is powerfully depicted in the scene."[22] Yet Constance is right when she says "never, never / Must I behold my pretty Arthur more" (3.3.88–9). And given that truth, it is difficult to see how there can be "overmuch lamenting." Constance's isolation and loss is truly tragic: "Grief fills the room up of my absent child, / Lies in his bed, walks up and down with me" (*KJ* 3.3.93–4).

The women characters of *King John* are the most clear-sighted and honest; but as I mentioned before, they are also powerless to change the course of events. Even Eleanor, the most powerful of the three, is no longer being consulted in Act 3 as she was in Act 1. Irene Dash has argued that "the ambiguous and uncertain limits" of the power Margaret of Anjou attempts to exert in the *Henry VI* plays and *Richard III* teaches about the condition of women.[23] Certainly, Eleanor's fading influence also works as an example of how, in Shakespeare's history plays, even the strongest women can exert power only indirectly. Smidt argues that it is a surprise to have the death of Eleanor announced, as Shakespeare makes the audience expect there will be further participation from her.[24] Rather, I contend, the disappearance of the women characters works effectively. As the world of *King John* becomes ever more corrupt, even the possibility of their influence fades, and with it, so do the women characters.

As the situation for John worsens, he is also struck by the news that his mother is dead. He hears of an invasion and cannot understand why Eleanor did not warn him: "Where is my mother's care, / That such an army could be drawn in France, / And she not hear of it?" (*KJ* 4.2.117–19). The answer is the worst that John could imagine, that Eleanor's "ear / Is stopp'd with dust: the first of April died / Your noble mother" (*KJ* 4.2.119–21). For John this is indeed "dreadful occasion!" (*KJ* 4.2.125). Even many lines later, after he has recovered and begun to give orders, John keeps going back to this calamity. When finally left alone he cries out again "My mother dead!" (*KJ* 4.2.181), and he is right to feel such desperation. It is after Eleanor's death that the character of King John truly begins to disintegrate, and the crises of his reign come hard and fast upon him. Immediately, there are prophesies against his rule; Arthur, who Hubert cannot bring himself to kill, does really die in circumstances bound to lead to suspicions of John; John turns England over to the papacy and has to face a rebellion of his own subjects along with a French invasion. By the end of the play, John is merely a cypher.

Just as Eleanor and Constance balanced each other as opposing forces in life, so they do in death. In the same speech that announces Eleanor's death, the messenger also provides the rumor that Constance "in a frenzy" (*KJ* 4.2.122) also died. And the character Blanche simply disappears from the action, her last words, "There where my fortune lies, there my life dies" (*KJ* 3.1.264). In fact, Constance died in 1201, three years before the death of Eleanor of Aquitaine. Blanche went on to a long and successful career as queen of France and regent

for her young son, Louis IX.[25] Yet, for the point Shakespeare is making about women and powerlessness in an unjust world, these departures from historical accuracy are apt.

King John presents a corrupt political world in which characters lie to each other as well as to themselves—a "mad world" (*KJ* 2.1.561), as Faulconbridge, a bastard and thus also in some way out of the accepted action, proclaims. By the end of the play, Faulconbridge has found his place in this world and, by assuming the kingly responsibilities of John, actually works to make it better. Neither Eleanor, Constance, nor Blanche had this opportunity. Despite their insight, what they have learned is that the only thing they could trust is that the world of *King John* is a world they cannot trust.

Notes

1. William Shakespeare, *King John*, ed. E. A. J. Honigmann, Arden 2nd Series (London: Methuen, 1954; repr. 1963), 2.2.7.
2. Herschel Baker, "Introduction," to *King John* in *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974), 767.
3. Useful discussions of Faulconbridge include Baker, "Introduction," 767; James Calderwood, "Commodity and Honor in *King John*," *University of Toronto Quarterly* 29 (1960): 34–53. William Matchett, "Richard's Divided Heritage in *King John," Essays in Criticism* 12 (1962): 231–51; Kristian Smidt, *Unconformities in Shakespeare's History Plays* (London: Macmillan, 1982), 78; Brian Carroll, "The Kingly Bastard & the Bastardly King: Nation, Imagination, and Agency in Shakespeare's *King John*," *Journal of the Wooden O* 13 (2013): 1–24; Jacqueline Trace, "Shakespeare's Bastard Faulconbridge: An Early Tudor Hero," *Shakespeare Studies* 13 (1980): 59–69.
4. Jean Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Account of Shakespeare's English Histories* (London: Routledge, 1997), 121.
5. The fourth female character of the play, Lady Faulconbridge, has a small though interesting part in confessing that her elder son is a bastard son of Richard I. She is not a woman of royal blood and thus is not analyzed in this chapter.
6. Linda Bamber, *Comic Women, Tragic Men: A Study of Gender and Genre in Shakespeare* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1982); Juliet Dusinberre, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Women* (London: Macmillan, 1975); Margaret Loftus Ranald, "Women and Political Power In Shakespeare's English Histories," *Topic* 36 (1982): 54–65; Howard and Rackin, *Engendering a Nation*; Phyllis Rackin, "Women's Roles in the Elizabethan History Plays," in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 71–85.
7. Juliet Dusinberre, "King John and Embarrassing Women," *Shakespeare Survey* 42 (1990): 42.
8. Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* 4 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1962), 9.
9. This is made explicit in *Henry VI, Part 2*, when York explains his claim to the throne to the earls of Salisbury and Warwick.

10. Ranald, "Women and Political Power," 59.
11. For more on views on honor and gender, see Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England, 1500–1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 503–4; Mervyn James, English Politics and the Concept of Honor (Oxford: The Past and Present Society, 1978); Elizabeth Foyster, *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage* (New York: Longman, 1999).
12. http://www.traditionalmusic.co.uk/folk-song-lyrics/Queen_Eleanors_Confession.htm.
13. *A Pleasant Commodie Called Looke About You* (London, 1600).
14. Smidt, *Unconformities*, 95–97.
15. Kate Norgate, *England Under the Angevins,* II (London, 1887; Reprint. New York: Burt Franklin, 1969), 369, 395, 404.
16. Juliet Dusinberre, *Shakespeare and the Nature of Women* (London: Macmillan, 1975), 296.
17. Cora Fox, "Blazons of Desire and War in Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida," in *Staging the Blazon in Early Modern English Theatre*, eds. Deborah Uman and Sara Morrison (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 193.
18. M.M. Reese, *The Cease of Majesty* (London: Edward Arnold, 1961), 26.
19. E.A. Peers, *Elizabethan Drama and Its Mad Folk* (Cambridge: W. Heffer Sons, 1914), 158.
20. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. Kenneth Muir, Arden 2nd Edition (London: Methuen, 1972; repr. 1974), 4.3.216.
21. Katie Knowles, *Shakespeare's Boys: A Cultural History* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 54.
22. Lynne Dickson Bruckner, "'Let grief convert to anger': authority and affect in Macbeth" in Nick Moschovakis, *Macbeth: New Critical Essays* (London: Routledge, 2008), 201.
23. Irene Dash, *Wooing, Wedding, and Power: Women in Shakespeare's History Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 155.
24. Smidt, *Unconformities*, 95–97.
25. Frances and Joseph Gies, *Women in the Middle Ages* (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1980), 97–119.

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CHAPTER 5

Cordelia, Foreign Queenship, and the Commonweal

Sandra Logan

King Lear, as one of several Shakespearean plays that depicts the effects of human fallibility on sovereign political judgments and actions, evinces Shakespeare's interest in the problems associated with embodied monarchy, and the failure of kings to rule wisely and well.[1] Lear destabilizes the state through his flawed perceptions of sovereign power, disowning Cordelia and banishing Kent when they challenge his tyrannical demands for flattery and unquestioning obedience. Their commitment to the commonweal stands in sharp contrast to his abuses of sovereign and paternal authority. Kent refuses to accept his banishment or Lear's abdication, while Cordelia—an absent presence for most of the play—returns to England as an agent of the moral imperative for beneficent rule. Validated by early modern political theories that support intervention from outside the state when tyranny oppresses the people, Cordelia is authorized through her foreign sovereignty to oppose the fractured English political order, and to attempt to rectify the damage to the body politic caused by the moral transgressions of England's rulers. Yet, the play does not offer a corrective to embodied sovereignty—Cordelia, in keeping with the restabilizing objectives of such a foreign invasion, aims to restore her mentally weak, irrational father to the throne, despite all indications that he lacks the capacity for wise rule. The play, then, remains intensely cynical about embodied sovereignty and its negative potential.

In the medieval and early modern periods, the idea of monarchical embodiment was grounded in the theory of "the king's two bodies," in which the monarch's mortal, natural body was melded with but nevertheless distinct from the body politic—the immaterial, immortal political authority of

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government and law.[2] Thus, while Aristotle saw training in wisdom and virtue as the means to overcome human weaknesses and ensure the ruler's commitment to the good of his subjects, in this medieval model virtuous rule was seen as an inevitable effect of the anointing and crowning of the king. However, in discussing early modern concerns with the gap between sovereign theory and practice, Ernst Kantorowicz argues that Shakespeare challenges this idealized notion of the dominion of body politic over body natural, demonstrating that natural defects may persist in an anointed king and, unchecked by sovereign virtues, destabilize the state and potentially the institution of monarchy itself.[3] While Kantorowicz does not focus on *King Lear* as an example of such destabilization, in this chapter I suggest that not only does this play depict the negative effects of the body natural on the body politic, it demonstrates that the state is unable to recover on its own from the extreme emergency this disruption creates.[4] In pursuing his own needs over those of his realm, and refusing to be guided by wise counsel, Lear poses a dangerous threat to the commonweal, and sets in motion a cascade of increasingly deleterious events that even Cordelia's intervention cannot correct.

Perhaps uncomfortable with its dismissal of cultivated moral virtue, Queen Elizabeth seems to have distanced herself from the theory of the king's two bodies. In her earliest recorded speech as queen, she asserts "I am but one body naturally considered, though by [God's] permission a body politic to govern," apparently denying that an immortal body politic had been bound to her mortal body natural.[5] Rather, she declares that divine sanction has granted her the right to rule in the one body she possesses, and goes on to acknowledge the role of wise counsel in supporting her sovereign decisions. In this same speech, she references her subordination both to natural law, which fosters natural allegiances and makes her mourn for her sister, and to divine will, which will guide her as a ruler. In a later speech, she acknowledges her stereotypical condition as a "weak and feeble woman," but insists metaphorically upon her innate capacity to rule—"I have the heart and stomach of a king," she is said to have proclaimed on the field at Tilbury.[6] She thus acknowledges that effective monarchy requires her conscious management of her human (and female) weaknesses and flaws, and identifies the internal characteristics that allow her to do so. She seems pointedly to reject the idea that a mystical melding of her natural body with the body politic will eliminate her human imperfections, insisting instead on the necessity for rational and moral self-control.

In *King Lear*, Shakespeare similarly rejects the idea that the body politic was melded to and dominant over the fallible body natural. In the period, the fundamental purpose of government—to foster the commonweal, or general good—takes its force from natural and divine law, out of which civil law and political authority grow. Shakespeare places the problem of government through embodied sovereignty within the context of this larger moral imperative to rule wisely and justly for the good of the realm and its subjects, while recognizing that such an imperative does not determine sovereign behavior or control sovereign will. Lear insists upon his embodied authority, unable to recognize that

the needs and impulses of his body natural are distinct and disconnected from his responsibilities and authority as a sovereign. His actions lead to the destabilization of the commonweal, his own complete abjection, and the attempted restoration of the political body through foreign conquest. Cordelia, rejecting his assertion of paternal authority under the auspices of his sovereignty, distinguishes between body natural and body politic in defense of the larger political order. She returns to England as a foreign queen opposed to the existing political order and committed to rectifying the damage to the commonweal caused by the successive abuses and transgressions of England's rulers.[7]

Various editors and commentators on the play have dealt with the question of the French invasion at length. R.A. Foakes usefully traces out one extensive line of debate focusing on the differences between the Quarto and Folio representations of the invasion, acknowledging that Shakespeare's audiences might perceive such an invasion as an extreme and imminent threat.[8] Richard Knowles deals with another sustained debate concerning the French motivations for the invasion, recognizing the dilemma the play creates in failing to offer an explicit justification for this military incursion.[9] I suggest here that early modern political views provide such a justification, situating Cordelia's military intervention as an acceptable expedient to restabilize and restore appropriate political order through the scourging of tyranny, not as a further upending of that order, as Foakes posits.[10] The play taps into conceptions of monarchy that draw on classical definitions like Aristotle's, which in the early modern period were grounded in the idea that a sovereign's only legitimate judge was God himself. However, it also acknowledges the role of foreign sovereigns in checking the actions of tyrants. Cordelia, enabled by her expulsion from England, which breaks the bonds of subjection to her father/king, returns under the authority of her new role as a foreign queen to attempt a reassertion of just rule, her actions legitimated through the obligation of a Christian prince to overthrow a tyrant of another state.

Early modern political discourse related to rebellion as a response to tyranny was mixed, while views on intervention through foreign invasion were surprisingly more coherent. The most commonly discussed form of tyranny, and the one most germane to this play, applies to a ruler who abuses his subjects or acts in ways detrimental to the commonweal—who "is cruel, oppressive, or excessively wicked."[11] Political theorists of the period argue that there is a natural bond between a sovereign and his subjects, akin to that between a father and his children: the father "doth beare the first and natural example of an absolute and perfect king."[12] Subjects, like the children of a good father, honor and obey him for his wisdom and care toward them—the relationship is reciprocal. The general distinction between a good king and a tyrant is that "reason rules the one, and selfwill the other: the first prescribes bounds to his affections, the second confines his desires within no limits. […] The tyrant hates and suspects discreet and wise men, and fears no opposition more than virtue."[13] A lawful king "glories in the multitude and sufficiency of his counsellors, esteeming nothing well done which is ordered without their advice," and "where they be

wanting, there can be no true Monarchy, but rather a Tyranny absolutely barbarous."[14] Lear's actions strongly suggest such tyranny within the context of the court, and he later acknowledges being a neglectful king. The challenge to his judgment and resistance to his demands posed by Cordelia and Kent heighten his tyranny and bring down that judgment on their heads. Goneril and Regan play the role of courtly flatterers rather than wise counselors in the initial scene, and subsequently carry their tyranny far beyond that of their father, breaking the natural bond and obligation between father and daughter, and abusing their political authority for personal benefit. However, regardless of the tyrant's abuses, Jean Bodin clearly denies the right of subjects of a legitimate sovereign to rise against him because he mistreats them, "even if he has committed all the misdeeds, impieties, and cruelties that one could mention."[15] Subjects may not proceed against a tyrant through judicial means, let alone through armed rebellion, and even to consider the latter is high treason.[16] Both Martin Luther and John Calvin ultimately align with Bodin on the prohibition of rebellion against or overthrow of abusive monarchs, affirming subjects' subordination to earthly sovereign authority as instituted by divine authority.[17] Accordingly, the subjects of England within the context of the play have no recourse under the detrimental rule of Lear's progeny, other than to accept the unstable and abusive conditions their sovereignty represents.

By contrast, in *De Republica Anglorum* (1583), the publication of which coincided closely with Bodin's Latin translation of *Six Livres* (1586), Sir Thomas Smith denies the absolute authority of the English monarch, arguing that England is a mixed monarchy.[18] He therefore supports the subjection of the English sovereign to temporal law, and to correction when his or her judgments and actions are detrimental to the commonweal.[19] Rebellion against such a monarch was acceptable, according to Smith. His position thus defines the body politic as a more abstract ideal, distinct from the body natural, and situates the tyrannical, incompetent, or destructive monarch as an object of political judgment according to the very political ideals he was in some sense imagined to embody. Within the play, Kent both challenges Lear's sovereign infallibility and refuses Lear's judgment of exile, risking his life to continue serving him as his king even after Lear's choices and circumstances reduce him to a body natural only. At the same time, Kent joins England's subjects in resisting the deleterious rule of Lear's daughters, and such rebels would have been within their rights according to Smith. Shakespeare thus appears to take Smith's idea of judgment and resistance into account in framing the conditions of the play, situating Kent and his accomplices as opposed to abusive rule, but not to monarchy per se.

In the play as well as historically, such resistance is inevitably dangerous to the perpetrators, whose actions were likely to be judged treasonous. However, like the banished Kent, Cordelia is no longer an English subject, her subjugation to Lear as father and king eliminated by his judgment against her, her status transformed and elevated by her marriage and her French queenship. In these circumstances, she has even more freedom to act than Kent does, and she

remains similarly committed to her father as sovereign, even as she opposes the effects of his sovereign judgment and challenges her sisters' legitimacy as rulers. Indeed, the play draws upon the radical idea that a foreign prince not only *may*, but *should* endeavor to overthrow a tyrannical sovereign—a view that held wide acceptance in the period. Bodin makes this point clearly:

> [I]t is glorious and becoming, when the gates of justice have been shut, for someone [from outside the state] whoever he may be, to use force in defense of the goods, honor, and life of those who have been unjustly oppressed […] it [is] a most beautiful and magnificent thing for a [foreign] prince to take up arms in order to avenge an entire people unjustly oppressed by a tyrant's cruelty […]. In this case it makes no difference whether this virtuous prince proceeds against a tyrant by force, deception, or judicial means.[20]

Thus, although Bodin argues elsewhere that a sovereign answers only to God, his approval of intervention by foreign princes suggests the possibility, and indeed the necessity, of temporal oversight. He does not explicitly connect such aggressive action to his concept of the overarching moral hierarchy within which a sovereign functions. Nevertheless, he implicitly situates an invading foreign ruler as acting in the interest of a supreme moral imperative grounded in natural and divine law, whereby the unjust and oppressive monarch may be judged by his peers from other realms and held accountable to those higher forms of law.[21] Such a connection to natural law and Christian moral order is also explicit in the 1579 *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*. In addition to defending rebellion by subjects under all circumstances of tyranny, this tract makes an extended, explicit case for the duty of Christian princes to protect the body of Christendom from such abuses through invasion and the restoration of proper government.[22] Cordelia takes up this position in the play: in her role as Queen of France, she returns to England intending to correct the degradation of her homeland—an attempt that succeeds in the anonymous source play, *King Leir*, but that Shakespeare revises into a tragic failure.[23] However, before foreign invasion can be introduced as the appropriate response to England's woes, the rise of tyrannical sovereignty must be established, and, in political terms, this is the focus of the first three acts of the play.

The details of Lear's destabilization of the realm and harm to the commonweal and body politic accumulate as Act 1, scene 1 unfolds, laying the groundwork for Cordelia's eventual return as a foreign scourge of England's corruption. Initially, Lear expresses his intention to "divest [himself], both of rule, / Interest of territory, [and] cares of state" (*KL* 1.1.49–50), and to make public his daughters' "dowers, [so] that future strife / May be prevented now" (*KL* 1.1.43–4). His apparent rational concern for his realm and subjects, and his awareness of the internecine threat posed by an excess of living heirs and potential claimants to the throne, are in conflict with his decision to sidestep his political responsibilities and divide the realm. Far from establishing Lear as a careful and rational sovereign, his decision to partition the realm and renounce

his responsibilities as king lies completely outside the scope of acceptable sovereign behavior, offering an immediate threat to the body politic.[24]

However, the disastrous notion of divestiture and division is elided by the method of determining allotments. Lear's demand for paternal affection, and the exaggerated flattery of their father/king by the older siblings, establish the vulnerability of the body politic to the weaknesses of the body natural. The contest displaces the norms of primogeniture with a "merit-based" model in which personal pandering earns rewards, placing Lear's sovereign actions in direct conflict with the basic tenets of proper kingship. Through Lear's overall plan, his demands, and his responses, Shakespeare reveals how the fallible mortal man distorts and misuses the power of the sovereign decision. Lear's last act of sovereign judgment is triply misguided: in the intention to divide the kingdom, in the method of allocation, and in the desire to be flattered rather than wisely counseled. He seeks unquestioning obedience to his interlocking authority as father and king, compromising his sovereign judgment and subjugating the rational order of just rule to the desperate demands of an overwhelming personal need, demonstrating the tyrannical threat of the melded natural and political bodies.

Cordelia's response to the demand for an expression of absolute love confronts this problematic conflation of political and personal impulses, insisting on the divisibility of the king's two bodies. Addressing Lear first in political terms, she declares, "I love your majesty / According to my bond, nor more nor less" (*KL* 1.1.92–3). She then shifts to familial references, insisting that as her father, Lear will never receive all her love, and that her husband will claim "half [her] love […] half [her] care and duty" (*KL* 1.1.102). In distinguishing between the natural and political bodies of the father/king, and circumventing his body politic in order to address his body natural, Cordelia indicates that the question of personal love has no proper place in the context of political duty. Further, her deliberate quantification of love and duty challenges notions of the absolute, insisting on limits and judgments rather than unquestioning commitment, just stewardship rather than tyranny. Her refusal thereby calls attention to the distinction between obedience and moral duty, between fealty to the man who wears the crown—the body natural—and fealty to the sovereign state he embodies—the body politic.[25] Thus, in her conception, as in Smith's, sovereign authority is primarily abstract, distinguishable from the fallible human condition that hampers it. By framing her response in terms of quantifiable duty, the scene emphasizes the tension between blind obedience, feigned obedience, and obedience grounded in moral judgment. What might seem to be insufficient submission to the king is actually a fulfillment of duty to the commonweal—indeed, it reveals that her commitment is to the stability and continuation of the English state, even if that means rejecting her father or refusing to meet his demands *as* father. Through Cordelia's resistance to her father, Shakespeare stresses the necessity of separating the two bodies of the king, and of privileging of the body politic over the body natural.

In Lear's response to her assertion of divided duty and her refusal to submit to his will, he "disclaim[s] all [...] paternal care, / Propinquity and property of blood," and declares her "a stranger to my heart and me" (*KL* 1.1.114–15, 116), emphasizing what is particular to their relationship as father and daughter. In this initial declaration, Lear, banishing her from his heart and home and denying her blood kinship, explicitly asserts a patriarchal punishment and speaks from his body natural. Yet, "property of blood" also signifies the rights of inheritance, which, because he is king, include succession to and possession of the portion of the kingdom he intended to grant her. His judgment and punishment thus intertwine the powers of the body natural and the body politic, highlighting his fusion of those powers, and underscoring the political nature of the personal punishment. Lear then compares her actions to those whom England would see as enemies, antithetical to the values of the commonweal. "The Barbarous Scythian," he rants,

> Or he that makes his generation messes
> To gorge his appetite, shall to my bosom
> Be as well neighbour'd, pitied, and relieved,
> As thou my sometime daughter. (*KL* 1.1.117–21)

This assertion casts their interaction as specifically political, grounded in the values that distinguish friend from enemy, and situating Cordelia as an outsider in her inherent character—a condition that her expulsion from his paternal care and from the English nation makes material. The intention is to define her as alien, to negate her place in the body politic, and to frame her as an enemy to the commonweal and to the king—a position that she refuses to accept, as her devotion both to him and to the commonweal of England later in the play attests.[26]

Kent, who both defends Cordelia and openly chastises Lear, brings the point home explicitly. He identifies Lear's demands and responses as emanating from his body natural: "What wouldst thou do, old man?" he asks with deliberate disrespect, addressing the king in terms of his deteriorating physical being (*KL* 1.1.147).[27] He goes on to emphasize disobedience as the necessary response when the sovereign's judgment fails and the sovereign decision is harmful to the subjects and the state: "Think's thou that duty shall have dread to speak, / When power to flattery bows?" (*KL* 1.1.147). He asserts his duty over his obedience, just as Cordelia's refusal similarly did—a position that aligns with the political views of Smith and the *Vindiciae* author. Like Cordelia, in his effort to guide Lear toward wise judgment through the body politic, Kent suffers the wrath of the foolish body natural who wears the crown, and like her, he refuses to be expelled from the body politic, despite Lear's judgment. Although he has identified Cordelia and Kent as enemies to his person and the state, Lear is situated here as the realm's worst enemy, the one who holds the power to preserve the commonweal, and who instead breaks it asunder. The symbolic freight of the sovereign decision is made explicit when Lear, affirming that he

will retain the name and prerogatives of king, but pass the "sway, revenue, [and] execution" to his "beloved sons" (*KL* 1.1.137–9), hands them a crown to break in two as confirmation of their new authority.[28] Lear's insistent privileging of his body natural in relation to the body politic leads to the inevitable, immediate fracturing of the body politic itself, a causal relationship staged in this moment in an intensely negative visual figuration.

Lear nevertheless continues to exercise sovereign will—or endeavors to do so—in the household context. He was able to defend his tyranny while he held political authority, but having relinquished the responsibilities of kingship, he has lost the leverage that would bind his subjects—and his daughters—to him. Now, Goneril characterizes him as an "Idle old man / That still would manage those authorities / That he hath given away" (*KL* 1.3.17–19), and describes his behavior as uncontrolled and disruptive. And indeed, Lear issues commands as though he wielded absolute authority, impetuous, imperious, and violent, a creature of his body only. Although these interactions unfold at the level of the family, their implications for the state are clear: Lear demands to be recognized through "the marks of sovereignty, / knowledge and reason" (*KL*1. 4.223–4), while Goneril and her sister have vowed "Not to be overruled" (*KL* 1.3.17). However, she and her sister are no better custodians of the state than their father was. The love plot with Edmund serves as a shorthand depiction of the two women's subjection to their bodies natural, with both sisters endeavoring to use their positions and authority to achieve sexual objectives, and attempting to employ their sexuality to increase their political power. Escalating the stakes of their competition to civil war, like their father before them they readily dismiss the good of their subjects in order to attend to their own interests. The subsequent struggle for sovereignty reveals the acephalous nature of the state, with reason and stable government subordinate to passion and the desire for power, the dominance of the body natural reflecting the lack of rational order upon which sound government relies. Although the play deploys commonplace negations of women's rational capacity through these sisters, they by no means hold a monopoly on such disruptive drives—Shakespeare privileges moral virtue through Cordelia, Kent, and Gloucester, and demonstrates its absence through both male and female characters, including the sisters, Edmund, and Lear himself.

With Lear plunged suddenly into subjection through his daughters' rejection of his place and privileges, his suffering similarly emphasizes the inadequacy of their rule. By Act 3, scene 4, Lear has become a mere man, possessing no special political power, an unadorned body natural, akin to any subject of the realm. His reduction in status is instructive, as, turned out from both his daughters' houses, wandering in the pelting rain, he suddenly recalls the "Poor naked wretches" who were his subjects, recognizing he shares in their abjection, like them in their "houseless heads and unfed sides," their "loop'd and window'd raggedness" (*KL* 3.4.28, 30–1). Brought down to a condition of bare life, he acknowledges his mere humanness in the storm, and laments his failure to act in the protection of his subjects when he wore the crown: "O, I have ta'en / Too little care of this!"

he exclaims (*KL* 3.4.32–3).[29] Ironically, then, he is first shown to abuse the body politic through his subjection to the body natural, but here, actually reduced to that body natural, he recognizes the damage inflicted by unjust sovereignty, and, in this altered, abject state, comes to symbolize the commonweal that suffers under irresponsible sovereign actions. This connection with the shared vulnerability of unprotected humanity is presented as a necessary aspect of effective political rule, a call for responsible and rational care of the body politic that begins with the recognition of and concern for its basic human needs. Lear unfortunately gains cognizance of the sovereign's obligations to his subjects' human comfort only when he has lost the capacity to enact this newfound understanding of political responsibility.

Despite Lear's incapacities and the chaotic condition of the realm, Kent and Gloucester retain their commitment to morally grounded political order. With no other recourse under the abusive regime of Lear's daughters, they act in support of a foreign intervention that may restore the body politic to its healthful potential by restoring Lear's mental, emotional, and political capabilities. Kent clearly knows of Cordelia's role in the invasion (*KL*, 3.1.42–5), and Gloucester is committed to the French because he understands this as a commitment to Lear's return to sovereignty (*KL* 3.3.8–14). Their actions suggest that subjects may seek relief from tyranny, and affirm that foreign invasion of this sort challenges those in power, but supports those oppressed by deleterious rule. The vicious material harm inflicted upon Gloucester as a result of his challenge to the sovereignty of the current rulers, again points up the threat to England's subjects posed by the breakdown of appropriate political ideals. The point is brought home when Albany, appalled by the abuses perpetrated by Goneril and Regan against their father and against Gloucester, recognizes that "others whom the rigour of our state / Forced to cry out" have joined in the rebellion against the tyrannical rulers "as France invades our land" (*KL* 5.1.22–3; 25).[30] Although he fails to grasp the intentions of the French invasion, Albany clearly situates the rebellion as a response to tyranny.

The intercession of France into England's political realm in Act 4 represents the second such intervention in the play. The first occurs in Act 1 when the king of France intervenes to take Cordelia as his wife and queen. In doing so, he challenges the tyrannical logic of Lear's sovereign judgment, and asserts his autonomy from Lear's realm of authority, defining a context for judgment and response that is beyond Lear's control. In this moment, the French king embodies the very modes of moral sovereignty with which Lear has himself lost touch. In wedding Cordelia to France, Shakespeare establishes her separation from England, affirming her transformation from "poor […] forsaken […] and […] despised" to a foreign queen, a position from which she has the power to act on idealized sovereign values in collaboration with her new husband and nation (*KL* 1.1.253). Her moral distance from Lear's sovereign model becomes the basis for her physical separation and redefined relationship to England and its rulers. In the second French intervention of the play, Cordelia returns to England as queen of France, specifically bent on restoring England's moral

order by reining in the chaotic despotism that king Lear has so imprudently unleashed, and that her sisters have brought to a head.

Much has happened by the time Cordelia reappears in Act 4, scene 4, though rumors of her concern and possible intervention have been circulating since Act 3, scene 1.[31] In that scene, the audience learns that France has received reports from spies placed among her sisters' retainers, who see the growing tension between Cornwall and Albany, and recognize the likelihood of war between these two demi-sovereign rulers, as Kent relates (*KL* 3.1.19–29).[32] As discussed above, the invasion is understood by the play's most morally grounded characters as a restorative intervention and an effort to circumvent tragedy. Further, the increasing pathos of Lear and Gloucester serves as a critique of the effects of abusive sovereignty, and of the authority of Lear's morally transgressive daughters. Thus, the audience is encouraged to understand the French invasion as a response to the explicit abuses and corruption depicted in the play, despite the unspecified nature of French motives, and the overall impossibility of Cordelia having concrete information about her sisters' actions when she asks the French king to support her armed return.[33]

In reinforcement of this understanding, when she appears in Act 4, Cordelia reveals an altruistic basis for her presence in England. Having assured the messenger that the French armies are prepared to meet the approaching British forces, she declares, "O dear father, / It is thy business that I go about," then explicitly links the military intervention to the pity of "great France" for her "mourning and important tears" (*KL* 4.4.23–4, 26). Her remedial intentions become even more clear when she exclaims, "No blown ambition doth our arms incite, / But love, dear love, and our aged father's right" (*KL* 4.4.27–8). The transgressions of her sisters as rulers have instigated this invasion, their obvious ambition in conflict with appropriate moral sovereignty and her own selfless aims. Additionally, the reference to her husband in his political role contrasts with her repeated references to her father in his familial role, emphasizing the difference between Lear as he now exists, reduced to his mere body natural, and the ideal of sovereignty that the king of France embodies, and through which Cordelia herself gains the power to act. This familial commitment, and the assurances that she aims only to restore Lear's sovereignty, situate this as an invasion acceptable under the terms defined explicitly by Bodin and the author of the *Vindiciae*.

As her declared objectives suggest, although Lear is clearly incapacitated and unable to govern in his own name when she first encounters him in Act 4, scene 4, Cordelia's purpose is to repair and restore the damaged body politic that her father has come to represent. In that effort, she continues, as she did in Act 1, to distinguish the body natural from the body politic. Initially, she addresses him only as father, acknowledging his reduced status and compromised condition. As he gradually recovers his reason and becomes more viable as restored monarch, she shifts to addressing him in his sovereignty, with no reference to his paternal role: "How does my royal lord? How fares your majesty?" and again, "Wil't please your highness walk?" (*KL* 4.7.44, 82). Further,

she convinces him to function as the defender of his own realm when he joins her in leading the French forces, as indicated in the stage directions at the beginning of Act 5, scene 2.[34] The implication is that, by acting on this right of the foreign ruler to depose her tyrant sisters, she will reestablish Lear's proper sovereign authority in the realm—the king now apparently having recovered his rational mind and divested himself of his foolish confidence in his own infallible righteousness.

Cordelia enters England as an enemy sovereign, defined as such by her uninvited military presence and by her aim to overthrow the sitting rulers through military intervention. That is certainly how Albany sees her, despite his growing sympathy for the abused subjects. However, like Kent and Gloucester, Cordelia's pursuit of just rule and resistance to the abuses of her siblings situate her as committed to the commonweal of England—its body politic—even as she rejects the authority of those who currently claim sovereign power. Through her effort to displace their self-interested agenda with one more healthful to the nation, she demonstrates that she is the true friend of the disrupted nation, opposed to these internal enemies who rule through their natural bodies only. Cordelia does not invoke divine will or support for her actions, and yet the moral justifications that ground her invasion clearly arise from the divine imperative for foreign princes to rise up and chastise a tyrannical ruler and free his or her people from oppression, as the political theorists discussed above advocate. Moral order overrides accepted social and political hierarchies, while Cordelia's actions identify the real enemy as the tyrannical rulers, problematizing a simple opposition between these positions, and troubling the easy distinction between friend and enemy that establishes Lear's dangerous and personally grounded demarcations in Act 1.

There is some indication that her father has learned important lessons about the body politic through his reduction to a mere body natural, and that in the future he might function more effectively as a ruler. Yet, despite Cordelia's efforts, Lear is never able to take up his position in any meaningful way, before or after his abjection and recovery, and the idea that he has the capacity to become a more careful monarch is limited. For example, it is telling that, when Lear and Cordelia are captured, she voices her readiness to confront her sisters and challenge their actions, while he quickly lapses once again into a fantasy of retreat from the political world, and delusional comfort in the simple familial unity they will at last enjoy (*KL* 5.3.8–20). Even if it seems possible that Lear has regained his reason, and thus some capacity for political participation, he shows little interest in reaffirming and retaining his political position, and instead readily embraces a life outside of politics, a life delimited by his natural body.

Even beyond Lear's retraction from the political, the conclusion of the play resonates with Shakespeare's apparent general cynicism about the potential for effective embodied sovereignty. Cordelia meets the demand for foreign intervention against detrimental rule, clearly embodying the values and virtues of effective sovereignty. Yet, her confidence that her father will return to power

and reign effectively seems fundamentally misguided in Shakespeare's rendering of the story—a significant departure from Leir's active effort to restore his own sovereignty and success in doing so in the source play. In Shakespeare's version, Lear expresses no special bond with his realm or sustained concern for the commonweal, and proves incapable of committing himself to restoring or preserving political order. Only the self-destruction of the abusive rulers clears the way for a new order, an order built on the radical disruption of legitimate succession, the devastating loss of loved ones, and the destruction of most of those devoted to the body politic, pointedly of Cordelia herself. Cordelia's effort to mobilize her foreign queenship fails to achieve its intended restoration of Lear's sovereignty and the stabilization of the commonweal, despite its grounding in divine and natural law. If Albany sees divine retribution in the final scene's devastation, affirming "This judgment of the heavens [...] makes us tremble," that judgment comes too late to alter what Lear's inept sovereign will has set in motion (*KL* 5.3.120).

In the context of this utter collapse of the state, Edgar enters sovereignty with a reluctance as palpable as Lear's, and he does so from the other side of abjection. Perhaps, in his stint as an outcast and mad beggar, he has learned the lesson of powerlessness that is the beginning, if not the end, of becoming a single body politic to govern. His concern for his father despite their altered relationship, and his stand against the corrupt brother whose treasonous ambitions have shaped the destinies of so many characters in the play, suggest a commitment to both family and state which parallels that of Cordelia. Moreover, he rallies the remaining loyal subjects to the support of his position—a sign that he may have the capacity to heal and lead the wounded nation. Edgar's ascent may represent the best remaining option for the shattered commonweal, and perhaps he will not fail, but regardless of the outcome of a particular reign, the problems associated with embodied sovereignty remain. Whether an individual monarch manages to suppress the human weaknesses that threaten the body politic, the emotional and physical deficiencies of the body natural lie always just beneath the surface, ready to emerge. When that occurs, as Shakespeare so often shows, the sovereign becomes the greatest menace to the nation, and its greatest enemy. In such circumstances, intervention by a foreign sovereign in the name of moral order may be justified as an effort to restabilize the body politic and the secure the commonweal, as Cordelia has endeavored to do, but it cannot protect the future against the inherent flaws of embodied sovereignty and the threats it poses. The sovereign remains, potentially if not actually, the enemy within.

Notes

1. Others include *Richard II*, *Richard III*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Titus Andronicus*, and *Henry VIII*.
2. See Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1957, 1997).

3. Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, Ch. 2. His point of reference is Shakespeare's *Richard II*.
4. In *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977), ch. 9, Marie Axton examines *King Lear* as a play that addresses Lear's failures as both father and king, and that also suggests the "impossible ideal" of the two-body model (142). While there is some overlap with her analysis in my approach to the play, our arguments diverge significantly.
5. PRO (now TNA), SP Domestic, Elizabeth, 12/1:13, microform. My reading of this speech is at odds with that of virtually all other scholars who have addressed it. Typically, the statement is seen as Elizabeth's appropriation of the two-body model to justify her gendered monarchy. See, for example, A.N. McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth 1558–1585* (Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 100–102; Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 121–123, 148; and Ted Booth, *A Body Politic to Govern: The Political Humanism of Elizabeth I* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2013), 14–15.
6. First recorded by Dr. Leonel Sharp in a letter to the Duke of Buckingham, circa 1623. See *Cabala: Mysteries of State* (London: Printed for G. Bedel and T. Collins, 1654), Wing (2nd ed.)/ C184, 257–262. Susan Frye challenges the speech's validity in "The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 23, 1 (1992): 95–114.
7. Many scholars connect Cordelia's language of love and emotion to Shakespeare's redemptive leanings, either religious or political. For the former, see, for example, Eugene England's "Cordelia and Paulina: Shakespeare's Healing Dramatists," *Literature and Belief* 2, (1982), esp. 69–75. For the latter, see Andrew Hadfield, "The Power and Rights of the Crown in *Hamlet* and *King Lear*: 'The King: the King's to Blame'," *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, 54, 217 (2003): 566–586.
8. R.A. Foakes, "Introduction" and "Appendix 1" in William Shakespeare, *King Lear*, ed. R.A. Foakes, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1997). Foakes covers a range of arguments concerning the motives of the French invasion, and offers his own interpretation in refutation of several others.
9. Richard Knowles, "Cordelia's Return," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 50, 1 (1999): 33–50. Knowles suggests that the lack of clarity may be a deliberate strategy to limit the length of stage-time for difficult elements of the play, such as Lear's madness, while engaging the audience's expectations of some kind of approaching redress as the traumas of England intensify.
10. Foakes, "Introduction," 141.
11. Jean Bodin, *The Six Books of the Commonwealth* (French 1576; 1583; Latin 1586). This text circulated widely in the period. I have used Julian H. Franklin's translation and edition, *On Sovereignty: Four Chapters from the Six Books of the Commonwealth* (Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 11th printing 2007), which is based on Bodin's 1583 French edition. Citations follow the Cambridge text's pagination, as well as Bodin's text by Book and chapter. Quotation above from pp. 112–13 (II.5).

12. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, (London: Henrie Midleton for Gregorie Seton, 1583). Facsimile. Menston, UK: The Scolar Press Limited, 1970, 14 (I.12).
13. *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*, 122–3. For quotations I have used *Vindiciae contra tyrannos, a defence of liberty against tyrants, or, Of the lawful power of the prince over the people, and of the people over the prince* (London: Printed for Richard Baldwin, 1689) Wing / L416. I have also consulted *Vindiciae, Contra Tyrannos: or, Concerning the Legitimate Power of a prince over the people, and of the People over the Prince*, ed. and trans. George Garnett (Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1994). The tract is pseudonymously authored by Stephanus Junius Brutus, the Celt. The 1689 edition identifies Hubert Languet (1518–1581) as the author; Garnett rejects firm attribution to a known author.
14. *Vindiciae*, 122; 70.
15. Bodin, *On Sovereignty*, 115 (II.5).
16. Bodin, *On Sovereignty*, 115 (II.5).
17. See Luther, *On Secular Authority*, 15, and Calvin, *On Civil Government*, 76. I have used *Luther and Calvin on Secular Authority*, ed. and trans. Harro Höpfl (Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1991). *On Civil Government* is Book IV chapter 20 of Calvin's *Institutio Christianae Religionis*. Höpfl's translation is based on the 1559 Latin edition. Citations use the Cambridge text page numbers.
18. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*. Book II, ch. 1 outlines the authority of parliament as representative of the people as a whole; II.3 outlines the authority of the monarch, identifying absolute authority in specific areas, such as during war. Bodin, who rejects the idea of mixed monarchy, accepts the right of the people under a monarch to correct or eject him if he fails in his duties, *if* they hold supreme power, but he denies that this is the case in England. See Bodin, *On Sovereignty*, 113–114 (II.5).
19. Smith, *De Republica Anglorum*, I.2 and I.5. Anne McLaren situates Thomas Smith's treatise as a reconceptualization of England's governmental structure in response to the "ungodly" sovereigns following Henry VIII—underaged or female and thus incapable of wielding full sovereignty in their own persons. See "Reading Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum* as Protestant Apologetic," *The Historical Journal*, 42, 4 (1999): 911–939.
20. Bodin, *On Sovereignty*, 113 (II.5). The examples he uses are Moses, rising against those who unjustly abused his brother; Hercules, "who traveled all over the world exterminating tyrant-monsters"; and Tamerlane, who went to Constantinople to overthrow Bayazid I, "to punish him for tyranny and deliver the afflicted peoples" (113) (II.5).
21. He asserts this hierarchy throughout Book I, ch. 8. See esp. *On Sovereignty*, 11–15. Bodin idealizes the commitments of foreign princes. He favors non-military means when possible, but prefers invasion to inaction when the commonweal has been undermined by the sovereign's actions, policies, and decisions.
22. *Vindiciae*, 151–64. Luther and Calvin both indicate a degree of support for the idea of foreign intervention as a corrective to tyranny. Luther is more oblique in his arguments, while Calvin makes an explicit case based on Biblical examples. See Luther, *On Secular Authority*, 20 (I.8), and Calvin, *On Civil Government*, 81–82.

23. This objective is more explicit in *King Leir*, where Lear goes to France to enlist the help of his now-foreign daughter, aiming to reclaim his kingdom. See *The True Chronicle History of King LEIR, and his three daughters*, first known publication, 1605. I have referred to the TCP edition of the 1604 quarto (London: Printed by Simon Stafford for Iohn Wright, 1605), http://quod.lib.umich.edu/e/eebo/A05206.0001.001/1:2.1.1?rgn=div3;view=fulltext (Ann Arbor, MI; Oxford (UK) :: Text Creation Partnership, 2005–12 (EEBO-TCP Phase 1)).
24. See Otto von Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Ages, translated with an Introduction by Frederic William Maitland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1900). Accessed 3/2/17, http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/2562. Bodin does not address this question except to suggest that sovereign power cannot be transferred irrevocably; it is always at the sufferance of the actual sovereign. Foakes notes that it was "illegal" for the king to dispose of properties of the crown through private gifts; rather, they could be passed to a private person through letters patent from the king, "only by the course of common law" (*Law Reports* 1.148, qtd. in Foakes, 17).
25. Aristotle gestures toward this distinction between friendship to the sovereign and the state in *Politics*, 3.XVI. See also Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 498.
26. Keechang Kim address natural allegiance to the king in *Aliens in Medieval Law: The Origins of Modern Citizenship* (Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 2000), esp. 137–43. For an important early modern source, see Sir Edward Coke, *Reports*: *Calvin's Case*, in *The Selected Writings and Speeches of Sir Edward Coke*, vol. 1. [1600], 162–232, ed. Steve Shepherd (Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2003). Online, 8.8.17. http://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/911. For the friend/enemy distinction as a fundamental power of sovereignty, see Carl Schmitt, *The Concept of the Political*, expanded edition, trans., intro., and notes George Schwab (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1996, 2007). Kindle edition.
27. Hadfield, "Power and Rights," 579, discusses this line as an indication of Kent's effort to startle Lear into recognizing his inappropriate absolutism. See also Axton, *Queen's Two Bodies*, 139.
28. However, as Bodin sees such moments, because sovereignty is perpetual, Lear does no more than make his sons-in-law into "trustees of a power that was confided to them." See *On Sovereignty*, 4–5 [I.8]. This, too, may be linked to the return of Cordelia, since in terms of some political theories, at least, England has no proper sovereign until the legitimate ruler is restored to power.
29. The idea of "bare life" comes to many modern scholars from Aristotle through Giorgio Agamben, who takes up the idea of life reduced to its mere biological condition in *Homo Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life*, trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998). For Aristotle, bare life is the starting point of all humans, who are transformed toward "a good life" through the political efforts of the state.
30. Albany's position is difficult to parse here—he has been described as "smiling" upon news of the French invasion (4.2.4–5), and yet aligns himself with Regan's forces against the French and aids in their defeat.
31. Foakes offers a succinct overview of the differences between Folio (F) and Quarto (Q) in presenting this invasion. See *King Lear*, Appendix 1.

32. Knowles, "Cordelia's Return," points out the many difficulties of tracking a logical progression of information about and motivations for this invasion in the texts of either F or Q.
33. Knowles, "Cordelia's Return," 49.
34. This direction seems to be included in the Folio only. However, at the very least both Q and F require the characters to enter and cross the stage as though moving together as a troop of soldiers, and they are likewise captured together, indicating that they made their stand against the "British" armies.

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CHAPTER 6

"Tremble at Patience": Constant Queens and Female Solidarity in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *The Winter's Tale*

Miranda Fay Thomas

When Hermione is put on trial for adultery in *The Winter's Tale*, she declares that,

> if powers divine
> Behold our human actions—as they do—
> I doubt not then but innocence shall make
> False accusation blush and tyranny
> Tremble at patience.[1]

Indeed, when she appears before Leontes as a statue many years later, it is this act of patient stillness—as orchestrated by Paulina—that leads him to truly understand both his queen's innocence and his own shame. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the procession to Theseus and Hippolyta's nuptials are interrupted by the entrance of three queens in mourning, who kneel before the Duke, his bride, and her sister Emilia. The three unnamed widows implore Theseus to take revenge against Creon, who prevents the due burial of their husbands; the spectacle works, and so begins the action of Shakespeare and Fletcher's drama in earnest.

Both these Jacobean plays use female solidarity to shame men such as Leontes and Theseus into respectful action. As such, this chapter contends that queens take on a new power in Shakespeare's later plays. It considers whether a Jacobean nostalgia for the reign of Elizabeth I enabled a reassessment of the way in which gendered power could be performed and negotiated,

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acknowledging the late queen's constancy and dutiful qualities as a female monarch and how such qualities create a strong and persuasive message. The show of constancy and female solidarity, as shown by Shakespeare's later queens, reveals the power of patience, turning passive aggression into affirmative action.

In her study of how women are represented in Renaissance iconography, H. Diane Russell argues:

> Writings about women from the late middle ages through the seventeenth century offer a consistent picture of the virtuous woman—chaste, silent, modest, humble, obedient. The ideal woman withdrew from the world, she was not a leader in it. She was devoted to her family, she did not leave it to do battle. Clearly these virtues would protect a man's power over wife and daughter. (It should come as no surprise that the treatises were almost always written by men.) The virtues extolled, however, also kept women from the public sphere and from the active roles of leadership that defined the male hero.[2]

Naturally, there are outliers to such cultural norms, with scholars such as Laura Gowing and Pamela Allen Brown making excellent cases for the early modern women who resisted the binary of femininity being linked with passivity and blind obedience. What I wish to focus on here, however, is the ways in which the queens in *The Winter's Tale* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* show how women can wield power by supporting each other within the boundaries of such otherwise restricting discourse. Christina León Alfar bolsters this argument in relation to Hermione and Paulina, saying that

> both women shift the conception not only of what might be challenged but that women, specifically, could challenge anything […]. Their refusal to remain silent, in this regard, contradicts theories of subjection at both the domestic and state levels, uncovering the tyranny of Leontes's false accusations as both husband and king and the potential power of women and subjects to fight that tyranny.[3]

I think, though, that it is worth focusing less on their refusal to remain silent, and more on the way in which this play and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* depict queens who are both constant and virtuous *in addition* to not being silent. My aim in this chapter is to refine the binary that equates good wives with silent women by proposing that female solidarity in these plays evokes the spectral figure of a woman who was strong, virtuous, and not afraid to speak her mind: Queen Elizabeth I. Rather than such a figure being incarnated in a single dramatic character, however, these plays split the late queen's legacy into a variety of women, revealing how the Jacobean era did not readily forget the example of a powerful woman able to defy early modern stereotypes and its impact upon women's relationships with each other in addition to their relationships with men.

The Late Queens: Queens in Shakespeare's Last Plays, and Nostalgia for Elizabeth I

From Shakespeare's early dramas to his later ones, kneeling is deployed as a significant performative action, although its efficacy seems to improve over time. In considering why this pattern occurs, it is necessary to assess the gender politics of both the Elizabethan and Jacobean eras. In *Richard II*, the Duchess of York is certainly acting in a manner that would be construed by some as "shrewish," kneeling before Bolingbroke and insistently pleading her case, although she is only playing her maternal role in protecting her son. Pamela Allen Brown explores a curious Renaissance maxim about shrewishness and gender difference:

> In early modern parlance a shrew was a garrulous, domineering, and intractable wife. Shrew bad, patient wife good: everyone knew that. So it is curious to come across a proverb that gives the shrew precedence over the submissive wife: better a shrew than a sheep. Unauthored and unoriginal, the maxim presents uncommon wisdom as common and displays contrarian wit.[4]

The opposite of a "shrew" was Elizabeth I, who despite taking on a monarchical role usually reserved for a man, ruled England for forty-five years. Building on the visual culture established by her sister, Queen Mary I, Elizabeth further established iconography that not only served as "an emblem of political potency" but also as "a marker of an unmistakable femininity."[5] This observation from Farah Karim-Cooper is the idea I wish to explore in this current chapter: how Elizabeth I allowed femininity and politics to work in harmony, and how this strategy changed the state of play in the years that followed her reign. Specifically, I want to consider how Shakespeare's Jacobean plays such as *The Two Noble Kinsmen* and *The Winter's Tale* deploy scenes where women come together to perform what might be considered "submissive" gestures, such as kneeling and statue-like stillness, and how these moments paradoxically evoke power, recalling the potent iconography of the late Elizabeth in an increasingly turbulent Jacobean world. Some critics have begun to make such assessments: P.A. Skantze argues "for the importance of the implicit exploration of stillness and motion as a preoccupation of this changing century"; however, in doing so she only makes passing reference to *The Winter's Tale* and does not consider *The Two Noble Kinsmen* at all.[6] I also wish to further her reading by focusing on the stillness of more than one character at the same time, which serves to slow down the action of the scene to create a more reflective theatrical moment in which the on-stage power relationships can be read more carefully by both the characters spectating the action and the audience watching from off stage.

The source material of Shakespeare's Jacobean plays is markedly different from his earlier work: *The Two Noble Kinsmen* has medieval roots, and *The Winter's Tale* appropriates the Greek myth of Pygmalion. This sense of looking

backward in time just as a new Jacobean age is beginning serves to encourage reflection on both the past and how its historical narrative is constructed. With Shakespeare's sources for these plays consciously evoking a sense of literary nostalgia, it also serves to construct a comparison between the current political climate with the one that immediately preceded it. But to do so in a theatrical setting privileges the role of spectacle and the relationship not only between appearance and reality but also in terms of the spectator's gaze itself. For Stuart Clark, problematizing the sense of sight in the early modern period reveals how "debates about the reliability of vision [is] itself a political issue."[7] I would argue that this contention is rarely truer than at the beginning of a new monarch's reign, bringing with it a fresh political regime and a necessity for the state to maintain and convey a sense of absolute authority in the midst of potentially radical changes.

King James VI of Scotland became King James I of England in 1603. His accession to the English throne naturally made use of theatrical spectacle, but he had always been interested in the workings of theater. He was a lover of plays, and when an English theater company visited Edinburgh in 1593 and again in 1599, he patronized their endeavors to the sum of £333 6s 8d on both occasions, also granting them a license to perform in public despite Puritan protests, and £40 "to by timber for ye preparatioun of ane hous to thair pastyme."[8] James' rise to power in England gave him an opportunity to extend his understanding of theatrical performance to an international level: in August 1604, the entertainment the king gave to the Constable of Castile at Whitehall was described as "royal theatre."[9] Given James' wish to bring about peace with Spain and to underscore such a détente through public oath and ceremony, Arthur F. Kinney is right to observe that, for James, "policy and principle [were] performative."[10]

However, despite this overt sense of confidence, James was also aware of the use of performance to overcompensate for what were actually political insecurities; after all, the power of the stage is "the power of fiction," where individuals may "view themselves as actors in their own lives, as artificial and artfully manipulated constructions."[11] Steven Mullaney argues that James understood the inherent precariousness of performing an identity. Rather than being able to turn such performativity into an advantage, the sense of cultural self-awareness could in fact lead to increased paranoia over how appearances were being viewed in reality.[12] Upon reading James' advice to his son on public relations, such concerns about the vulnerability of (re)presentation are evident. He writes how "a King is as one set on a skaffold, whose smallest actions and gestures al the people gazingly doe behold."[13] While at first reading this observation might convey an almighty sense of authority, such authority actually becomes inverted upon the realization that the power lies not with the monarch, but with the people whose eyes are upon him: eyes capable of interpreting his actions in any number of unintended directions. The power of spectacle, then, is double edged. When performances are scrutinized, they are not done so in the knowledge of the intentions behind them, but through the projection

of the audience viewing the actions. Despite James' ostentatious procession into London in 1603, his later public appearances vexed him greatly. Sir John Oglander saw James' disdain at first hand: when informed that the public wanted to see their king, "he would cry out in Scottish, 'God's wounds! I will put down my breeches and they shall also see my arse!'"[14] This threat of a hugely vulgar gesture gives us an extreme example of James' wariness not only of public spectacle, but the public itself, his desire to moon them both a shaming comment on the greedy eyes of the populace and a way of masking his lack of control over their wishes. James' proffered bottom, then, conceals even as it reveals.

In many ways, James' concerns over his ability to be seen as an effective king of England were unsurprising. While the reign of Elizabeth I had had its own share of difficulties due to her remaining unmarried and the lack of an heir apparent, she had ruled since 1558 and for a country to accept a new monarch—and a Scottish one, at that—meant a huge cultural shift. It is posited by Mullaney that Elizabeth used her potential vulnerability as a monarch by eliding it with the vulnerability of her gender, "turning both to her own advantage, styling herself as the unattainable, hence endlessly pursued, Virgin Queen."[15] However, critics such as Dympna Callaghan argue that however her reign was represented, it remained a threat to patriarchal structures. Callaghan notes how the image of a pelican using her own blood to nourish her children is adapted in the Jacobean period to James' own sense of sovereignty, thus unaligning femininity with power; in this way, any powerful female figure is rendered unnatural, and therefore monstrous.[16] James' reappropriation of such imagery may reveal his own misogynistic tendencies. In his younger days, James wrote a *Satire Against Woemen*. John Matusiak summarizes the king's line of argument, writing "[d]ames of worthie fame are to be congratulated for triumphing over their evil natures, since women of all kinds were inherently vain, ambitious, greedy, and untruthful."[17] Indeed, James' manner scarcely changed upon becoming king of England, with the French ambassador noting how "he piques himself on great contempt for women. They are obliged to kneel before him when they are presented, he exhorts them openly to virtue and scoffs with great levity at men who pay them honour."[18] In such behavior, he almost reminds us of classic misogynists of Jacobean Shakespeare such as Iago, berating women for being, as he sees it,

> pictures out of doors,
> Bells in your parlours, wild-cats in your kitchens,
> Saints in your injuries, devils being offended,
> Players in your housewifery, and housewifes in…
> Your beds![19]

Of course, any nostalgic praise of the Elizabethan era was read as a criticism of the new Jacobean political moment.[20] Playwrights in this period, then, had to tread carefully. To create a character too obviously redolent of the late queen

would be too on the nose; however, giving a variety of female characters the ability to use their grace to politically influence high-profile men would serve as a subtler way of keeping Elizabeth's legacy in mind.

"Tremble at Patience": *The Winter's Tale*

I want to begin my reading of *The Winter's Tale* by considering how nonverbal communication is misread within the play. When Leontes is struggling to convince Polixenes to lengthen his stay, he asks his wife Hermione, "Tongue-tied, our queen? Speak you" (*WT* 1.2.27).

She speaks to Polixenes, is the one who encourages him to stay, and is praised by her husband as having never spoken "to better purpose" (*WT* 1.2.99), except once, when she succumbed to his love for the first time. But we should note how she says nothing to Leontes during their eventual reunion, where she descends from standing as a statue. The spectacle is narrated by some of the other characters watching the scene:

POLIXENES She embraces him.
CAMILLO She hangs about his neck[.] (*WT* 5.3.111–12)

While Hermione does speak to her daughter, Perdita, the only evidence of a reconciliation between Hermione and Leontes is this single moment. It is noteworthy that Camillo's line "she hangs about his neck" recalls a line said to him earlier on in the play by Leontes:

CAMILLO Who does infect her?
LEONTES Why, he that wears his like her medal, hanging
About his neck[.] (*WT* 1.2.304–6)

The repetition of this image should call to mind the fact that the first time this gesture was described, it was misread. Indeed, it was taken by Leontes as proof positive of his wife's infidelity and his friend's betrayal. So, when critics such as Jörg Hasler note that Hermione's "reconciliation with Leontes is allowed gestic expression only," we should also question whether this action means what we think it does.[21] Is the embracing of her jealous husband a sincere sign of Hermione's love and forgiveness? Or is it perhaps merely the *performance* of reconciliation? Just as the "paddling palms" of Hermione and Polixenes is incorrect proof of an infidelity that does not exist, perhaps this reunion is not all that it seems. Hermione does, of course, speak to Perdita, for whom none of this is her fault. Leontes, however, may not be forgiven, even after sixteen years have passed. As Karim-Cooper argues in relation to the gestural ambiguity between Hermione and Polixenes in the first act of the play, "[t]he fact that gestures can be performed means emotions can be performed. This complicates the presumption that interiority is always readable

leaving gestures, more generally, vulnerable to misreading and mistrust."[22] This is entirely the lesson learned in the first half of the play; should it not, therefore, be reapplied to its conclusion, if not by Leontes or the other men onstage, then at least by the women watching (and the audience, too)? Perdita's kneeling to her mother, and Hermione's words to Perdita are unambiguous; the appearance of sincerity in their gestures is confirmed by their language. The audience are offered no such consistency regarding the interaction between Hermione and Leontes. There is therefore some room for negotiation regarding the gendered spectacle of forgiveness usually attributed to this scene, which opens up the possibility of a powerful and exclusive solidarity between Hermione, Perdita, and Paulina.

It might be argued that moderation is what Leontes wants in a wife; to have her move from "[t]oo hot, too hot!" (1.2.99) to "[o], she's warm!" (*WT* 5.3.109). It is the other extreme of temperature he is concerned about with Antigonus, who finds it hard to believe that the queen has been unfaithful:

> You smell this business with a sense as cold
> As is a dead man's nose. But I do see't and feel't
> As you feel doing thus *[laying hold of Antigonus]*—and see withal
> The instruments that feel. (*WT* 2.1.151–4)

Interestingly, here Leontes conflates the senses of sight and touch ("But I do see't and feel't"). It is as if to view something is inextricably linked to it causing a direct emotional response; but it also means that the same connection can travel in the opposite direction: to feel something is to then see it, or—as Leontes does, rather—project it onto something that is not actually happening. We should also consider the pun on I/eye in "I do see't," as it anticipates the mismatch between the objective truth of the moment and the king's personal viewpoint. More than this though, as king, Leontes' misreadings cannot be directly critiqued without the cry of treason. As king, his eyes are the only ones that matter. What we have here, then, is misogyny enshrined as sovereignty. Such a connection was deliberately embedded within early modern politics and its surrounding society. To quote Lawrence Stone,

> the growth of patriarchy was deliberately encouraged by the new Renaissance State on the traditional grounds that the subordination of the family to its head is analogous to, and also a direct contributory cause of, subordination of subjects to the sovereign.[23]

Hermione is not just accused of infidelity, but of treason. This structural oppression raises up men to be the rulers of their own kingdom: the household, within which the wife is subordinate.

Or so we might assume. Paulina's first entrance in *The Winter's Tale* exudes an unapologetic confidence:

> The keeper of the prison, call to him.
> Let him have knowledge who I am.
> […] Now, good sir,
> You know me, do you not? (*WT* 2.2.1–2; 4–5)

Despite this self-assurance—she expects them to know who she is, and to understand and respond to her importance—she is still considered well as "a worthy lady" (*WT* 2.2.5). In the next scene, she is arguably even more demonstrative in her approach:

> LORD: You must not enter.
> PAULINA Nay rather, good my lords, be second to me.
> Fear you his tyrannous passion more, alas,
> Than the queen's life? (*WT* 2.3.25–8)

She does not enjoin the lords to treat her as an equal; she asks that they "be second" to her. Soon after, Leontes exclaims to her husband Antigonus "[w]hat, canst not rule her?" (*WT* 2.3.45), to which she replies

> From all dishonesty he can; in this—
> Unless he take the course that you have done,
> Commit me for committing honour—trust it,
> He shall not rule me. (*WT* 2.3.46–9)

She is even happy to call out the king himself, risking the allegation of treason: "He must be told on't, and he shall. The office / Becomes a woman best; I'll take't upon me" (*WT* 2.2.30–1). Paulina asks—and expects—to be treated better than her status might normally require; however, this also leads us to question what her status actually is in the first place. It is curious to consider that Paulina's role in the court is never fully explained; all we have to go on is her relationships with the other characters. She is wife to Antigonus—himself a lord—but what of Paulina's relationship with Hermione? While they are clearly allies, we understand this relationship through inference rather than outright exposition. But even then, there is no scripted interaction between Hermione and Paulina until the queen faints:

> LEONTES How now there?
> PAULINA This news is mortal to the queen. Look down
> And see what death is doing.
> LEONTES Take her hence.
> Her heart is but o'ercharged. She will recover.
> I have too much believed mine own suspicion.
> Beseech you, tenderly apply to her
> Some remedies for life.
> *[Exeunt Paulina and Ladies, carrying Hermione, and Servant.]* (*WT* 3.2.144–50)

That she is to be trusted with the queen denotes a confidence in Paulina's character and abilities. Despite this, she is never described as being one of the queen's official ladies-in-waiting; she is certainly distinct from the ladies who seem to annoy the young Mamillius so much, but she is also clearly superior to them. We may draw the conclusion that Paulina is not Hermione's servant, but a friend. However, why then does Shakespeare not give us a scene or even a single instance of the two of them talking together in confidence? When we see the play in performance, Paulina's constant championing of the queen leads us to assume a close friendship between them, but this may well also be due to the lack of other women in the court appearing onstage at the same time. Having two women onstage, with one being a character reference for the other, leads the audience to assume that they are close friends or at least a servant and mistress who share an intimacy. But are we not once again guilty of misreading a scene by its first appearance, just as Leontes is?

Hermione and Paulina then, may not be friends, but allies. There is an important distinction here: one can of course be a friend in addition to being an ally; however, I see no evidence for this in the first half of the play. Hermione never directly speaks to or responds to Paulina, and Paulina only does so when the queen collapses, apparently dead. Instead, we may want to revisit what *is* said in the trial scene. Katherine R. Kellett notes that Paulina's description of Hermione in the scene is "blazonic," and that it is significant that Leontes must "concede to other speakers" while a woman anatomizes the queen's body parts.[24] This is a canny inversion of the traditional power dynamic of the blazon technique: usually deployed to control women, here it controls Leontes. While it may at first appear that Paulina is reducing Hermione to her body parts in the same way that a traditionally misogynistic blazon would "freeze" the female character into powerlessness, the relationship between the two women renders the use of the blazon here as a way to take back control from patriarchal power structures, ironically using the same tools to subvert Leontes' domineering sovereignty. Perhaps this is what Graham Holderness means when he writes that, in this scene, "[f]emininity itself becomes the object of an apparent self-critique, conducted with mock humility […] which operates in fact to discredit masculine authority and to assert female pride and power."[25] This is something that Paulina has been asserting throughout the play, and Hermione learns from her. When Hermione enters "as a prisoner" in Act 3, scene 2, her presence in the scene is one of self-assurance:

> I doubt not then but innocence shall make
> False accusation blush and tyranny
> Tremble at patience. (*WT* 3.2.29–31)

Indeed, Holderness posits that "Hermione intends not to profess her sinlessness in direct exculpation or special pleading, but to perform her innocence by means of a considered and constructed theatrical representation."[26] However, I would quibble with Holderness' use of the word "perform" here. It is her *resistance* to perform, and intent instead just *to be herself innocent*, that is remarkable about the trial scene. Interestingly though, the power Hermione develops is less about *not always* performing than it is about being able to *choose herself* whether or not she should have to—a choice that was also available to Elizabeth I as a female monarch.

When Hermione emerges from her statuesque stasis, she wastes no time in indicating to the audience that she is giving Leontes a taste of his own medicine. She still cannot, of course, reprimand her husband—he is still king—but what she *can* do is perform the appearance of public reconciliation while only truly speaking heartfelt words to her long-lost daughter. The men in the scene—Leontes, Polixenes, Camillo—fall for the gesture of Hermione's embrace just as her husband fell for her gestures with Polixenes. But once again, the queen is using such a performance politically. Just as she convinced Polixenes to stay in Act 1, she convinces her husband that she is reconciled in Act 5. The key difference is that, in the final instance, she is acting on her own terms and in her own interest, rather than her husband's, and Paulina has facilitated this. In fact, she already foreshadowed it much earlier in the play: "The silence often of pure innocence / Persuades when speaking fails" (*WT* 2.2.40–1). Here, Paulina plans to show the baby daughter to the king, but her justification for doing so eerily anticipates the play's final scene, wherein Hermione's stillness and silence as a statue acts as the necessary peace-maker for Leontes' court.

When Paulina rebukes Leontes for not believing in the queen's innocence, she says:

> A thousand knees,
> Ten thousand years together, naked, fasting,
> Upon a barren mountain, and still winter
> In storm perpetual, could not move the gods
> To look that way thou wert. (*WT* 3.2.207–11)

Interestingly, kneeling—itself an act frequently gendered as "feminine" due to its implied passivity—seems to be far more effective in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, when three queens in mourning kneel to persuade Theseus to avenge their husbands. But such a gesture is more powerful than it first appears. Granted, Abbe Blum argues that "in some versions of the monumental the woman is literally or figuratively enclosed by projected ideas, another's will, or an actual commemorative structure"; it is true that we can barely see the widowed queens as individuals: they are only defined in relation to their husbands, the kings, and their duty to them.[27] They are not even given names. However, a visual act such as kneeling means that the figures

performing the action are enclosed by a gestural language built on passivity as a byword for virtue. However, Blum also goes on to argue that "[a] woman's lack of response also signals her virtue, a quality that, paradoxically, can promote her victimization."[28] This certainly works for Hermione's coolness in her lack of verbal response to Leontes at the end of *The Winter's Tale*. Now, I will turn to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* to consider how the performance of a "victim"—such as through kneeling—can be reclaimed as the act of a survivor using a sense of spectacle to provoke men into positive action.

"Lend Us a Knee": *The Two Noble Kinsmen*

Shakespeare and Fletcher's play begins with the interruption of Theseus and Hippolyta on the way to their nuptials. After the prologue, we are greeted with the following dumbshow, according to the stage directions:

> *Enter Hymen with a torch burning; a Boy, in a white robe, before, singing and strewing flowers; after Hymen, a Nymph encompassed in her tresses, bearing a wheaten garland. Then Theseus between two other nymphs with wheaten chaplets on their heads. Then Hippolyta the bride, led by Pirithous and another holding a garland over her head (her tresses likewise handing). After her, Emilia, holding up her train.*[29]

Their marriage is solemnized by the goddess of marriage, with candlelight, in addition to a boy singer in pure white robes, not to mention nymphs, garlands, flowers, a bridal train, and accompanying music. But what happens next is less expected:

> *Enter three Queens in black, with veils stained, with imperial crowns. The First Queen falls down at the foot of Theseus; the Second falls down at the foot of Hippolyta; the Third before Emilia.* (*TNK* 1.1.24, SD)

The huge contrast of spectacle here should not be ignored, and we should also note the replacement of one type of spectacle with another. The visual signifiers of wedding nuptials are usurped by funereal ciphers. At this point in the play, none of the characters onstage have been ascribed names; as far as the audience is concerned, we have three mourners kneeling to three members of a wedding party. It so happens that the unnamed queens remain so throughout the scene, and in fact their identities are never revealed. When we see this opening spectacle, then, there is a sense that the three queens in black are in a sense a doomed vision of the future, reflecting the happiness of a marriage union with their matrimonial loss. No sooner has Hippolyta married Theseus than she is reminded that she too may lose her husband and be, one day, a nameless widow herself.

The lines spoken by the three queens attempt to create an empathic connection between them and the wedding party. The first queen asks that Theseus

must "hear and respect" her for the sake of "pity" and "true gentility" (*TNK* 1.1.25–6), emphasizing not only his noble status but his duty to use it kindly by respecting her in return. The second queen appeals to Hippolyta, newly wedded: "For your mother's sake / And as you wish your womb may thrive with fair ones, / Hear and respect me" (*TNK* 1.1.26–8). Given her nuptials, the second queen's evoking of Hippolyta's fertility hits close to home, and once again, we hear the imploration: "hear and respect me." The third queen addresses Emilia "for the sake / Of clear virginity" (*TNK* 1.1.30–1), appealing to what she presumably feels is most important to Emilia given her unmarried status. This spectacle is essentially a continuation of the prologue's themes into Act 1, scene 1, as noted by Alex Davis:

> The echoes of the prologue establish the possibility of a self-referential subtext to the action. Through its representation of a scene of pleading and supplication, 1.1 focuses our sense of the play's own affective power, strikingly aligning it with female sexual experience and motherhood; and with its formalized, quasi-ceremonial patterning of the action, it seeks to identify the resources of the theat[re] with the nobility of the persons represented on stage.[30]

Davis' sense here of a "formalized, quasi-ceremonial patterning" is precisely what the three queens are aiming for. Rather than being ceremonial, it is the essence of *seeming* ceremonial: they are creating a sense of spectacle and, in doing so, take control of the scene. Madelon Lief and Nicholas F. Radel believe that Shakespeare insinuates that "both rhetoric and pageantry are impotent and fail to create order"; in fact, nothing could be further from the truth.[31] What we see about the performative rhetoric of kneeling in Act 1, scene 1 is that it is incredibly effective; so much so that Hippolyta and Emilia emulate it in Act 3, scene 6, when they in turn kneel to Theseus.

The efficacy of the queens' gesture is reflected in their language. The repetition of "hear and respect me" are among the very first words actually spoken rather than sung in the play, and their being matched with the tableau of kneeling has a poignant effect. In fact, it emphasizes the gesture itself while also clarifying its intended meaning: being seen is one thing, but being respected is another. The queens are asking for the process of looking to go both ways: in the act of kneeling, they are performing a gesture of submission which draws the eye and the attention, but at the same time they are implying how such attention goes in the reverse direction, toward those being implored. Despite the queens stealing the scene, it is Theseus, Hippolyta, and Emilia who remain in the spotlight, and this sense of focus is exactly the point. As this scene is happening in a public space, the Duke and his new bride are being shamed into action. Consequently, the gesture of kneeling is not here an act demonstrating powerlessness. It is an act that merely performs powerlessness for the purpose of reappropriating power.

As we see by their initial response, Theseus, Hippolyta, and Emilia are keen not to be moved by the queens:

THESEUS Sad lady, rise.
HIPPOLYTA Stand up.
EMILIA No knees to me! What woman I may stead that is distressed
Does bind me to her. (*TNK* 1.1.35–7)

Emilia has correctly, if heartlessly, read the situation: the spirit of *noblesse oblige* is being evoked. In fact, while ostensibly responding in a more generous manner at 1.1.55 by being "transported with your speech", Theseus then uses the phrase "and suffered / Your knees to wrong themselves" (*TNK* 1.1.55–6). The use of "suffer" naturally implies a discomfort; perhaps rather than being moved by the widows, he is embarrassed at being supplicated to. Or rather, he feels embarrassed that these women feel the need to shame him with their knees, as Volumnia does in *Coriolanus.* This possible echoing of Shakespeare's earlier play serves to remind the audience that the act of submission is not, in itself, submissive, relying as it does on earlier historical codes of conduct which demarcate not only what is considered appropriate behavior, but how such behavior can be manipulated. This distinction has all the more impact given the play's sources and influences. Lois Potter's introduction to her edition of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* memorably describes the play as "a Jacobean dramatization of a medieval English tale based on an Italian romance version of a Latin epic about one of the oldest and most tragic Greek legends."[32] Davis too notes that while Shakespeare "frequently writes about the Middle Ages […] he does not on the whole […] write about the period in a 'medievalist' way."[33] This observation is true, with Shakespeare and Fletcher giving more classical inflections to the work. Hannah Crawforth takes this idea further, writing that "[e]ncountering Chaucer's English in an edition that makes the diverse origins of his language explicit, Shakespeare and Fletcher can have been in little doubt that they were writing this conspicuously hybrid play in a language that is in itself hybrid."[34] Not only that: Shakespeare and Fletcher were also writing this play to ensure that its visual language and *mise-en-scène* are hybrid, too. Crawforth concludes by arguing that the playwrights "stage the incompletion of the *English* language" (my emphasis); what they also do is reveal the incompletion of language itself, and how communication is inherently not only supplemented but matched by nonverbal performance acts such as gesture.[35]

As the scene progresses, the three queens, while still kneeling, use language about strength alongside intriguingly gendered tropes. To Theseus, the first queen says:

> Oh, I hope some god,
> Some god hath put his mercy in your manhood,
> Whereto he'll infuse power, and press you forth
> Our undertaker. (*TNK* 1.1.71–4)

The second queen beseeches Hippolyta as a powerful woman herself:

> Honoured Hippolyta, Most dreaded Amazonian, that hast slain
> The scythe-tusked boar; that with thy arm, as strong
> As it is white, wast near to make the male To thy sex captive [...]
> Speak't in a woman's *key*; like such a woman
> As any of us *three*; weep ere you fail. Lend us a *knee*[.]
> (*TNK* 1.1.77–81; 94–6, my emphasis)

Not only does the second queen refer to Hippolyta's fearsome reputation; she asks her to help them by speaking to Theseus "in a woman's key." But what does she mean? Apparently, it means to "weep ere you fail." It seems almost contradictory that the act of weeping should follow a description of a woman so fierce that she almost made "the male / To thy sex captive." But in fact, it becomes a moment of liberation from gender binaries: a woman can both have strength and feel empathy, thus combining traditional "masculine" and "feminine" tropes. To reinforce this rhetorical point, lines 94–6 create a series of mid-line rhymes: key, three, knee. A sound repeated three times, to match the three kneeling queens, revealing their strength in numbers. If both Hippolyta and Emilia join their imploration, they outnumber Theseus five to one. In this moment, they have the opportunity to understand the strength of kindness.

It works. Hippolyta and Emilia both kneel to Theseus, and he agrees to help the widows: "Pray, stand up. / I am entreating of myself to do / That which you kneel to me" (TNK, 1.1.205–7). Not only that, but Hippolyta and Emilia have learned about the strength of female solidarity, even in an act that at first glance seems submissive. Later in the play, they kneel to Theseus to intercede on behalf of Arcite and Palamon. Emilia, who at first responded particularly coldly to the widows, is the first to kneel:

> Yet that I will be woman and have pity,
> My knees shall grow to th' ground but I'll get mercy.
> Help me, dear sister; in a deed so virtuous,
> The powers of all women will be with us. (*TNK* 3.6.191–4)

The submission of the three queens has revealed a power that neither Hippolyta nor Emilia expected to yield. By shaming authority figures with their knees, they are able to use their position as women in society to ring effective change. This development occurs primarily through their realization that women *can* wield power in a patriarchal society if they lend each other solidarity: a strength in numbers means that they can shame men through performing a public spectacle, either before the king of Sicily in *The Winter's Tale*, or the Duke of Athens in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. By reclaiming the "passivity" of feminine behavior within the patriarchal discourse as a form of soft power, they are able to reappropriate the coded language and expectations of misogyny and, in solidarity with each other, strike back using the very tools that men would otherwise use to oppress them.

Notes

1. William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. John Pitcher, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 3.2.27–31.
2. H. Diane Russell (with Bernadine Barnes), *Eva/Ave: Woman in Renaissance and Baroque Prints* (New York: National Gallery of Art, Washington, and the Feminist Press at The City University of New York, 1990), 29.
3. Christina León Alfar, "'Proceed in justice': Narratives of Marital Betrayal in *The Winter's Tale*," in *Justice, Women, and Power in English Renaissance Drama,* eds. Andrew Majeske and Emily Detmer-Goebel (Madison, Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2009), 48–51.
4. Pamela Allen Brown, *Better a Shrew Than a Sheep: Women, Drama, and the Culture of Jest in early Modern England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 1.
5. Farah Karim-Cooper, *Cosmetics in Shakespearean and Renaissance Drama* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2012), 199.
6. P.A. Skantze, *Stillness in Motion in the Seventeenth-Century Theatre* (London and New York: Routledge, 2003), 6.
7. Stuart Clark, *Vanities of the Eye: Vision in Early Modern European Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 255.
8. James C. Dibdin, *The Annals of the Edinburgh Stage* (Edinburgh: R. Cameron, 1888), 22. As quoted in Arthur F. Kinney, *Lies Like Truth: Shakespeare, Macbeth, and the Cultural Moment* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2001), 68–69.
9. Kinney, *Lies Like Truth*, 74.
10. Kinney, *Lies Like Truth*, 74–75.
11. Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play, and Power in Renaissance England* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1995), 113.
12. Mullaney, *Place of the Stage*, 114.
13. King James VI and I, *The Basilicon Doron of James VI*, ed. by James Craigie (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1944), 162.
14. John Matusiak, *James I: Scotland's King of England* (Gloucestershire: The History Press, 2015), 180.
15. Mullaney, *Place of the Stage*, 105.
16. Dympna Callaghan, "Wicked Women in *Macbeth*: A Study of Power, Ideology, and the Production of Motherhood," in *Reconsidering the Renaissance*, ed. Mario A. Di Cesare (Binghamton, New York: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1992), 362–363.
17. King James VI and I, *A Satire Against Woemen,* as quoted by Matusiak, *James I*, 203.
18. Christophe de Harlay, Comte de Beaumont, French ambassador to England from April 1603 to November 1605, as quoted in Matusiak, *James I*, 203.
19. William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. E.A.J. Honigmann, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1996), 2.1.109–113.
20. Margot Heinemann, "Political Drama," in *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*in, eds. A. R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003 [1990]), 188.
21. Jörg Hasler, "Romance in the Theater: The Stagecraft of the 'Statue Scene' in *The Winter's Tale*," in *Shakespeare: Man of the Theater,* eds. Kenneth Muir, Jay L. Halio, and D. J. Palmer (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1983), 208.

22. Farah Karim-Cooper, *The Hand on the Shakespearean Stage: Gesture, Touch and the Spectacle of Dismemberment* (Bloomsbury: Arden, 2016), 76.
23. Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500–1800* (New York: Harper and Row, 1977), 152.
24. Katherine R. Kellett, "Petrarchan Desire, the Female Ghost, and *The Winter's Tale*," in *Staging the Blazon in Early Modern English Theater,* eds. Deborah Uman and Sara Morrison (Surrey and Burlington: Ashgate, 2013), 29.
25. Graham Holderness, "*The Winter's Tale*: Country into Court," in *Shakespeare: Out of Court,* eds. Graham Holderness, Nick Potter, and John Turner (Hampshire: Macmillan, 1990), 219–220.
26. Holderness, "*The Winter's Tale*," 211.
27. Abbe Blum, "'Strike all that look upon with mar[b]le': Materializing Women in Shakespeare's Plays," in *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon,* eds. Anne. M. Haselkorn and Betty S. Travitsky (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), 101.
28. Blum, "Strike all," 103.
29. William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. Lois Potter, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1997), 1.1, SD.
30. Alex Davis, "Living in the Past: Thebes, Periodization and *Two Noble Kinsmen*," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies*, 40:1 (2010): 177.
31. Madelon Lief and Nicholas F. Radel, "Linguistic Subversion and the Artifice of Rhetoric in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 38:4 (1987): 414.
32. William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. by Lois Potter (London: Arden Shakespeare, 1997), 1.
33. Davis, "Living in the Past," 175.
34. Hannah Crawforth, "'Bride-habited, but maiden-hearted': Language and Gender in *Two Noble Kinsmen*," in *Women Making Shakespeare: Text, Reception and Performance*, eds. Gordon McMullan, Lena Cowen Orlin and Virginia Mason Vaughan (London and New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), 27.
35. Crawforth, "Bride-habited," 32.

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PART III

Queenship and Motherhood

CHAPTER 7

"To Beare the Name of a Quéene": Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester and Lady Macbeth: Queenship and Motherhood

Sally Fisher

It is well known that William Shakespeare used historical source material to craft his characters. One of the most intriguing of these sources is Holinshed's *Chronicles*, upon which Shakespeare drew for his depiction of Eleanor, Duchess of Gloucester (*2 Henry VI*) and Lady Macbeth (*Macbeth*).[1] Shakespeare's Eleanor is based upon the historical figure of the same name who appears in Holinshed's *Chronicles*. In 1441, Eleanor (*c.* 1400–1452) was accused of treason when it was alleged that she had conspired to foresee or bring about the death of Henry VI. Eleanor's husband, Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, was a contender for the throne; if Henry VI were to die, Eleanor could be queen.[2] Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth was shaped by the historical figure of Macbeth's wife in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, who becomes queen after Macbeth murders Duncan, the king. Using the examples of Eleanor and Lady Macbeth, this chapter analyzes how Shakespeare adapted the representation of these women in Holinshed's *Chronicles* for the early modern stage. This approach provides new insights into ideas of queenship and motherhood.[3] In medieval and early modern England and Scotland, one of the crucial requirements of a queen was to provide an heir.[4] In this chapter, the themes of queenship and motherhood are explored through the case studies of Eleanor and Lady Macbeth. For Shakespeare, the intersection between these two themes is most strikingly revealed when the absence of motherhood ultimately denies both Eleanor and Lady Macbeth's claims to queenship.

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Holinshed's *Chronicles* and *2 Henry VI* date from the final decades of Elizabeth I's reign (1558–1603), while *Macbeth* was written in honor of the new king of England, James VI of Scotland (1567–1625) and James I of England (1603–1625). *2 Henry VI*, as the second of Shakespeare's three *Henry VI* plays, had probably been performed by Lord Strange's company by 1591.[5] The first recorded performance of *Macbeth* was in 1611, at the Globe theatre.[6] *Macbeth*, unlike *2 Henry VI*, is not recognized as one of Shakespeare's history plays.[7] Ronald Knowles, however, remarks that: "There is a metaphysical and poetic aspect to Shakespeare's play which often leads critics to compare *2 Henry VI* with *Macbeth*."[8] Certainly, the similarities between the characters of Lady Macbeth and Margaret of Anjou, wife of Henry VI, have received some scholarly comment, as too have the similarities between Eleanor and Margaret of Anjou.[9] However, while the connection has been made between Eleanor and Lady Macbeth and some of the obvious parallels, such as their ambitious behavior and use of sorcery, have also been acknowledged, the characters have not, as far as I am aware, been subject to close comparative study.[10] The scholarly attention devoted to each character has also been uneven. For example, Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth has proven a popular subject, but his depiction of Eleanor, despite notable exceptions, remains comparatively neglected.[11] Significantly, although *2 Henry VI* predates *Macbeth* there has been no close study of the importance of Eleanor as an influence for the character of Lady Macbeth. With a focus on the themes of queenship and motherhood, this chapter argues that Shakespeare's depiction of Lady Macbeth is developed from his earlier characterization of Eleanor and that an analysis attentive to this association brings the parallels between these two characters to the fore.[12] These parallels are, in turn revealing of contemporary understandings of queenship and motherhood and shed light on both states as historically contingent.

Holinshed's *Chronicles* and Shakespeare

Holinshed's *Chronicles* was a common source for Shakespeare's Eleanor and Lady Macbeth.[13] It was a secondary source for *2 Henry VI* and probably the main source for *Macbeth*.[14] For this reason, it lends itself well to an analysis of how Shakespeare used chronicles in his depiction of these two women. Holinshed's *Chronicles* spans centuries of English, Scottish, and Irish history and appears in two quite different editions. Annabel Patterson includes this statement of authorship within her discussion of the intentions of Holinshed's *Chronicles*:

> the gargantuan work we continue to refer to as Holinshed's *Chronicles*, despite the fact that Raphael Holinshed was only one of nearly a dozen persons who contributed to the project over two decades and in two quite different editions, the first appearing in 1577, the second, expanded version of 1587 largely produced after Holinshed's death.[15]

The chroniclers also drew on a wide range of sources in compiling their narrative. Holinshed's *Chronicles* account of Eleanor, for example, is strikingly similar

to the account in Hall's *Chronicle* (1548–50), which is "generally agreed upon as the principal source for *2 Henry VI*."[16] Hall's *Chronicle*, in turn, draws on fifteenth-century chronicles, most obviously the *Brut*, which was printed in 1480 by William Caxton.[17] For *Macbeth*, Dauvit Broun notes: "Holinshed followed the history of Hector Boece, who copied and enlarged the narrative in Andrew Wyntoun's metrical chronicle, written in the early fifteenth century."[18] Martha Driver and Sid Ray remark that Holinshed "invents 'historical' figures, most notably Banquo and Fleance in its narrative on the Scottish king, Macbeth."[19] Recognizing the rich literary tradition upon which Holinshed's *Chronicles* drew, a close study of Eleanor's and Lady Macbeth's depiction in the chronicles is attuned to the variety of influences shaping the accounts. This background also informs an analysis of Shakespeare's use of the chronicles in his characterization of Eleanor and Lady Macbeth.

Other scholars have remarked upon the importance of considering those moments where Shakespeare deviated from his source material. Ray's work on the "hidden genealogy" of Lady Macbeth, for example, synthesizes information on the historical figure of Gruoch and considers the character of Lady Macbeth in Shakespeare's play and four film adaptations.[20] Margaret Omberg acknowledges the various sources to which Shakespeare was probably indebted in the creation of Macbeth, remarking: "It is therefore particularly noteworthy when he departs from this outline, either to introduce information from another source or to add to the action from his own imagination."[21] As this chapter explores Eleanor and Lady Macbeth as part of a cast of women, Olga L. Valbuena's comments strike a chord:

> Shakespeare read his sources not to replicate them, but rather to mine them for suggestions, and he frequently borrowed characteristics from several figures when creating his own composites. Thus, when developing Lady Macbeth for the stage, Shakespeare gleaned details of the motives and private violence of women who were involved in the political struggle which precedes and opens *Macbeth*.[22]

Valbuena's comments can be extended to apply to both *2 Henry VI* and *Macbeth*. A wider view enables a consideration of where the accounts of Eleanor and Lady Macbeth fit alongside other chronicle entries for the year or, indeed, reign. As a result, the experiences of these women are contextualized within a larger narrative. Holinshed's *Chronicles* feature an enormous cast of characters. Although the focus of this chapter is on the depiction of Eleanor and Lady Macbeth, these women are surrounded, as it were, by other women—some mothers, some queens—whose stories are set alongside and shape their own.

Eleanor: From Holinshed's *Chronicles* to *2 Henry VI*

Eleanor became Gloucester's second wife sometime around 1428, after he secured a divorce from Jacqueline of Hainault, to whom Eleanor had been a lady-in-waiting.[23] Gloucester was acknowledged as the father of two illegitimate children, Arthur and Antigone, but contemporary accounts do not name

the mother.[24] The marriage of Eleanor and Gloucester was apparently childless. Although the absence of children is not mentioned in Holinshed's *Chronicles* or in *2 Henry VI*, the anonymous contemporary *Brut* chronicler draws on the couple's lack of children as he provides Eleanor's explanation for her alleged involvement in sorcery. Eleanor's infertility is alluded to as she claims the following reason for her association with a necromancer and his instruments: "she did it forto haue borne a child by hir lord, the Duke of Gloucestre."[25] These words express Eleanor's desire for a child, as opposed to seeing her husband on the throne, as motive for her actions. The words also draw Gloucester and motherhood or, more correctly, the absence of it, into the narrative.

Holinshed's *Chronicles* attaches Gloucester's actions to Eleanor's crimes by textual proximity rather than direct connection.[26] This is done through the insertion of Gloucester's 1440 complaint to the king against his uncle, Henry Beaufort, Cardinal of Winchester, immediately before the account of Eleanor's downfall in 1441.[27] An ominous line at the end of the episode, "venem will breake out," makes a connection between Gloucester's behavior and the following accusations against Eleanor:

> For first this yeare, dame Eleanor Cobham, wife to the said duke, was accused of treason; for that she by sorcerie and inchantment intended to destroie the king, to the intent to aduance hir husband vnto the crowne.[28]

Unlike the *Brut*, there is no reference to motherhood here; Eleanor's desire is to see her husband become king.

The suggestion that Eleanor was the instigator of her own and her husband's downfall was earlier expressed in the tragedy of Eleanor as it appeared in the 1578 version of the *Mirror for Magistrates*.[29] As Kavita Mudan Finn remarks, this "enormously popular […] collection of *de casibus* tragedies […] was, like *Holinshed's Chronicles*, the product of a syndicate of poets in dialogue with one another."[30] Attributed to George Ferrers, the tragedy of Eleanor is informed by her representation in contemporary chronicles and ballads.[31] It not only portrays her as a woman of significant power, but also draws in Margaret of Anjou, with Mudan Finn noting: "It is likely that these oblique references in the *Mirror* inspired Shakespeare's anachronistic juxtaposition of Eleanor and Margaret in the first two acts of *2 Henry VI*."[32] Eleanor's story, as it appears in the *Mirror*, brings together women, sexuality, ambition, and political power. This combination sets the scene for Holinshed's *Chronicles* and, later, Shakespeare's *2 Henry VI*.[33]

Holinshed's *Chronicles* also provides details of Eleanor's examination by the council and her subsequent condemnation, along with her walk of penance and imprisonment.[34] The four "aiders to the duchesse" are named, as are their alleged crimes:

> … (at the request of the said duchesse) had deuised an image of wax representing the king, which by their sorcerie by little and little consumed, intending thereby in conclusion to waste and destroie the kings person.[35]

Their punishments are recorded and the entry closes with a reference to Gloucester: "The duke of Glocester bare all these things patientlie, and said little."[36] Gloucester's reaction is striking and almost incomprehensible when compared to his lengthy complaint preceding Eleanor's downfall.[37] Eleanor's actions have apparently silenced her husband, with this moment marking the end of Gloucester's political influence.

Gloucester's demise is compounded in the next line, where Holinshed records the birth of the future Edward IV, son of Richard, Duke of York.[38] This notation reminds the readers that Gloucester is not only silenced by Eleanor's actions, but that their marriage has failed to produce a legitimate heir and someone to speak for Gloucester in the future—a failure made all the more palpable when read alongside the birth of a child who eventually becomes king. And so, in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Eleanor's desire for her husband to achieve kingship, a position that ought to also see her become queen, is represented as directly impacting upon Gloucester's mental state and political career. The absence of an heir is depicted as one element of Gloucester's silencing, meaning that it will endure across the generations.

Eleanor's attempts to place her husband on the throne as portrayed in Holinshed's *Chronicles* form part of a wider account of the behavior of noble and royal women. In the closing months of Henry VI's reign, the futility of Eleanor's efforts are reinforced when compared against the actions of a queen (Margaret of Anjou) who moves decisively for her son, and a noble mother (Cecily, Duchess of York and wife of Richard, Duke of York) who protects her sons, one of whom would later become king. In both examples, these women display similar desires to Eleanor in that they seek family advancement. Crucially, however, they are represented as acting for their sons rather than a husband. These women also act in legitimate ways, quite distinct from those employed by Eleanor.

In 1461, Margaret of Anjou "caused the king to dub hir sonne prince Edward knight" as the political situation grew more precarious by the day.[39] Through this act, Margaret's queenship encompasses a performance of motherhood which looks to the future; if the reign of her husband ends, she has ensured her son is better prepared for what might come. The actions of Cecily, Duchess of York, who was of the same social rank as Eleanor, offer a comparable example. Following the death of Cecily's husband and one son, the chronicles recount that she "sent hir two yonger sonnes, George and Richard, ouer the sea, to the citie of Utrecht in Almaine, where they were of Philip duke of Burgognie well receiued."[40] As mothers, both women display behaviors that might ensure their sons become kings. Importantly, too, they engage the support of men of high status in order to do so. Their actions contrast with Eleanor's enlistment of two priests, a canon, "a cunning necromancer," and a witch.[41]

In *2 Henry VI*, Shakespeare adapts Gloucester's portrayal in Holinshed's *Chronicles* as a bystander to Eleanor's treasonous activities and removes him further from the center of action. Eleanor tells Gloucester of her dream of queenship:

> Methought I sat in seat of majesty
> In the cathedral church of Westminster,
> And in that chair where kings and queens are crowned,
> Where Henry and Dame Margaret kneeled to me,
> And on my head did set the diadem. (*2H6* 1.2.36–40)

The use of the pronouns "I," "me," and "my" mark Eleanor as the subject as Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou kneel to her.[42] Gloucester's absence, although noted by other scholars, is not necessarily a matter of concern as the king would be present at his queen's coronation.[43] If absence alone does not deny Gloucester's kingship, the preceding line confirms his subordinate relationship to his wife as he is relegated to the position of chattel: "But list to me, my Humphrey, my sweet Duke" (*2H6* 1.2.35). Eleanor appropriates Gloucester's earlier words, "O Nell, sweet Nell," and returns these professions of endearment back to her husband (*2H6* 1.2.17). In doing so, she asserts her authority and implies she occupies a more masculine role in the relationship, threatening to render Gloucester's identity as more feminine.

Eleanor's dream of queenship in the absence of a king is not problematic for its own sake, nor is her appropriation of a more masculinized role. *2 Henry VI* was written and performed during the reign of Elizabeth I, who drew on similar ideas in order to assert her authority.[44] It is the circumstances, however, that make Eleanor's desires unjustifiable. Eleanor's behavior is not only treasonous to the king, but also to her husband. By contrast, Elizabeth I was a queen without a husband, meaning that her self-representation did not openly threaten existing concepts of ideal filial relationships. As in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Eleanor's absence of motherhood is not mentioned in *2 Henry VI* and her conduct is not directly attached to her lack of maternity. *2 Henry VI* does, however, draw attention to Gloucester's alleged inability to achieve fatherhood in ways which build upon his loss of power in Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Eleanor's first speech, for example, opens with a powerful image of infertility as she asks, "Why droops my lord, like over-ripened corn / Hanging the head at Ceres' plenteous load?" (*2H6* 1.2.1–2). She then goes on to associate Gloucester's apparent impotence with his need to employ her assistance if he wishes to achieve kingship. "Put forth thy hand, reach at the glorious gold. / What, is't too short? I'll lengthen it with mine" (*2H6* 1.2.11–12). Eleanor's vision of queenship is, of course, only a dream and she cannot lengthen her husband's "hand." The futility of Eleanor's suggestion is expressed later in the scene, where she appears to deliberately ignore, even deny, that she ought to pursue motherhood:

> Were I a man, a duke and next of blood,
> I would remove these tedious stumbling-blocks
> And smooth my way upon their headless necks. (*2H6* 1.2.65–7)[45]

It is, however, not only her sex, but her lack of noble blood that prevents Eleanor from carrying out her treasonous desires. Crucially, she does not state

that she wishes to be "a man, a duke and next of blood," but speaks of what she would do if she were. Eleanor can be none of these three identities of which she speaks. In addition, the behaviors associated with her words further remove her from any identification with early modern societal expectations of motherhood.

The "tedious stumbling-blocks" to which Eleanor refers are those that hold up a system of society dependent upon the supremacy of legitimate succession. As such, Eleanor's desired actions are reduced to a treasonous attempt to challenge and overthrow the authority of her husband and her king. While her behavior does not physically destroy Gloucester, her words draw attention to his damaged body, representing it as one that could not father an heir.[46] For Eleanor and Gloucester, there are no children to stand beside them or of whom they can speak. This absence contrasts with the final scene in *2 Henry VI* with York and his sons, Richard and Edward, on stage.[47] By play's end, Eleanor's depiction can be understood as an exploration of the idea of a gentry-born wife who is not a mother but desires queenship. Her desire is ultimately proven to be unachievable and, most dangerously, a threat to existing structures of society.

For successful representation on stage, Eleanor's desire for queenship needs to be more than that depicted in dreams and wishes. As noted above, Shakespeare's adaptation of Holinshed's *Chronicles* in his characterization of Eleanor is also informed by the historical figure of Margaret of Anjou, Queen of England.[48] Margaret of Anjou features in the chronicles as a mother and a queen, although at the time of Eleanor's downfall she was unmarried and had not yet arrived in England. As in the *Mirror*, Shakespeare shifts this chronology to insert Margaret into Eleanor's story, where she becomes the foil through which the audience can view Eleanor's failure to achieve queenship.[49] In *2 Henry VI*, Margaret is represented as a new queen, not yet a mother but celebrated for her potential to achieve motherhood.[50] The opening scene of *2 Henry VI* begins with a "flourish of trumpets" and the entry of the king, Henry VI, and Margaret, his queen.[51] Margaret's royal procession celebrates a woman born into royalty whose queenship is justifiable through her status of birth and who is expected to produce an heir. By contrast, Eleanor's desire for queenship is grounded in no such claims, rendering her eventual penitential procession in Act 2, scene 4 as apt punishment for a woman of lower birth who exhibited treasonous desires.

Ronald Knowles remarks: "Shakespeare was fascinated by the Eleanor story and considerably developed her role throughout Acts 1 and 2. The fate of Eleanor is closely tied to that of Gloucester."[52] Tracing Eleanor's depiction from chronicles to play with a focus on queenship and motherhood gives shape to Shakespeare's fascination, representing the shared fate of the couple as a consequence of Eleanor's unjustifiable desire for queenship. Such a fate also denies Gloucester's own authority and masculinity.[53] Although Gloucester's subordinate position is alluded to in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, it is extended in *2 Henry VI* through references to his impotence. In a progression associated with this allegation, Eleanor's representation in Holinshed's *Chronicles* shifts

from a historical subject seeking kingship for her husband to a character who dreams of her own queenship. Alison Findlay suggests that "the damaging effects explored through Eleanor's role provide a prototype for the role of Lady Macbeth."[54] An analysis of Eleanor's desire for queenship, with a focus on her apparent disinclination to acknowledge the importance of producing an heir, other than as portrayed in the *Brut*, highlights intersections between queenship and motherhood. It also paves the way for an exploration of the parallels between Shakespeare's depiction of Eleanor and that of Lady Macbeth. These parallels, in turn, contribute to a broader consideration of both states and confirm them as historically contingent.

Lady Macbeth: From Holinshed's *Chronicles* to *Macbeth*

Gruoch is the eleventh-century historical figure upon whom Holinshed's *Chronicles*' wife of Macbeth and Shakespeare's Lady Macbeth is based. Unlike the historical figure of Eleanor, Gruoch was born into nobility.[55] Through her first marriage, to Gille Comgáin (king of Moray from 1029, d. 1032), Gruoch had at least one child, a son named Lulach.[56] After Gille Comgain's death, Mac Bethad replaced him as king and took Gruoch as his wife.[57] Mac Bethad reigned until his death in 1057, when he was succeeded by Lulach. The date of Gruoch's death is unknown. These details do not feature in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, with Lady Macbeth's appearance even more fleeting than Eleanor's. While the chronicle narrative of Eleanor's downfall focuses on Eleanor and draws Gloucester into the story, Lady Macbeth, by contrast, is only mentioned within the context of her husband's kingship.

The story of Macbeth in Holinshed's *Chronicles* begins with a story of succession, as is the case with Eleanor's story.[58] Queenship and motherhood are discernible themes, represented as secondary to, yet inextricable from, kingship. The account opens with a comparison between Duncan and Macbeth, ensuring that the role of women to produce a worthy heir is recognized at the beginning of Macbeth's story.[59] Following entries trace Macbeth's military pursuits, leading to the moment when his fate is prophesied by three women, perhaps by "necromanticall science."[60] The women claim Macbeth will eventually be "king of Scotland."[61] The chronicler relates the effect of these words on Macbeth and his wife:

> The woords of the the thrée weird sisters also (of whom before ye haue heard) greatlie incouraged him herevnto, but speciallie his wife lay sore vpon him to attempt the thing, as she that was verie ambitious, burning in vnquenchable desire to beare the name of a quéene.[62]

As the only reference to Lady Macbeth, her identity is relational to her husband. Ensuing entries include lists of noble lineage, creating a situation in

which Macbeth, depicted without his queen and sans heir, is surrounded by examples of maternity.[63]

At first, these entries on lineage appear to mark a significant departure from Macbeth's story as the Stewart genealogy is traced through to the sixteenth century: "Marie quéene of Scotland, that tooke to husband Henrie Steward lord Dernlie, by whom she had issue Charles Iames, now king of Scotland."[64] The narrative then abruptly reverses: "But to return vnto Makbeth, in continuing the historie," creating an association between Macbeth and contemporary events.[65] Macbeth's crimes, including the murder of Macduff's wife and children within their castle, are documented as the narrative draws toward its dramatic end.[66] Throughout this lengthy account, culminating in Macduff's murder of Macbeth, Lady Macbeth remains absent. Macduff's final words to Macbeth refer to motherhood: "for I am euen he that thy wizzards haue told thée of, who was neuer borne of my mother, but ripped out of her wombe."[67] These words ensure that at the close of Macbeth's story the audience is transported from eleventh-century Scotland, to sixteenth-century England, and back. Macbeth cannot be separated from the present and his fate is part of a larger story shaped by the themes of queenship and motherhood. Reading the accounts of Eleanor and Lady Macbeth within these wider contexts reveals socio-cultural assumptions about the identities that ought to be displayed by a woman who desired queenship, one of which was motherhood.

Margaret Omberg remarks on the resolution of the question of succession when James I became king, suggesting that

> Macbeth's childlessness reflected that of Elizabeth, who never married and was well aware that her crown would go to the son of her arch-enemy, Mary Stuart, because she herself was a "barren stock".[68]

Omberg states that the subject of a legitimate heir was "a topical and exceptionally relevant one."[69] Unlike Holinshed's *Chronicles*, dating from the reign of Elizabeth I, Shakespeare's depiction of Lady Macbeth is not constrained by the presence of a female queen without an heir, with the play "generally accepted" to have been written in 1606.[70] By this time, the marriage of James I and Anna of Denmark had produced seven children. This point of difference encourages a comparison of Shakespeare's depiction of Eleanor and Lady Macbeth using the themes of queenship and motherhood, while also facilitating an analysis of the connections between their representation and contemporary events.

Eleanor and Lady Macbeth: Queenship and Motherhood

Shakespeare dramatically extends Holinshed's *Chronicles*' depiction of Lady Macbeth. As with Eleanor, Lady Macbeth's appearance in the chronicles is informed by contemporary understandings of queenship and motherhood, albeit on this occasion expressed through the actions of other royal and noble

women. In *Macbeth*, Shakespeare develops Eleanor's use of Gloucester's body as a site upon which is written his inability to father an heir and to achieve kingship in his portrayal of Lady Macbeth's treatment of Macbeth. As Eleanor wishes to "lengthen'" Gloucester's hand, Lady Macbeth recounts her own wish to enhance her husband so that he is better able to perform the murder that she proposes:

> That I may pour my spirits in thine ear,
> And chastise with the valour of my tongue
> All that impedes thee from the golden round,
> Which fate and metaphysical aid doth seem
> To have thee crowned withal. (*Mac.* 1.5.26–30)

Shakespeare has both Eleanor and Lady Macbeth acknowledge that it is necessary to supplement the physicality of their husband's bodies with their own in order for their kingship and their own accompanying desire for queenship to be achieved. While for Eleanor this is speculative, for Lady Macbeth it is proven.

While Shakespeare never reveals the details of Lady Macbeth's motherhood, his allusions suggest a knowledge of the historical Lady Macbeth's maternity.[71] Lady Macbeth, for example, speaks of the milk in her "woman's breasts" (1.5.47–8) and, in a later scene, tells Macbeth: "I have given suck, and know / How tender 'tis to love the babe that milks me" (1.7.54–5).[72] Unlike Eleanor, Lady Macbeth can express a desire to masculinize her body and even speak of supplementing the body of her husband because she alludes to her motherhood. And so, Shakespeare expands upon the historical figure of Lady Macbeth to create a character who seeks to dramatically alter her identity. Significantly, however, Lady Macbeth can utter the line "unsex me here" (1.5.41) precisely because she has experienced maternity. While her queenship cannot be sustained, in comparison to Eleanor it can be achieved. Shakespeare does not reveal that Lady Macbeth's child was not from her marriage with Macbeth, an omission that sets up a situation where Lady Macbeth can justifiably pursue kingship for her husband and queenship for herself, although it will not endure.

The idea of motherhood as integral to queenship is expanded in Shakespeare's characterization of Lady Macbeth through the suggestion that the lack of an heir could threaten the masculinity of a husband if a wife behaved in a particular fashion. Eleanor's musing, "Were I a man," is extended in Lady Macbeth's call:

> Come you spirits
> That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here,
> And fill me from the crown to the toe, top-full
> Of direst cruelty. (*Mac.* 1.5.40–3)

Shakespeare builds on Lady Macbeth's depiction in Holinshed's *Chronicles* to create a character who not only encourages her husband to pursue kingship

but wishes she could complete the requisite deed. In *Macbeth*, the violence of this act reaches full expression. That which Eleanor desires but seeks to pursue through her accomplices, Lady Macbeth is portrayed as wishing to do herself. It is not, however, as a mother that Lady Macbeth seeks to pursue kingship for her husband, but as one unsexed. The impossibility of her situation is laid bare in this request; if Lady Macbeth is unsexed, contemporary understandings of queenship mean that she cannot occupy the role of queen.[73]

Macbeth, like *2 Henry VI*, is marked by the presence of other children.[74] These children draw attention to Macbeth's "fruitless crown" (3.1.60), his possession of a "barren sceptre'" (3.1.61), and amplify the line: "No son of mine succeeding" (3.1.63).[75] While other scholars have considered the absence of children from Lady Macbeth and Macbeth's union, this state can be compared with Eleanor and Gloucester's absence of children in *2 Henry VI* to reveal new insights into Shakespeare's characterization of these women.[76] The bodies of husbands and wives, and kings and queens, are treated as relational in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, *2 Henry VI*, and *Macbeth*. Motherhood is represented as the ideal state of womanhood and Eleanor and Lady Macbeth are not depicted as mothers to children from their current marriages. This is a failing that ultimately denies their claim to queenship and Gloucester and Macbeth's respective claims to kingship. The absence of heirs is vividly expressed through the characterization of Gloucester and Macbeth, as their authority is challenged and their bodies are described as impotent or incomplete.

A lack of children also denies commemoration by the next generation, understood as a crucial component of successful queenship and recognized in both *2 Henry VI* and *Macbeth*:

> Fatal this marriage, cancelling your fame,
> Blotting your names from books of memory. (*2H6* 1.1.96–7)

> A woman's story at a winter's fire,
> Authorized by her grandam. (*Mac.* 3.4.62–3)

In the first excerpt, as part of his speech to the "peers of England" (*2H6*, 1.1.72; *2H6*, 1.1.95) Gloucester argues that the marriage of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou will deny the memory of the past battlefield exploits of these men. It is implicit that the union of Henry VI and Margaret of Anjou is also intended to produce an heir to the English throne, thus shifting the emphasis from the group of peers ("your") to one—Gloucester—who, as a contender for the throne is in danger of having his fame further cancelled if his queen becomes a mother and his own marriage remains childless. Fears of omission from textual records are expressed in a different fashion by Lady Macbeth, who speaks directly to the role of women in the creation and endurance of a lineage. While both sets of lines attest to the place of women in perpetuating a lineage, Lady Macbeth's lines, in particular, draw attention to one of the crucial roles ascribed to women as mothers in both medieval and early

modern England; motherhood was not only biological but was also a social and cultural construction requiring particular behaviors and relationships to ensure the survival of a family, one of which was an understanding and ability to pass on its genealogy.[77] Lady Macbeth's lines evoke a domestic setting which Eleanor and Gloucester do not achieve in *2 Henry VI*. In *Macbeth*, it is realised, only to be destroyed as Macbeth claims the throne but dies without leaving an heir.

Ray remarks that "Shakespeare seems to want to tell Lady Macbeth's whole story but, like the Gentlewoman in the play, does not."[78] Having explored Shakespeare's depiction of Eleanor and Lady Macbeth with a focus on queenship and motherhood, this chapter also argues that one of the reasons that Lady Macbeth's whole story cannot be told is because there are no heirs that are present to tell it. For Shakespeare, the absence of an heir is an important element in disproving these women's claims to queenship. While queenship was not contingent upon motherhood, the connection between the two states went beyond the present moment and into the future. In Holinshed's *Chronicles* and in Shakespeare's plays, Eleanor and Lady Macbeth form part of a wider cast of women which includes queens and mothers. Although women are removed from the stage by the close of each play, both plays acknowledge the importance of "a woman's story."[79]

Holinshed's *Chronicles* draws attention to the place of motherhood and queenship in the wider story of monarchy and Shakespeare extends this emphasis in *2 Henry VI* and *Macbeth*. Unlike Elizabeth I, who was of royal birth and was a queen without a husband, the gentry-born Eleanor seeks queenship alongside a husband who was not a father and was apparently incapable of achieving fatherhood. Lady Macbeth is portrayed as desiring the same, and is represented as doing so under similar marital circumstances. Unlike Macbeth, James I was the father of heirs and, despite their shared Scottishness that is so openly celebrated in Holinshed's *Chronicles*, this distinction enables Shakespeare to avoid direct comparison between the two men. These historical circumstances provide Shakespeare with an opportunity to explore his characters through the themes of queenship and motherhood across two different reigns and without the danger of presenting a theatrical version of failed rule that might mirror reality.

Conclusion

This chapter argues that Shakespeare's depiction of Lady Macbeth was shaped by his earlier portrayal of Eleanor. An analysis of Eleanor and Lady Macbeth with a focus on how Shakespeare adapted his historical source material draws attention to an enduring interest in queenship and motherhood and how these two states could intersect. As the similarities and dissonances between these subjects are explored, it is apparent that, despite continuities across time, queenship and motherhood were historically contingent and depended upon particularly individual circumstances. From fifteenth-century England to

eleventh-century Scotland, a reading of Eleanor and Lady Macbeth's journey from Holinshed's *Chronicles* to the Shakespearean stage sheds new light on these women as historical and theatrical subjects and upon understandings of Shakespeare's queens. Importantly, too, the portrayal of these women also informs the characters of Gloucester and Macbeth. When representations of Eleanor and Lady Macbeth are considered using the themes of motherhood and queenship, the potential effects of their behavior upon Gloucester and Macbeth, respectively, are most fully revealed.

Queenship and motherhood clearly captured the interest of the compilers of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. The themes are also a feature of *2 Henry VI* and *Macbeth*. Although Shakespeare represents Eleanor and Lady Macbeth as desiring queenship, neither of these women are depicted as mothers to children from their respective current marriages. Despite not being overtly expressed, this is also the case in Holinshed's *Chronicles*. Shakespeare expands upon Eleanor and Lady Macbeth's portrayal in Holinshed's *Chronicles* to explore the effects of their desire for queenship upon the authority and masculinity of Gloucester and Macbeth. Shakespeare's portrayal of Eleanor during the reign of Elizabeth I, an unmarried queen, foreshadows his depiction of Lady Macbeth at a time when a king and queen ruled England, surrounded by their heirs.

Importantly, too, these women did not walk the stage as sole representatives of their sex. Eleanor and Lady Macbeth were part of a wider cast of women of high status, attesting to the many potential manifestations of queenship and motherhood. The myriad possible experiences of these two states is also a feature of Holinshed's *Chronicles*. While Lady Macbeth could claim a place alongside these women through virtue of her noble birth, Eleanor could not. As part of a cast of women, that which Eleanor and Lady Macbeth did not apparently possess—an heir fathered by their current spouse—is thrown into stark relief when the audience is introduced to the heirs of other noble families. It is this absence that ultimately negates a claim to queenship.

Notes

1. Aspects of this chapter are drawn from my Ph.D. thesis (Monash University) and I acknowledge the support of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship. I thank Prof. Megan Cassidy-Welch for her comments on an earlier version of this chapter.Raphael Holinshed, *The Description of Scotland*, vol. 5 of *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, 6 vols (New York: AMS Press, 1965); Holinshed, vol. 3. William Shakespeare, *King Henry VI, Part 2*, ed. Ronald Knowles, Arden 3rd series (London: Bloomsbury, 2016). The "mixed" authorship of the *Henry VI* plays has long been the subject of debate, see Knowles, "Introduction," in Shakespeare, *King Henry VI, Part 2*, 1–141, at 116–19: "collaborative composition between two authors cannot be ruled out." Recent scholarship has taken this argument further. See Christopher D. Shea, "New Oxford Shakespeare Edition Credits Christopher Marlowe as a Co-Author," *New York Times*, 2016. Acknowledging shared authorship, however, does not detract from the argument that Shakespeare's depiction of Lady

Macbeth was shaped by the earlier characterization of Eleanor. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, eds. Sandra Clark and Pamela Mason, Arden 3rd series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).

2. Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester is hereafter referred to as "Gloucester."
3. On queenship see, for example, John Carmi Parsons, ed., *Medieval Queenship* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993); Joanna L. Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens: English Queenship 1445–1503* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines, and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1983). For recent commentary on the state of the field, see: Lois L. Honeycutt, "Queenship Studies Comes of Age," *Medieval Feminist Forum* 51 (2016): 9–16. For recent work on royal mothers, see: *Royal Mothers and Their Ruling Children: Wielding Political Authority from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era*, eds. Elena Woodacre and Carey Fleiner, *Queenship and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); *Virtuous or Villainess? The Image of the Royal Mother from the Early Medieval to the Early Modern Eras*, eds. Carey Fleiner and Elena Woodacre, *Queenship and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016).
4. On queenship and motherhood, see Theresa Earenfight, *Queenship in Medieval Europe, Queenship and Power* (New York: Palgrave, 2013), 7: "royal maternity was the matrix of future kings," and "the main purpose of a queen was to provide an heir" (8). Earenfight also acknowledges queenship could be performed without an heir. See also Theresa Earenfight, "Without the Persona of the Prince: Kings, Queens and the Idea of Monarchy in Late Medieval Europe," *Gender & History* 19 (2007): 1–21. For an English context, see Laynesmith, *The Last Medieval Queens*, 29. Drawing attention to the childless marriage of the literary Arthur and Guinevere, Laynesmith argues that "kings needed queens for something more than just childbearing." The literary example of Arthur and Guinevere is an important reminder that sometimes succession was not straightforward, not only because a royal couple might not produce an heir, but also because a number of scenarios could also result in "unexpected heirs." For recent work on this theme, see *Unexpected Heirs in Early Modern Europe: Potential Kings and Queens*, ed. Valerie Schutte, *Queenship and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). I am grateful to Valerie Schutte for sharing with me the introduction of this work prior to publication.
5. Knowles, "Introduction," 121. Shakespeare's first folio (F), assembled in 1623 by John Heminge and Henry Condell is accepted by Shakespearean editors as the control text for the play, while the earlier version (Q) was printed in 1594 (106–7).
6. On performance see Clark and Mason, "Introduction," in Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, eds. Clark and Mason, 1–124, at 97–8.
7. On the history plays, see Jean E. Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation: A feminist account of Shakespeare's English histories* (London: Routledge, 1997), esp. chs 3 and 6.
8. Knowles, "Introduction," 30.
9. On Lady Macbeth and Margaret of Anjou, see, for example, M.L. Stapleton, "'I of Old Contemptes Complayne': Margaret of Anjou and English Seneca," *Comparative Literature Studies* 43 (2006): 100–33, at 109–10. On Eleanor and Margaret of Anjou, see, for example, Kavita Mudan Finn, "Tragedy, Transgression, and Women's Voices: The Cases of Eleanor Cobham and Margaret of Anjou," *Viator* 47 (2016): 277–303. As part of an analysis of

Eleanor and Margaret, Mudan Finn remarks upon Margaret as "the powerful queen [...] whose influence can be seen in later characters from Lady Macbeth to Cleopatra" (301).

10. See, for example, Lawrence Manley, "From Strange's Men to Pembroke's Men: 2 "Henry VI" and The First Part of the Contention," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 54 (2003): 253–87. On Eleanor: "Even in *2 Henry VI* her ruthless ambition and consultations with witches make her more a Lady Macbeth than a proto-protestant saint" (266) and, where Manley draws attention to the "pathos" of Eleanor's fall, as depicted by her penitential walk, remarking: "That pathos certainly resonates in "Shakespeare's later depiction of Lady Macbeth, whose sleepwalking in her nightgown with a taper in her hand marks her as a penitent witch in her own mind," (277) citing Garry Wills, *Witches and Jesuits: Shakespeare's* Macbeth (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 86–7. See, too, Marion A. Taylor, "Lord Cobham and Shakespeare's Duchess of Gloucester," *Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 9 (1934): 150–6. On Eleanor's depiction in the *Mirror for Magistrates*: "Like Lady Macbeth, she attempts to incite her husband to seize the throne" (150).
11. On Lady Macbeth see, for example, Gloria Olchowy, "Murder as Birth in *Macbeth*," in *Performing Maternity in Early Modern England*, eds. Kathryn M. Moncrief and Kathryn R. McPherson (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 197–209; Sid Ray, "Finding Gruoch: The Hidden Genealogy of Lady Macbeth in Text and Cinematic Performance," in *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Performance and Adaptation of the Plays with Medieval Sources or Settings*, eds. Martha W. Driver and Sid Ray (Jefferson, N.C., McFarland & Co., 2009), 116–32. On Eleanor see: Nina S. Levine, "The Case of Eleanor Cobham: Authorizing History in 2 Henry VI," *Shakespeare Studies* 22 (1994): 104–21; Taylor, "Lord Cobham and Shakespeare's Duchess of Gloucester."
12. Without, of course, arguing that Eleanor was the sole influence. See, for example, Clark and Mason, "Introduction," 1–124, at 91–2.
13. On Shakespeare and his sources for *2 Henry VI*, see Shakespeare, *King Henry VI, Part 2*, Appendix 5: Sources; Levine, "The Case of Eleanor Cobham," 109–110. Levine convincingly suggests that John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1576) was a source for Shakespeare's Eleanor. On Shakespeare's sources for Macbeth, see Clark and Mason, "Introduction," 82–97; Margaret Omberg, "Macbeth's Barren Sceptre," *Studia Neophilologica* 68 (1996): 39–47, at 39.
14. For *2 Henry VI*, see Knowles, "Introduction," 43: "Shakespeare's primary sources for the English histories, Hall and Holinshed"; For *Macbeth*, see Clark and Mason, "Introduction," 82: "main narrative source [...] was Holinshed's *Chronicles*."
15. Annabel M. Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994). Patterson acknowledges that "very little" is known about Raphael Holinshed, "except that he was university-educated, probably at Cambridge, and had taken clerical orders" (8).
16. Levine, "The Case of Eleanor Cobham," 108.
17. Edward Hall, *Chronicle: Containing the History of England, During the Reign of Henry the Fourth, and the Succeeding Monarchs, to the End of the Reign of Henry the Eighth, in Which Are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of Those Periods* (London: J. Johnson, 1809), 202; Friedrich W.D. Brie, ed., *The Brut or the Chronicles of England*, *EETS*, 2 vols (New York: Kraus Reprint Co., 1971), 2, Preface, viii; 478–82.

18. Dauvit Broun, "Macbeth," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford University Press, 2004–16). Available Online: [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17356, accessed Feb 24, 2017.
19. Martha W. Driver and Sid Ray, "General Introduction," in *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages*, eds. Driver and Ray, 7–16, at 12.
20. Ray, "Finding Gruoch."
21. Omberg, "Macbeth's Barren Sceptre," 39.
22. Olga L. Valbuena, *Subjects to the King's Divorce: Equivocation, Infidelity, and Resistance in Early Modern England* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 107.
23. For an account of these events, albeit with a focus on Gloucester, see Kenneth H. Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester: A Biography* (London: Archibald Constable, 1907), 164–206, *passim*.
24. For details on the children see Vickers, *Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, 335–36. Vickers remarks that Eleanor "may well have been the mother" of these two children. I am not aware of evidence that sustains this suggestion.
25. Brie, ed., *The Brut*, 2: 480.
26. For the most thorough modern account of Eleanor's trial and punishment, to which I am indebted, see Ralph A. Griffiths, "The Trial of Eleanor Cobham: An Episode in the Fall of Duke Humphrey of Gloucester," in *King and Country: England and Wales in the Fifteenth Century* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1991), 233–52. Originally published in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 51 (1969): 381–99. All references are to the 1991 publication.
27. Holinshed, 3: 199–203.
28. Holinshed, 3: 203.
29. Lily B. Campbell, "Humphrey Duke of Gloucester and Elianor Cobham His Wife in the *Mirror for Magistrates*," *The Huntington Library Bulletin*, 5 (1934): 119–55, at 143.
30. Kavita Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts: Gender, Genre, and Historiography, 1440–1627*, *Queenship and Power* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 108.
31. Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts*, 120.
32. Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts*, 120.
33. Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts*, 123. On Eleanor and Shore's wife: "Both women are implicated sexually as well as politically, thus cleaving to the importance of the moral framework we see at work in the 1587 edition of Holinshed."
34. Holinshed, 3: 203.
35. Holinshed, 3: 203; 204.
36. Holinshed, 3: 204.
37. Holinshed, 3: 199–203.
38. Holinshed, 3: 204.
39. Holinshed, 3: 271.
40. Holinshed, 3: 272.
41. Holinshed, 3: 204.
42. Mudan Finn, "Tragedy, Transgression, and Women's Voices," 300–1. Mudan Finn also refers to this dream as part of her discussion of Shakespeare bringing Margaret and Eleanor "into direct contact with one another" (300).

43. For example, Howard and Rackin, *Engendering a Nation*, 75: "Significantly, the person crowned in the dream is Eleanor alone." On the queen's coronation, see Joanna L. Laynesmith, "Fertility Rite or Authority Ritual? The Queen's Coronation in England, 1445–87," in *Social Attitudes and Political Structures in the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Tim Thornton (Stroud: Sutton, 2000), 52–68.
44. On Elizabeth see, for example, Judith Richards, *Elizabeth I* (Abingdon, Oxon.; New York: Routledge, 2012); Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power,* 2013 edn (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1994; 2013).
45. Shakespeare, *King Henry VI*, Part 2, Cf. Q1: Appendix 2.
46. See, too, Howard and Rackin, *Engendering a Nation*, 77: "As the king has been rendered effeminate by his strong-willed queen, - so Gloucester has been fatally undermined by the actions of his ambitious wife."
47. Shakespeare, *King Henry VI, Part 2*, 5.3.
48. On Margaret see, for example, Helen Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2003).
49. On the parallels between the representations of these women, see Mudan Finn, "Tragedy, Transgression, and Women's Voices," 298–303.
50. However, on Shakespeare's representation of Margaret's dangerous sexuality, see Howard and Rackin, *Engendering a Nation*, 72–4.
51. Shakespeare, *2 King Henry VI, Part 2*, 1.1.
52. Shakespeare, *King Henry VI, Part 2*, Appendix 5, 441.
53. Cf. Howard and Rackin, *Engendering a Nation*, 67. On the connection between Henry VI's failures as a monarch to his failures of masculinity. Howard and Rackin consider Gloucester as coming "closest to setting the play's standard for proper English manhood."
54. Alison Findlay, *Women in Shakespeare: A Dictionary*, *Continuum Shakespeare Dictionary Series* (London: Continuum, 2010), 123.
55. Alex Woolf, "Macbeth," 402, in Michael Lynch, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Scottish History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). Gruoch was the daughter of Boite, who was "… probably the son of Cinaed mac Duib, king of Alba 997–1005)."
56. Broun, "Macbeth," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
57. Broun, "Macbeth," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.*
58. Holinshed, 5: 264: "after Malcolme succéeded his nephue Duncane."
59. Holinshed, 5: 264–6.
60. Holinshed, 5: 269.
61. Holinshed, 5: 268.
62. Holinshed, 5: 269.
63. Holinshed, 5: 271–2. Beginning with an account of Banquo's son, Fleance, who enters into a "familiar acquaintance" with the daughter of the prince of Wales, resulting in the birth of a son.
64. Holinshed, 5: 273.
65. Holinshed, 5: 273.
66. Holinshed, 5: 274.
67. Holinshed, 5: 277.
68. Omberg, "Macbeth's Barren Sceptre," 46, citing Elizabeth's recorded words 'on hearing of the birth of Mary Stuart's son, James (*Memoirs of Sir James Melville, 1583*).

69. Omberg, "Macbeth's Barren Sceptre," 46.
70. Clark and Mason, "Introduction," 13.
71. On this see, for example, Omberg, "Macbeth's Barren Sceptre," 42–3.
72. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*.
73. As understood within the context of Anna of Denmark's queenship. Elizabeth I, as the previous queen, was a more complicated example. See, Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King*.
74. Omberg, "Macbeth's Barren Sceptre," 39: "all the notable male characters—with the exception of Macbeth himself—are fathers with sons who take an active part in the play."
75. Shakespeare, *Macbeth*.
76. Cf. Omberg, "Macbeth's Barren Sceptre." Omberg's focus is on Macbeth, not Lady Macbeth.
77. As a comparison, albeit for an earlier period, see Elisabeth M.C. van Houts, *Memory and Gender in Medieval Europe, 900–1200* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1999), 1: "given the central role of women in families, the female contribution to knowledge about the past must, potentially at least, have been a significant one."
78. Ray, "Finding Gruoch," 117.
79. Cf. Janet Adelman, "'Born of Woman' Fantasies of Maternal Power in Macbeth," in *Shakespearean Tragedy and Gender*, eds. Shirley Nelson Garner and Madelon Sprengnether (Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1996), 105–34, at 106: "The play will finally reimagine autonomous male identity, but only through the ruthless excision of all female presence, its own peculiar satisfaction of the witches' prophecy."

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CHAPTER 8

Womb Rhetoric: The Martial Maternity of Volumnia, Tamora, and Elizabeth I

Lauren J. Rogener

Much has been made of the bloodthirsty, war-mongering mothers in *Coriolanus* and *Titus Andronicus*. Similarly, Queen Elizabeth I, as a monarch and a literary subject, has been represented (and represented herself) as both a ruthless warrior and a devoted mother. Scholars have addressed this dual mode of representation (i.e. the martial mother, or warrior woman in a broader idiom), but most considerations of martial maternity—or women's political power in the British Renaissance in general—focus on the degree to which female characters subvert or comply with patriarchal structures.[1] Though illuminating, this approach nevertheless yields to and even reproduces these structures, privileging the discourse of male political superiority. This chapter rejects the model of reading female characters against male characters and patriarchal power, and explores instead the diverse political potential of motherhood in three different senses, reading Volumnia and Tamora alongside writings by and about Elizabeth I to explore related but distinct modes of martial motherhood. Volumnia's iteration of martial motherhood derives its authority from her womb as the site of warrior-production. She is both a mother and a political agent, generating and guiding Rome's greatest warrior; Coriolanus is not simply her son but also her political contribution to the Roman state. Tamora also embraces motherhood as a means of gaining power, using the sons she has produced in a similar fashion to secure political advantages. Where Tamora's articulation of martial maternity differs from Volumnia's is in the Goth queen's abstraction of motherhood, cutting its explicit ties to the womb and imposing it on nonmaternal

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relationships and spaces, specifically in her treatment of her husband Saturninus as a sort of metaphorical son and her association with the "swallowing womb" in the forest.[2] This move relocates motherhood and its consequent political potential from the physical womb to the realm of rhetoric. This proposed reading of martial motherhood culminates in Elizabeth, whose own self-fashioning spawned an abstracted (i.e. childless) model of martial maternity in the political arena and did so *purely* through rhetoric. This is evident in her conflation of motherly care and political protection in her 1559 and 1601 speeches to Parliament, as well as in her 1563 written response to a Commons petition that she marry. Though these three manifestations of martial maternity achieve similar aims—securing political advancement for the women in question—the diverse methods employed by Shakespeare's characters and his queen challenge the possibility of a unilateral reading of representations of early modern motherhood and female political agency as either within or without respective patriarchal structures. What emerges from reading Volumnia, Tamora, and Elizabeth as three models of martial maternity, reaching from the physical womb through abstraction to the realm of pure rhetoric, is an intertextual inroad into the complex potential of writing about and staging maternity as an early modern political state and early modern politics in the context of motherhood.

The obvious liability of the path proposed in this chapter, reading from Volumnia's warrior-building womb to Tamora's maternal abstraction and ending with Elizabeth's childless martial motherhood, is the anachronism of such an approach. The first manuscript of *Titus Andronicus* dates from 1594, when Elizabeth was sixty-one and had all but abandoned the rhetoric of motherhood in her self-representation.[3] Though the precise dates of *Coriolanus*' performance and publication are unknown, the scholarly consensus is that Shakespeare authored the play at least four years after Elizabeth's death in 1603. To position *Coriolanus*, *Titus*, and the reign of Elizabeth I in a trajectory in the chronological sense is, thus, a doomed exercise. In the service of intertextuality, however, this chapter draws from writing both by and about Elizabeth, mixing dramatis personae and historical persons. Throughout her reign, Elizabeth presented herself as both an author and a subject, cultivating a public persona and a dynamic world of panegyric court literature. In both her writing and the writing patronized by members of her court, she was active in a large-scale project of self-representation.[4] After her death, authors, historians, and playwrights interpreted and reimagined her legacy to different ends in diverse media. For example, Thomas Heywood's *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women in the World: Three Jewes, Three Gentiles, Three Christians, Written by the Author of the History of Women* (1640), includes a description of Elizabeth's political qualifications and accomplishments that is pregnant with maternal metaphors. In this way, we may read Elizabeth—in the literature she produced and in that which was produced about her—as a character. Treating Elizabeth as a character rather than a person situated in an exact historical framework alleviates the anachronistic tension of the reading by putting words written by and about her in dialogue with other texts, namely *Coriolanus* and *Titus*. Elizabeth (and the writing both by and about her) need not

be treated as a source or influence for Volumnia or Tamora. In reading Elizabeth alongside Volumnia and Tamora, the queen becomes another character: written, staged, and analyzed here for her engagement with the rhetoric of martial motherhood as part of an intertextual rather than a chronological trajectory.

Volumnia: The War-Making Womb

Of the three figures of martial motherhood discussed here, Volumnia is arguably the least complicated. This is not to say that her position as a mother in Roman society is uncomplicated or that her reception by an early modern British audience would have been straightforward; rather, she is the clearest articulation of a mother who uses maternity and maternal language to advance a martial agenda. Volumnia distinguishes herself early on in the play with such statements as "had I a dozen sons […] I had / rather had eleven die nobly for their country than one / voluptuously surfeit out of action" and "O, [Coriolanus] is wounded, I thank the gods for't!"[5] These and other violent utterances have spurred critics to treat Volumnia as a failed mother who "has violated her maternal, nurturing qualities."[6] In her overview of the critical reception of Volumnia, Theodora A. Jankowski highlights and then works to problematize the view that Volumnia is "the sole cause of her son's inadequacies and his ultimate death."[7] To blame Volumnia for Coriolanus' decisions and their tragic consequences is indeed to overlook the fact that much of Coriolanus' misfortune stems from his rejection of his mother's counsel. Contrary to the admittedly violent views voiced above, Volumnia's advice to Coriolanus consistently promotes compromise and exhibits a calculating, nuanced approach to politics. In Act 3, scene 2, for instance, Volumnia cautions her son against demonstrating his overt contempt of the nonwarrior classes and urges him to submit to the pageantry of displaying his wounds to the public as a sign of humility. As Jonathan Dollimore points out about Volumnia's alleged bloodlust in raising her son, "it would be wrong to see [Volumnia's above-quoted statements] only as grotesque inversion of normal maternal care."[8] Dollimore recognizes the political awareness and martial charge of Volumnia's statements, deeming them "a rational estimate of the political capital of a wounded hero."[9] This view reconciles the tension between nurturing, apolitical mother and ruthless, war-mongering politician in that it reads Volumnia's attitudes toward maternity and childrearing alongside her political intelligence and allegiance to the Roman State. Thus, Volumnia's experience of motherhood is informed by her political and military ambitions, and her political and military ambitions are approached (and largely achieved) through motherhood.

Volumnia's political acumen and desire for military victory rival that of her male counterparts; indeed, she often succeeds where they do not. What many critics of Volumnia's martial-maternal efficacy overlook is that her guidance of Coriolanus is consistently in service to Rome, contrary to the critical assertion that she "produce[s] a son who can only function in the limited arena of battle

and is, therefore, doomed when faced with any peaceful pursuits such as politics or diplomacy."[10] Quite the reverse, it is at Volumnia's insistence that Coriolanus agrees to go the marketplace and display his wounds to the people as a sign of his service to the state; neither Cominius nor Menenius is able to convince him to seek the approval of the Roman people. Therefore, the critical evaluation that Volumnia produces and cultivates a diplomatically inept warrior by neglecting to nurture her son is invalid. Throughout the play, Volumnia urges Coriolanus to temper his violence and intolerance with diplomacy and tact, most notably when she chastises him for being "too absolute" in his refusal to accommodate the desires of the people (*Cor.* 3.2.40). For Coriolanus, the display of his war wounds is nothing more than a degrading ritual. When Volumnia suggests that Coriolanus would benefit from the approval of the public, he replies obstinately, "Let them hang" (*Cor.* 3.2.24). Volumnia's response, "Ay, and burn too," suggests that she shares her son's contempt, but her insistence on temperance and compromise demonstrates a political aptitude that transcends her personal views (*Cor.* 3.2.25). She is able to look beyond the overt degradation of the ritual to the potential political advantages of compliance, telling her son that although they are of the same mind, she has "a brain that leads [her] use of anger / To better vantage" (*Cor.* 3.2.31–2). Nonetheless, scholars continue to read Volumnia as the failed mother of an ultimately traitorous son, ignoring both her political acumen and her commitment to the stability and prosperity of Rome. Underlying this interpretation is the persistent paradigm of patriarchy and an inability—or perhaps an unwillingness—to accept female leadership on its own terms.

Volumnia's second and most effective diplomatic plea on behalf of Rome in conjunction with an invocation of motherhood occurs in Act 5, scene 3, when she, Virgilia, Martius, and Valeria leave Rome to meet Coriolanus at the Volscian camp. Once again, where Cominius and Menenius have failed, Volumnia prevails. James Kuzner argues that Coriolanus' capitulation to Volumnia's appeal is nothing more than "heeding the call of family."[11] This view neglects the complexity of Volumnia's approach, however, conflating her with the other three supplicants and ignoring the political charge that she alone commands. Notably, and contrary to Kuzner's argument, Volumnia's appeal is not simply to Coriolanus' sense of duty to or love for his family but rather to a complex sense of the link between them. This understanding of the interconnectedness of family and state comes directly from Volumnia, who consistently conflates motherhood with citizenship in her dealings with her son. That he is ultimately responsive to *her* plea alone indicates that she has successfully instilled this value in him and continues to hold substantial sway over his ideology and the decisions that issue from it. She likens his pending invasion of Rome to treading "on thy mother's womb / That brought thee to this world" (*Cor.* 5.3.124–5). It is here that Volumnia's womb-based rhetoric is most apparent.[12] She positions Coriolanus' conquest of his motherland as a conquest of his mother, revealing the brutality, unnaturalness, and undesirability of the former through the connection she forges with the latter. The seat of the

Roman Empire is conflated, therein, with Volumnia's warrior-producing womb; Volumnia represents her authority in this formulation as both a mother and a figure of martial potency, bringing warriors into the world and then protecting that world from them as only she is able.[13] About to abandon her entreaty, Volumnia declares that Coriolanus "had a Volscian to his mother" (*Cor.* 5.3.178). In this continuation of the aforementioned rhetorical framework, Coriolanus' disavowal of his motherland is equally a disavowal of his mother, linking Volumnia firmly to the Roman State in her political capacity. Ultimately, it is this and only this notion of mother as motherland (and vice versa) that commands Coriolanus' actions and renewed allegiance to the Roman Republic, demonstrating the effectiveness of Volumnia's womb-based rhetoric of martial maternity.

Tamora: Transitioning from Womb to Rhetoric

Of the three queens discussed in this chapter, Tamora is the most ostensibly maternal, "even giving birth during the course of the play," as Jo Eldridge Carney observes in her intertextual analysis of Tamora and Catherine de' Medici.[14] Like *Coriolanus*' Volumnia, *Titus*' Tamora exploits her maternity to political ends, the major difference being that, unlike Volumnia, Tamora's motherhood transcends both the mother–child relationship and the physical womb in her use of maternal discourse with her husband Saturninus and in her association with the "swallowing womb," an "abhorred pit" in the forest outside of Rome (*TA* 2.2.239, 98). One of Tamora's most prominent and prevailing characteristics is her "rampant, uncontrollable sexuality."[15] Reading Tamora's sexuality in the context of early modern anxieties about queenship, Susan Dunn-Hensley juxtaposes Tamora's "chaotic world of nature and sexuality" with "the ordered world of politics" that "it threatens to disrupt."[16] This claim is somewhat problematic in its suggestion that either the fictionalized Rome of *Titus Andronicus* or Shakespeare's England constitutes an "ordered world of politics"; in both contexts, Tamora's political ambitions echo the "chaotic" worlds in question. Though Tamora is brought to victorious Rome as a conquered queen, she is hardly entering a stable political situation. Rome's conquest of the Goths does little to diffuse the troubled succession of the recently deceased ruler. The audience's first glimpse of Rome, in fact, takes the form of elder son Saturninus' call to arms: "Noble patricians, patrons of my right, / Defend the justice of my cause with arms" (*TA* 1.1.1–2). Rome's political instability is apparent even before Tamora's entrance and is well established by the time her "evil schemes" come to fruition.[17] The problematic succession dramatized in *Titus Andronicus* would have resonated with early modern audiences viewing the play at the twilight of Elizabeth's reign and anticipating a similarly troublesome political inheritance due to the lack of an heir apparent.[18] Audience members might well have remembered the violent political and religious transitions that occurred at the end of the reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I. Accusing Tamora of disrupting a stable

situation and precipitating the "destruction of [the] kingdom" with her "rampant sexuality" smacks of a patriarchal discourse that not only condemns female sexuality and desire but also denies women political agency and ability.[19]

Throughout the play, Tamora exhibits a drive that is distinctly political, and sets about achieving her aims in a way that is explicitly maternal. The first conflation of the martial and the maternal occurs soon after Tamora and her sons are brought to Rome as prisoners of war. In a gesture of Roman imperial dominance, Titus' son Lucius proposes that Tamora's eldest son Alarbus, "the proudest prisoner of the Goths," be sacrificed to appease the "shadows" of the other sons Titus lost in battle and to avert ill omens (*TA* 1.1.99, 103). Murdering the eldest son of a newly deposed enemy is, of course, more politically significant than Lucius perhaps lets on; killing Alarbus disrupts the line of succession and helps diminish the possibility of a resurgence of Goth power. In a play that opens with a struggle for succession with an emphasis on primogeniture, the political implications of dispatching Alarbus can hardly be overlooked. These implications are amplified by the fact that Lucius is Titus' eldest son. The "sacrifice" Lucius demands signifies Rome's conquest of the Goths, generally, but also one political heir's defeat of his rival (*TA* 1.1.101).

Tamora first employs maternal discourse in her plea for Alarbus' life, exhorting the onlookers to "rue the tears I shed, / A mother's tears in passion for her son! / And if thy sons were ever dear to thee, / O, think my son to be as dear to me" (*TA* 1.1.108–11). In the latter part of this plea when she appeals to Titus as a parent, she seeks his empathy, asking him to see her relationship with her son as equally important to his relationship with his sons. Aware of the political potential of maternal rhetoric, Tamora shifts her appeal from her personal relationship with her son to her son's relationship with the state, marrying the ideas of the martial and the maternal more firmly. She implores Titus to consider that "if to fight for king and commonweal / Were piety in thine, it is in these" (*TA* 1.1.117–18), placing her son's and Titus' sons' warlike efforts in the same realm of political duty. Just as Titus locates his pride in his sons in their military victory, so does Tamora believe that a son's duty is not simply to a parent but to the state—and to the state-as-parent/parent-as-state as discussed in the previous section. The climax of her speech, in which she exhibits a profound awareness of the potential of martial-maternal discourse, is in her final supplication, "Thrice-noble Titus, spare my first-born son" (*TA* 1.1.123). She is negotiating not just for the life of her son, but for the life of her *first-born* son, and, by extension, the possibility of the resurgence and proliferation of the Goths. Tamora's emphasis on Alarbus' status as her first-born illuminates her conflation of motherhood and martial potency. Like Volumnia, her rhetoric is employed in service to the state, hoping to secure the life of her first-born son and heir Alarbus and the potential for a Goth resurgence that he represents.

Once Alarbus has been killed, Tamora turns her attention to her remaining sons, inciting them to pursue violent revenge by appealing to both their filial and civic devotion. Upon finding Tamora and Aaron alone in the forest outside of Rome, Titus' daughter Lavinia and her husband Bassianus accuse Tamora of

adultery and threaten to expose her to Saturninus, who she has just married. Tamora's sons Demetrius and Chiron enter to find her "pale and wan" in apparent distress (*TA* 2.2.90). Notably, Demetrius addresses Tamora as "dear sovereign and our gracious mother," indicating that her sons have internalized her martial-maternal rhetoric enough to reiterate it, even in the forest that exists beyond the physical space and cultural context of Rome (*TA* 2.2.89). Tamora claims that Bassianus and Lavinia have lured her to the "abhorred pit" in the forest to tie her to "a dismal yew" and leave her to die (*TA* 2.2.98, 107). She exhorts Demetrius and Chiron, "Revenge [the attempt] as you love your mother's life, / Or be ye not henceforth called my children," invoking filial duty to prompt her sons to murder Bassianus (*TA* 2.2.114–15). Her appeal specifies that both her sons' love for her and their identities as her children are contingent upon their willingness to undertake violent revenge on her behalf. She couples this with the accusation that Bassianus and Lavinia have called her "Lascivious Goth, and all the bitterest terms / That ever ear did hear to such effect" (*TA* 2.2.110–11). This slur maligns not only Tamora but the Goths more generally; for the brothers, it is an insult to their mother and their state. The implication here is that revenge would serve both entities, marrying the maternal and the martial in a dual invocation of filial and civic duty.

The aforementioned iterations of Tamora's martial motherhood are very much in line with Volumnia's strategies; both women marry martial and maternal language in their pursuit of political power and both conflate filial love and civic responsibility. However, Tamora's subsequent abstraction of motherhood, in which she takes maternity out of the womb and pushes it into the realm of rhetoric, distinguishes her mode of martial maternity from Volumnia's. Unlike Volumnia, Tamora employs martial-maternal discourse in her nonmaternal relationships. Whereas Volumnia reserves the language of motherhood for and in reference to her son, Tamora includes her new husband Saturninus in this rhetoric. Immediately after Saturninus' proposal of marriage, which would make her queen of the Roman Empire, Tamora accepts and offers to be not only "a handmaid to [Saturninus'] desires" but "a loving nurse, a mother to his youth" (*TA* 1.1.336–7). The image of the mother-queen and her son-king invokes an imbalance of power, in favor of the former who is, presumably, older, wiser, and in a position to guide and teach the latter. Thus, Tamora envisions her political power as queen as inseparable from her position as mother. Notably, Tamora and Saturninus are not bound by a maternal–filial relationship. Unlike Coriolanus, who lives and dies by the dictates of Volumnia's womb-based rhetoric, Saturninus owes nothing to Tamora as his mother, yet he embraces her maternal rhetoric and allows himself to be "ruled by [her]" and "won at last" (*TA* 1.1.447). In accepting Tamora as a political adviser and "mother," at least by Tamora's estimation, Saturninus is at once personally infantilized and politically conquered. Because Saturninus is not the issue of Tamora's womb yet allows himself to be governed politically by her maternal authority, Tamora has achieved an abstract form of martial-maternal rhetoric.

Tamora's martial maternity is further abstracted in her association with the "swallowing womb"—the pit into which Bassianus' body is thrown (*TA* 2.2.239). After Tamora's sons murder Bassianus and brutalize Lavinia, her lover Aaron returns to the pit with Titus' sons Martius and Quintus on the pretext of showing them a panther he has found. Quintus describes the pit as a "subtle hole [...] / Whose mouth is covered with rude-growing briers" (*TA* 2.1.198–9). Marion Wynne-Davies writes in her analysis of the swallowing womb that "the imagery is blatant, the cave being the vagina, the all-consuming sexual mouth of the feminine earth, which remains outside the patriarchal order of Rome."[20] For Jane Grogan, the pit's location in a "sinister wood" means that it is "insistently marked as Gothic, and even more insistently as female."[21] If Rome is associated with patriarchy and patrilineage, the forest outside its walls constitutes a martial-maternal challenge by Gothic and female cultures. Wynne-Davies observes that "the first mention of the 'abhorred pit' in *Titus* is made by Tamora" in Act 2, scene 2, line 98, positioning Tamora as the originator and owner of the image.[22] Tamora's association with the pit is further cemented by the shared descriptor "unhallowed": Martius describes the pit as an "unhallowed and bloodstained hole," while Titus later refers to Tamora as an "unhallowed dam" (*TA* 2.2.210, 5.2.190). Both Tamora and the "swallowing womb" are "unhallowed," in their otherness and their existence outside the patriarchal constructs of the Roman State. The only other entity in the play described as "unhallowed" is Aaron, who is subsequently sentenced to be buried "breast-deep in earth" and starved to death, swallowed like Bassianus, Martius, and Quintus (*TA* 5.3.14, 178). The pit in the forest, as an abstraction of Tamora's womb, relocates the Goth queen's martial-maternal power from interpersonal relationships (maternal and otherwise) to physical and cultural spaces.

Elizabeth: Childless Mother of a Nation

From Volumnia's womb-based martial motherhood to Tamora's abstracted "swallowing womb," the present argument arrives at Elizabeth's childless maternity. That Elizabeth died unmarried and without an heir was a cause of great anxiety for her subjects and remains an object of fascination four hundred years later. Much of Elizabethan and early Jacobean drama stages this tension generated by Elizabeth's lack of an heir, while court literature translates anxiety about Elizabeth's succession into praise for her chastity. Whatever the public theater and court-patronized poetry presented as central concerns, anxieties, or virtues, Elizabeth took an active role in self-fashioning, rejecting the early modern English imperative to marry and produce heirs and, at times, the image of impenetrable Virgin Queen, in favor of the far more politically advantageous conflation of warrior-mother of the early modern British nation. In the particular project of fashioning herself as the mother of the English nation, she shifted her focus, naturally, from virginity to motherhood. Theodora A. Jankowski points out that in Elizabeth's larger political aims, she "managed to combine [the] various images" of "Gloriana, the Virgin Queen, Good

Queen Bess, Astraea, Britomart, Belphoebe" and so forth into "a fiction of a grand woman whose overwhelming personality could attract the admiration of a courtly lover, but whose motherly concern for her people caused her to remain a virgin to protect them—with arms if necessary."[23] The present argument does not contest Elizabeth's successful combination of the aforementioned images bur rather proposes a shift in emphasis in examining her particular use of the trope of motherhood.

Like Volumnia and Tamora, Elizabeth's employment of maternal rhetoric to martial or political ends comes not merely from others' evaluations of her but also from her own words. Scholars such as Roy Strong, Carole Levin, Mary Hill Cole, and Louis Montrose have recognized the extent to which Elizabeth crafted a highly effective public image, focusing on the various archetypes she evoked and how they worked together to form a complex portrait of a capable leader.[24] The present argument deals with Elizabeth's martial maternity in texts written both by and about the female sovereign. With respect to her self-representation, this chapter draws from two of her speeches to Parliament (1559 and 1601) and a piece of correspondence in the form of a written response to a Commons petition that she marry and produce an heir (1563). In each text, Elizabeth establishes herself as a protective mother who is willing to go to war for the safety of her subjects/children.[25] These are followed by Thomas Heywood's treatment of Elizabeth as a mother and military leader in *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women in the World* (1640), which places Elizabeth alongside other female leaders in a discussion of their virtues and achievements.

Because of her monarchical status, Elizabeth's lack of children was not merely a personal but a political matter; as a result of the frequent criticisms, government petitions, and official speeches directed at her in the hopes of encouraging her to marry and produce an heir, Elizabeth could hardly ignore the issue of offspring. As Christine Coch puts it, "politically, Elizabeth's was the most important womb in Christian Europe for more than twenty years."[26] In response to this social and political pressure, she began to employ maternal rhetoric early in her reign and continued to link it to her political potency, fashioning herself as both mother and martial protectress of the state.[27] In her first speech to Parliament (1559), as reproduced in the Lansdowne Manuscript, Elizabeth rejects the entreaty that she marry until such time as "it may please God to incline [her] heart to another kind of life."[28] Elizabeth assures Parliament that if and when she receives a divine mandate to marry, as she has to rule, she will consider it. In the meantime, she is adamant about her role as "a good mother of my country."[29] Like her divine right to queenship, which she asserts repeatedly in speeches to Parliament throughout her reign, Elizabeth's role as the mother of her nation is sanctioned by God, whose will it is for her to "live out of the state of marriage."[30] Elizabeth's reasoning that God has not sent her an acceptable spouse or instilled in her a desire to marry anyone in particular allows her to replace physical heirs with metaphorical ones, namely the subjects of her kingdom, including the members of Parliament who have challenged her to

marry and reproduce.[31] In William Camden's 1615 account of the speech, Elizabeth moderates her rebuke of Parliament by commending them for stopping short of having "appointed me an husband" which would have been "unworthy the majesty of an absolute princess and the discretion of you that are born my subjects."[32] This "commendation"—overtly, a gesture of goodwill toward Parliament and more covertly, a warning that its members should not overstep their bounds—confirms not only Elizabeth's divine right, but also her subjects' innate ("born") deference to her. Elizabeth constructs her metaphorical motherhood here by reminding Parliament that although her subjects are not born of her womb, they are born as subjects to a divinely appointed ruler and, in this sense, her role as their monarch is implicitly maternal.

Though some critics dismiss Elizabeth's assumption of the role of "mother" to the English nation as an attempt to "divert attention from the very real problem of the lack of an heir of the queen's body," the extent to which Elizabeth links the images of mother and military protectress suggests that her rhetorical motherhood was much more than a distraction.[33] In a memorable and much-quoted response to a second Commons petition that she marry and produce an heir (1563), Elizabeth rebukes the assembly, reminding them once more of her divine mandate to rule and asserting her metaphorical motherhood, not simply as a goal as she did in her 1559 speech, but as a royal imperative: "And so I assure you all that though after my death, you may have many stepdames, yet shall you never have any a more mother than I mean to be unto you all."[34] That she calls herself a "mother" in an official speech to Parliament necessarily politicizes the term; furthermore, the certainty with which she uses it here, in conjunction with the mention of her death, not only addresses but also supplants biological succession. Contrary to the belief that Elizabeth's rhetoric of metaphorical motherhood distracts from her childlessness, her speeches and writings consistently call attention to the issue of succession and "assure" her critics of her martial-maternal capabilities as mother and protectress. Her assertion that England will "never have any a more mother than I" recalls and reverses Volumnia's claim that "There's no man in the world / More bound to 's mother [than Coriolanus]" (*Cor.* 5.3.158–9).[35] Like Volumnia, Elizabeth exploits the unique bond of mother and child to assert political authority and turn a hazardous situation, expertly, to her advantage.[36]

Perhaps the most potent example of Elizabeth's martial-maternal rhetoric is her conflation of martial victory and maternal care in her 1601 speech to Parliament, later known as "The Golden Speech." In it, she offers, as Louis Montrose points out, "a summation of the problems and achievements of her foreign policy."[37] She focuses particularly on her "resistance to, and triumph over, relentless Spanish aggression," citing her unprecedented victory over the Spanish Armada.[38] Throughout the speech, she links these moments of military victory to feelings of maternal care for her subjects, deepening her oft-used trope of mothering her subjects by protecting them politically. Her assertion in her 1563 correspondence that her subjects would "never have any a more mother than I mean to be unto you all"[39] is here transformed into a confident

statement of achievement: "I do assure you there is no prince that loveth his subjects better, or whose love can countervail our love."[40] Her declaration that "there will never queen sit in my seat with more zeal to my country, [or] care to my subjects" conflates zeal for a country and love for a people, further cementing her image as a martial mother, willing to "venture her life for [her subjects'] good and safety" just as a mother would for her children.[41] She insists on her unparalleled love for her subjects more than once and prides herself on protecting them from "envy, peril, dishonor, shame, tyranny, and oppression."[42] Looking back on her military career and metaphorical motherhood, united poignantly in this speech, Elizabeth is certain that she has excelled in the roles of political leader and mother to her people.

So impactful is the image of Elizabeth as a warrior-mother that it resonates decades, and even centuries, after her death with critics, biographers, artists, actors, filmmakers, and others. From the outpouring of elegies immediately after her death that "routinely celebrate the Queen's accomplishments" while comparing her death to a mother abandoning her children,[43] to Cate Blanchett's stirring if imaginative portrayal of an armored Elizabeth on horseback at Tilbury professing her love for her subjects in Shekhar Kapur's 2007 film *Elizabeth: The Golden Age*,[44] Elizabeth's martial-maternal identity has endured and evolved.[45] Playwright and historian Thomas Heywood, for example, features Elizabeth as the last of nine "woman worthies" in his *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women in the World*.[46] Of the many representations of Elizabeth's martial maternity, Heywood's stands out in the context in which Elizabeth is placed, that is, alongside eight classical, biblical, and historical women leaders. With two brief exceptions, Heywood refrains from circumscribing Elizabeth within the patriarchal language of kingship and princedom, and writes her instead as the ultimate iteration of female leadership in a line of powerful women.[47] Heywood begins with the assertion that the only way to accurately represent "this rare Heroicke Elizabeth" is to "peruse all the ancient, and Authenticke Histories, and out of them select the lives of the most vertuous Ladyes."[48] This suggests that the paradigm of patriarchal rule is insufficient in detailing Elizabeth's virtues and achievements and will be supplanted by language, imagery, and examples relating to women and female leadership.

Heywood's representation of Elizabeth resists confining her to a patriarchal paradigm early on when he discusses her parentage and birth. Heywood confers prestige upon Elizabeth, not simply by citing her father's position as sovereign but by including her mother's status as "Marchionesse of Pembroke."[49] This establishes Elizabeth's descent not just from a male king, but from a powerful woman as well. Heywood's decision to mention Anne Boleyn at all is remarkable considering her trial, conviction, disempowerment, and execution—all of which would ostensibly discredit her as a source of any legitimate, inheritable authority, as discussed in Chaps. 19 and 23 in this volume. Whereas Elizabeth generally avoided mentioning her mother, Heywood chooses to treat her as but one half of Elizabeth's impressive parentage. He claims to have "further read of

this young Lady Elizabeth, that there were pregnant hopes of her, even in her Mothers conception" because of the constellations that presided over her conception and birth.[50] This assertion is revealing for two reasons, the more obvious of which is the connection Heywood makes between the "pregnant hopes" for Elizabeth and the circumstances of "her Mothers conception."[51] In this construction, Elizabeth's greatness, as forecast by the stars, is anticipated while she is still in her mother's womb; Queen Anne's womb, like Volumnia's, is the site from which issues not simply a child but a significant political contribution to the state. That Heywood describes the expectations of Elizabeth's greatness as "pregnant hopes" reinforces the connection between pregnancy/maternity and political power. The hopes for Elizabeth are "pregnant" in two senses: first, they are directed at Elizabeth while she remains in her mother's womb, and second, they are "full of significance" and "momentous."[52] The other, subtler, acknowledgement of the political potential of maternity occurs in Heywood's claim that he "read" about the aforementioned hopes. Although Heywood does not point to specific textual sources, his statement indicates that the hopes for Elizabeth, expressed while she existed only in her mother's womb, were published and, at least to some extent, circulated. This confers upon these expectations a certain gravity, befitting of a country's hopes for its monarch. Heywood details some of these expectations, naming "sharpnesse of wit, and ingenuity" based on the predominance of Mercury during the time of her conception.[53] He insists that the astrological conditions surrounding Elizabeth's birth constitute "a doubtlesse presage, that the Infant borne under that Constellation, should bee faire and fortunate, powerfull in warre, yet a Patronesse of peace."[54] This political and military prowess tempered by restraint resembles Volumnia's aptitude for politics, which subordinates her bloodlust and contempt for her opponents to her commitment to the security of the state. Like Volumnia, Elizabeth will be well equipped for war but predisposed to peace.

The issue of Elizabeth's own (metaphorical) maternity surfaces throughout Heywood's text, always in conjunction with her political and military success. Heywood's chapter on Elizabeth opens with a brief panegyric comprised of rhyming couplets, introducing the monarch as "A Nurse to Belgia, and to France, a Mother / Potent by Land Sole Soveraigne of the Maine, / Antagonist to Rome, the Scourge of Spaine."[55] Elizabeth is at once a nurse/mother to those over whom she presides and a political/military threat to those with whom she clashes. These designations harmonize with Elizabeth's self-identification as a mother to and protectress of her people in her 1559 and 1601 speeches to Parliament and her response to the second Commons petition in 1563. Furthermore, the image of a female ruler as a "nurse" and "mother" to those who are not her biological children resembles Tamora's promise to be a "a loving nurse, a mother to" her husband (*TA* 1.1.337). The joining of motherhood and military strength also colors Heywood's account of the ways in which Elizabeth lifted England out of the precarious position of religious regime change and turmoil in which it found itself at the time of the

queen's accession to the throne. Heywood describes the country at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign as a "kingdome without strength naked of Souldiers."[56] To rectify this, Elizabeth "bred and incouraged noble and brave spirits, making them fit for action."[57] Heywood's use of the word "bred" in this instance connotes both birth and military training; Elizabeth is depicted once more as both a mother and a military leader, with each role informing the other. Heywood returns to Elizabeth's martial maternity at the end of the text, remarking that the queen was "to her friends a mother, her foes a terrour" and echoing the language of his opening panegyrical poem and the rhetoric employed by Elizabeth herself during her reign.[58] Written nearly forty years after Elizabeth's death, Heywood's tribute reproduces the martial-maternal language upon which the monarch built her image.

Martial Maternity in Its Own Words

In eschewing the limitations of chronology whereby Elizabeth is read as a source for or influence on the fictional characters that occupy or succeed her reign, this chapter offers a new relationship of intertextuality in the shared martial-maternal rhetoric of *Coriolanus*' Volumnia, *Titus Andronicus*' Tamora, and England's Queen Elizabeth I. Reading Elizabeth as a character constructed and reconstructed in various texts both during and after her reign facilitates a focus on the language used by and about her and promotes an examination of the ways in which that language participates in broader discourses of early modern queenship and motherhood. Beginning with Volumnia, whose rhetoric springs from the womb and who asserts her authority through physical motherhood, this chapter transitioned through Tamora's abstraction of motherhood beyond maternal–filial bonds, to the childless mother of a nation, Elizabeth, whose womb guarantees her authority only in the most abstract and metaphorical sense, through rhetoric alone. All three women hold considerable political sway through some form of maternity, whether physical or metaphorical. They challenge and even reshape the power structures to which they belong, transcending circumscription by male, patriarchal language and ideologies. But the question about whether or to what extent female characters and historical figures subvert or conform to patriarchal structures is a somewhat tired one. This chapter has sought to put aside that question and allow the issue of early modern motherhood to speak for itself in the self-sustaining rhetoric of martial maternity it produces and reproduces.

Notes

1. See, for example, Jennifer Heller, *The Mother's Legacy in Early Modern England* (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011). Heller argues that for early modern mothers to affect their children, "they need to assume a position of authority, negotiating the social structures that align power with masculinity in general and with patriarchy in particular" (38). Coppélia Kahn's *Roman Shakespeare: Warriors, Wounds, and*

Women (London and New York: Routledge, 1997) takes a similar route, reading maternal power as something "assigned […] by the state" (158).

2. William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Jonathan Bate, Arden 3rd Series (London: Thomson, 2006), 2.2.239.
3. Christine Coch makes this claim in "'Mother of my contreye': Elizabeth I and Tudor Constructions of Motherhood," *English Literary Renaissance* 26.3 (1996): 423–30. She argues that Elizabeth all but abandoned the rhetorical trope of motherhood sometime after 1563 and speculates as to why, citing aging and anxiety about male usurpation of her identity as possible causes of the shift in Elizabeth's self-representation.
4. See especially Mary Hill Cole, *The Portable Queen: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Ceremony* (Amherst: University of Amherst Press, 1999) and *"High and Mighty Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, eds. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
5. William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, ed. Peter Holland, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 1.3.22–25 and 2.1.118.
6. Theodora A. Jankowski, *Women in Power in the Early Modern Drama* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 103.
7. Jankowski, *Women in Power*, 103.
8. Jonathan Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy: Religion, Ideology and Power in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, 3rd ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 219.
9. Dollimore, *Radical Tragedy*, 219.
10. Jankowski, *Women in Power*, 103.
11. James Kuzner, "Unbuilding the City: *Coriolanus* and the Birth of Republican Rome," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 58, no. 2 (2007): 197.
12. Coriolanus appropriates this rhetoric when he calls Volumnia "the honor'd mould / Wherein this trunk was fram'd" (*Cor.* 5.3.22–3), attributing his military strength to the time spent in her womb. It is clear from this and similar statements he makes throughout the play that he has internalized Volumnia's womb-based rhetoric in which she is a martial mother by virtue of her warrior-making womb.
13. Coppélia Kahn also addresses Volumnia's womb in connection with the Roman State, though she treats its fertility as something that operates within the fundamentally patriarchal structures of the state, not (as the present argument contends) something whose authority is self-creating and -sustaining, 156.
14. Jo Eldridge Carney, "'I'll Find a Day to Massacre Them All': Tamora in *Titus Andronicus* and Catherine de Médicis," *Comparative Drama* 48.4 (2014): 430. Carney's nuanced intertextual treatment of the fictional character Tamora and the historical figure Catherine de' Medici informs this chapter's analysis of fictional characters Volumnia and Tamora and historical figure Queen Elizabeth I. Carney rightly stipulates that "*Titus Andronicus* is not an allegory" and cautions against "overstating correspondences between fictional and historical figures" (432). This chapter endeavors to adopt a similarly cautious approach in its methodology.
15. Susan Dunn-Hensley, "Whore Queens: The Sexualized Female Body and the State," in "*High and Mighty Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, eds. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 102.

16. Dunn-Hensley, "Whore Queens," 102.
17. Dunn-Hensley, "Whore Queens," 201.
18. It is worth mentioning, however, that despite its resonance with a late Elizabethan audience, *Titus Andronicus* stages an altogether different problem than that faced in early modern England. Whereas the late king of Shakespeare's Rome has two sons, the aging Elizabeth has no heirs, male or female. Thus, the problem of succession represented in the play is one of excess, while the reality faced at the end of the sixteenth century is one of lack. This means that we can treat the play's representation of troubled succession as evocative of rather than analogous to Elizabeth's situation.
19. Dunn-Hensley, "Whore Queens," 201.
20. Marion Wynne-Davies, "'The Swallowing Womb': Consumed and Consuming Women in *Titus Andronicus*," in *The Matter of Difference: Materialist Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare*, ed. Valerie Wayne (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 135.
21. Jane Grogan, "'Headless Rome' and Hungry Goths: Herodotus and Titus Andronicus," *English Literary Renaissance* 43.1 (2013): 45.
22. Wynne-Davies, "The Swallowing Womb," 135.
23. Jankowski, *Women in Power*, 60.
24. See especially Carole Levin's foundational work on Elizabeth's political self-fashioning, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).
25. Jankowski, *Women in Power*, 60.
26. Coch, "'Mother of my contreye'," 426.
27. It would be irresponsible to assume that Elizabeth's use of maternal rhetoric issues directly and/or exclusively from socio-political pressure, but it is fair to say that this pressure is a determining factor in her strategies of self-representation, particularly in that she first employs maternal rhetorical publicly as a response to it.
28. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, eds. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 57. Several versions of this speech exist. The Chicago *Collected Works* reproduces the "Lansdowne" Manuscript and William Camden's printed Latin translation (1615) and English retranslation in *Annales: The True and Royal History of the Famous Empress Elizabeth* (London: for B. Fisher, 1625). The editors also reference the Cambridge Manuscript to point out significant departures in language. The present reading draws from these three versions of Elizabeth's speech.
29. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 58. This is taken from the Cambridge Manuscript; it is noticeably absent from the Lansdowne Manuscript.
30. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 58. This is taken from the Lansdowne Manuscript.
31. I owe the term "metaphorical" in connection to Elizabeth's construction of her motherhood to Coch, who writes that Elizabeth's 1559 speech to the House of Commons replaces the "conventional, biological definition of 'mother' with a metaphorical definition [that] develops a powerful model of female public rule" (423–4).
32. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 59. This is taken from William Camden's 1615 printed Latin account, which was translated into English in 1625.
33. Jankowski, *Women in Power*, 71. Certainly, calling herself a "mother" and her people her "children" *is* meant to alleviate some of the anxieties around her succession, but to say that this is all Elizabeth achieves therein is unfair.

34. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 72. This is reproduced from PRO, State Papers Domestic, Elizabeth 12/27/36, fols. 143r–144r.
35. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 72.
36. In Volumnia's case, the "hazardous situation" is the pending invasion of Rome; in Elizabeth's it is the looming dissent of Parliament.
37. Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 160.
38. Montrose, *Subject of Elizabeth*, 160.
39. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 72.
40. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 337. This text is reproduced from the Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Rawlinson A 100, fols. 97v–101r.
41. Elizabeth I, *Collected Works*, 339.
42. Montrose, *Subject of Elizabeth*, 503.
43. Catherine Loomis, *The Death of Elizabeth I: Remembering and Reconstructing the Virgin Queen* (New York: Palgrave, 2010), 50.
44. *Elizabeth: The Golden Age*, directed by Shekhar Kapur (2007: Universal Pictures), film.
45. For a nuanced treatment of popular posthumous portrayals of Elizabeth, see Carole Levin and Jo Eldridge Carney's "Young Elizabeth in Peril: from Seventeenth-century Drama to Modern Movies" in *Elizabeth I: Always Her Own Free Woman*, eds. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 215–37. Levin and Carney focus on John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1563), Thomas Heywood's play *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody*, Part 1 (1605), and two twentieth-century films, *Young Bess* (1953) and *Elizabeth* (1998). The authors demonstrate that "early modern representations of Elizabeth…focus on the prudent, political Elizabeth, while twentieth-century films […] emphasize a romanticized, even highly sexualized, young woman" (215). See also Catherine Loomis' *The Death of Elizabeth I: Remembering and Reconstructing the Virgin Queen* (New York: Palgrave, 2010) for a thorough exploration of the ways in which Elizabeth's final days, death, and legacy were interpreted in elegies, manuscripts, and drama of the Jacobean period.
46. Thomas Heywood, *The Exemplary Lives and Memorable Acts of Nine the Most Worthy Women in the World: Three Jewes, Three Gentiles, Three Christians, Written by the Author of the History of Women* (London: Tho. Cotes for Richard Royston, 1640). References are to folio numbers.
47. The two exceptions to Heywood's focus on women rulers are a brief mention of Elizabeth's descent from her father Henry VIII on p. 186 and a comparison between Elizabeth and her brother-in-law King Philip II of Spain on pp. 199–200. Heywood describes Elizabeth as managing her affairs "with that prudence and masculine spirit" that characterized Philip (pp. 199–200). These nods to male sovereigns are brief and, ultimately, do not diminish Heywood's focus on women.
48. Heywood, *Exemplary Lives*, 185.
49. Heywood, *Exemplary Lives*, 185.
50. Heywood, *Exemplary Lives*, 186–187.
51. Heywood, *Exemplary Lives*, 186–187.
52. *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, s.v. "pregnant, adj.1 and n," accessed March 21, 2017, http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/150085.

53. Heywood, *Exemplary Lives*, 187.
54. Heywood, *Exemplary Lives*, 187.
55. Heywood, *Exemplary Lives*, 182.
56. Heywood, *Exemplary Lives*, 199.
57. Heywood, *Exemplary Lives*, 200.
58. Heywood, *Exemplary Lives*, 212.

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CHAPTER 9

"Good queen, my lord, good queen": Royal Mothers in Shakespeare's Plays

Mary Villeponteaux

Shakespeare's queens are often mothers, seldom happily. From Queen Margaret to Cymbeline's unnamed wife, Shakespearean characters who are fully realized as both queens and mothers tend to be problematic in both roles. Historically, successful motherhood was crucial to a queen's fulfillment of her role. As Elena Woodacre explains, by giving birth to healthy children, royal women "were expected to be the guarantors of dynastic continuity, political stability, and the progenitors of future sovereigns."[1] For a married queen also to be a mother was therefore highly desirable, even necessary; yet both motherhood and queenship could generate certain tensions in early modern society, since both roles potentially disrupt patriarchal norms. Shakespeare often explores these tensions in his portrayals of royal mothers, as can be seen by reading figures such as Tamora, Margaret, and Volumnia through the lens of the era's most popular conduct book for women, Vives' *Instruction of a Christian Woman*. Near the end of his career, Shakespeare writes his most fully developed royal mother: Hermione, Queen of Sicilia. *The Winter's Tale* raises the possibility of a mother-queen who wields a disruptive power, but the play ultimately dispels these fears: Hermione is not, in fact, a dangerous queen or damaging mother. Nevertheless, though *The Winter's Tale* ultimately dismisses these negative images, it does not—or cannot—completely banish the fear provoked by a powerful mother-queen.

In *Plotting Motherhood*, Mary Beth Rose explores the conflict over maternal authority that emerges in the early modern period. Protestant reformers tried

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to raise the status of marriage and family; as a result, marriage and motherhood were scrutinized as never before. The Protestant discourse on domestic life often makes clear some of the contradictions inherent in these cultural forms.[2] For example, William Gouge exhorts women to obey their husbands, but not if they demand something forbidden by God.[3] Such a dictum raises questions about the extent of the husband's authority. Rose argues that maternal authority, as well as wifely authority, is represented as problematic in the early modern period. The mother's power over assigning paternity—and therefore the inheritance of property—is constructed negatively in various cultural forms; Rose cites "the increasing severity of infanticide laws, the attempt to reclassify adultery as a secular crime, fearful narratives of witchcraft, or the intense anxiety over changing sexual values manifested in endless jokes about cuckoldry" as instances of reactions to the perceived power of mothers.[4] She also notes that mother love, while positively portrayed as natural and nurturing, is sometimes cast as dangerously overindulgent and overwhelming, as when Vives in his *Instruction of a Christian Woman* declares that maternal "cherisshyng" mars sons and destroys daughters.[5]

A queen's authority generates similar tensions, as much scholarship on Elizabeth I has shown. From the arguments about the legitimacy of women's rule that emerged early in her reign, to the resurgence of cultural misogyny toward the end, her gender at times problematized her rule. As do mothers, queens wield an authority that can potentially disrupt patriarchal norms. Even the objections to excessive motherly love echo a concern sometimes expressed about female rule: the danger that a woman's lack of emotional restraint might make her judgments unreliable. Women were supposedly subject to emotional extremes, and this idea often colored depictions of Queen Elizabeth as controlled by either excessive pity or cruelty.[6]

That a powerful regnant queen might unsettle patriarchal norms is unsurprising, but even a queen consort might be perceived as exerting too much authority under certain circumstances. The traditional role of a queen consort is that of intercessor, a medieval tradition indebted in part to the figure of the Virgin Mary, and thus a tradition whose roots lie in maternity, since Christians prayed to the mother of Christ to intercede with her son on their behalf. Protestants rejected this idea of the Virgin Mary's power; as Sid Ray explains, the influence attributed to the Virgin in the Madonna-and-Child relationship unsettled three important hierarchies: God over human, male over female, husband over wife.[7] The power of an earthly queen to intercede with her husband could unsettle political hierarchies as well. Michelle A. White's analysis of public discourse regarding Queen Henrietta Maria displays this clearly: she was repeatedly depicted in anti-royalist propaganda as a domineering wife who ruled over her weak husband, Charles I. White explains that the primary responsibility of a queen consort was to provide heirs to the throne; second in importance was that she conform to socially acceptable standards of wifely behavior: she should be submissive, chaste, pious, and deferential.[8] When a queen consort serves as a mediator between the king and his subjects, she wields an influence that potentially belies her submissive position.

Shakespeare's most vivid depiction of a queenly intercession appears in *Henry VIII*. In the first act, Katherine of Aragon intercedes on behalf of the overtaxed weavers in a scene that dramatizes the ambivalent position of a queenly mediatrix: her intercession both lowers her and empowers her. She performs her intercession with all the marks of humility. When she enters the throne room, she kneels before Henry, who takes her up, kisses her, and places her next to him. But she protests, "Nay, we must longer kneel. I am a suitor."[9] Katherine's switch from "we" to "I" indicates her self-demotion, from the royal "we" to the single "I." She pleads from a submissive position rather than from the powerful position she derives from marriage to the king, a power that Henry emphasizes, saying, "Arise, and take place by us. Half your suit / Never name to us. You have half our power; / The other moiety ere you ask is given. / Repeat your will and take it" (*H8* 1.2.10–13). Despite the king's characterization of the queen as a joint ruler whose will should prevail without question, Katherine continues to stress her own lowliness. For instance, after she explains the genesis of the weavers' rebellion—a harsh new tax—and Henry demands more details, Katherine replies, "I am much too venturous / In tempting of your patience, but am boldened / Under your promised pardon" (*H8* 1.2.54–6). She casts herself as a humble suitor rather than revealing any pride or sense of her own agency: only Henry's reassurances can embolden her. The fact that, ultimately, she succeeds in influencing the king clearly indicates her sway, and Shakespeare stresses the authority such successful mediation can convey by having Wolsey, at the end of the scene, plan to take credit himself for the queen's actions: he says, in an aside to his secretary, "Let it be noised / That through *our* intercession this revokement / And pardon comes" [emphasis mine] (*H8* 1.2.105–7). Thus, the role of mediatrix potentially empowers the queen, even though it casts her not as a joint ruler but as a supplicant.[10] In the case of a queen mother interceding with her royal son, modeled on the Madonna and child relationship, the queen would surely have even more direct influence, given the natural authority of the parent over the child. Certainly, Protestant reformers objected to the power Catholicism vested in the Virgin in part because of the suggestion that the Virgin Mother could exert authority over Christ.[11]

Shakespeare depicts no mother-queens who intercede with their royal sons: Katherine intercedes with her husband, King Henry, and Cymbeline's unnamed queen pretends to intercede with her husband on behalf of Imogen and Posthumous, just as Tamora pretends to take Titus' part when she publicly asks her husband, the emperor, to pardon him. Volumnia is the character who comes closest to the role of mediating royal mother when she intercedes with Coriolanus on behalf of the Roman people. Not a queen, but yet a public figure who wields authority, Volumnia's intercession is a triumph for her and a tragedy for her son. She brings the full force of maternal persuasion upon him, reminding him that "There's no man in the world / More bound to's mother" and declaring that for him to march on Rome would be tantamount to treading on his mother's womb.[12] Coriolanus' response to her successful petition makes the power of maternity clear, as well as revealing his knowledge that acceding to her plea means his own destruction:

O, mother, mother!
What have you done? Behold, the heavens do ope,
The gods look down and this unnatural scene
They laugh at. O, my mother, mother! O!
You have won a happy victory to Rome
But for your son, believe it, O, believe it,
Most dangerously you have with him prevailed,
If not most mortal to him. (*Cor.* 5.3.182–9)

Despite the fact that Coriolanus' wife and son are present, it is Volumnia who has prevailed; the repetition of "mother" signals this. Coriolanus' anguish, and his prediction that Volumnia's victory over him will prove fatal to him, may foreshadow his assassination by the Volsces. Janet Adelman interprets the mortal threat to Coriolanus as the failure of the son's desperate attempt to separate himself from his mother and claim self-sufficiency, but either way, when the mother's intercession overpowers her son, he is damaged or even destroyed.[13]

Queen Katherine's intercession with her husband displays her power; Volumnia's intercession with her son not only reveals her influence but also casts maternal power as a destructive force. Hermione's successful bid to keep Polixenes a guest for another fortnight can be understood in terms of this complex tradition of the queen as intercessor. In Shakespeare's source story for *The Winter's Tale*, Robert Greene's *Pandosto*, it is the growing intimacy of friendship between Bellaria and Egistus that slowly kindles suspicion in the king. Shakespeare departs from his source by situating the seed of Leontes' jealousy in Hermione's persuasion of Polixenes. This makes Leontes' jealousy more dramatic because it is sudden, but it also demonstrates how Hermione's fulfillment of a role deemed appropriate for a queen consort is nevertheless disruptive. As Sid Ray points out, "Hermione is only fulfilling the duties of a gracious intercessory queen" when she persuades Polixenes, because she does so at her husband's request.[14] Yet the power dynamics of her mediating performance are notably confused. Though Hermione's intercession is not directly tied to her motherhood, Ray reads Hermione as figuring the Virgin Mary here, deriving authority from both her maternity (she is visibly pregnant and already the mother of the royal heir, Mamillius) as well as her role as queen consort. Ray interprets *The Winter's Tale* as Shakespeare's critique of Jacobean patriarchal rule and erasure of the feminine authority and nurture figured in the Virgin Mary. Thus Leontes' sudden denigration of his interceding queen as a harlot is parallel to the way Protestant Reformers denigrated the Virgin Mary, transfiguring her into the Whore of Babylon.[15]

Whether or not Hermione represents the Virgin Mary, her role in Act 1 certainly troubles a clear patriarchal line of authority. For one thing, when she acts as a mediatrix, it is on Leontes' behalf; she pleads not *to* him but *for* him, putting him in the position of supplicant. Although this is a position he himself adopted, it is a demotion. Second, Hermione revels in her powerful role and her ultimate success in persuading Polixenes to change his mind. At various

moments in the course of this scene, Hermione's words underscore her authority. Far from submitting humbly to Leontes, she in fact gently mocks her husband for his rhetorical failure: "I had thought, sir, to have held my peace until / You had drawn oaths from him not to stay."[16] Nor is her supplication to Polixenes performed diffidently; in fact, she threatens (again, playfully) to act as Polixenes' jailer if he will not submit. Her vivacious, charming performance as a queenly intercessor emphasizes her power, making sense of the connection Leontes draws between this occasion of her speaking "to the purpose" and another occasion when her words were effective: when she agreed to marry him. But Leontes' memory of this event highlights not its happy conclusion. Rather, Leontes focuses on the "three crabbed months" that "soured themselves to death" before she said yes, suggesting that her persuasion of Polixenes reminds him not only of a time when she spoke well, but also of a time when she wielded a discomfiting power over him (*WT* 1.2.102).

Thus Leontes' sudden reevaluation of Hermione as a whore may have its roots in her powerful and proud performance of a queenly role that was in itself contested: that of intercessor. Though Hermione is not taking the stance of the Madonna—a queen mother interceding with a royal son—her visible pregnancy at the moment of her successful intercession with Polixenes evokes that role. Furthermore, when Leontes brands Hermione an adulteress, he immediately focuses on the most crucial aspect of any royal mother's power: the bearing and legitimizing of the king's heirs. Leontes instantly questions the legitimacy of his son, Mamillius, after his suspicion of Hermione takes hold, asking "Mamillius, / Art thou my boy?" and "You wanton calf! / Art thou my calf?" (*WT* 1.2.119–20; 126–7). Though he reassures himself that Mamillius is truly his son, he remains convinced that the child Hermione currently bears is a bastard, which leads to Leontes' casting her out and ultimately rendering himself heirless. As Donna C. Woodford argues, Leontes dreads Hermione's power to shape his offspring: her supposed adultery would give "scandal to the blood" of his son, and later he will conflate nursing and adultery as parallel threats to paternity.[17]

In the first act of *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes responds to the potentially threatening power that Hermione wields as a mother-queen: her power over the legitimacy of his heirs, and her power as queenly intercessor, which has its roots in the figure of the Madonna. In providing heirs to the throne and in acting as an intercessor, Hermione is in fact the ideal queen consort, but the role itself unsettles patriarchal norms, and Hermione's particular performance of her role proves even more disruptive. Reading Hermione through the lens of the most popular conduct manual for women of the Tudor period reveals specific ways that she diverges from the ideal. Juan Luis Vives' *De institutione feminae Christianae* was written in 1523 at the behest of Queen Catherine of Aragon's chamberlain. Ostensibly, the book was written for Princess Mary's education, but in actuality it was meant for a wider audience.[18] *De institutione* is much more than a treatise on education; it is a conduct manual in the broader sense, aimed at women and dividing a woman's life into three stages: young

woman, wife, and widow. Since it is addressed, in Vives' prefatory letter, to a queen, and it concerns the education of a princess (and potential future ruler), it is a particularly apt source for contemporary ideas about the appropriate behavior for royal mothers. It was also the most popular conduct book of its age: the English translation by Richard Hyrde, entitled *The Instruction of a Christian Woman*, went through nine editions up to 1592. Vives was innovative in promoting the education of women and denying the popular idea that women are evil by nature or intellectually inferior to men. But this does not mean that he advocated feminine authority. In his advice to women, Vives continually emphasizes the importance of modesty, meekness, and obedience and devotion to one's husband. Virtuous women should, according to this treatise, avoid idle chatter, be modest and discreet, and be submissive to their husbands. Though Hermione's behavior in Act 1 is nowhere immodest or disobedient to Leontes, she is voluble, and as I point out above, she takes an authoritative posture in her persuasion of Polixenes.

Vives also has some interesting things to say about women's desire for praise and honor. In his prefatory letter to Queen Catherine, he explains that all of his praise of women's virtue ultimately refers to her; the book is a portrait of her mind. As Valerie Schutte points out, this dedication is extremely laudatory of the queen and emphasizes her influence.[19] Vives says if the princess follows the example of virtue and wisdom set by Catherine, Mary will indeed be following all the precepts he outlines in his treatise, and not only Princess Mary but "al other women shal have an example of your lyfe and dedes."[20] He tells the queen that "no man can preyse the vertues of women, but he must nedes comprehend you in the same preyse." However, he is careful to stress that Catherine (being the ideal woman) would rather hear virtue itself extolled than hear herself praised: "You had leaver the vertues to be preysed than your selfe."[21] Later in his treatise, Vives expands on this idea, explaining that women make themselves foolish if they aspire to honors of any kind or desire people's esteem. He says that men praise women not because women deserve it, but because women are weak and feeble, and men indulge them in the same way adults indulge children. "Therefore you get no honore by your own merites, but of other folks curtesie: nor you be nat honored bicause you diserve it, but bycause you sore desyre hit." Vives characterizes women's desire for praise as appetite: they are "greedy and desirous to have honour" and men give it to them "bicause they knowe you be of suche appetite."[22] This passage offers a new way to view Hermione's demand for Leontes' praise in Act 1. After Leontes comments that, when she persuaded Polixenes to stay, she never spoke to better purpose except once before, she demands,

> What? Have I twice said well? When was't before?
> I prithee tell me; cram's with praise, and make's
> As fat as tame things. One good deed, dying tongueless,
> Slaughters a thousand waiting upon that.
> Our praises are our wages. (*WT* 1.2.90–4)

As does Vives, Hermione posits the need for praise as a characteristic of womankind, when she speaks in the plural: "Our praises are our wages." The metaphor of eating recalls Vives' depiction of women's desire for praise as a greedy appetite; that praise should be crammed into women until they grow fat suggests that Hermione (and all women) want praise in excess. Furthemore, it is the desire for praise, not the desire to be virtuous, that inspires women's good deeds, since if one good deed dies "tongueless," in other words unpraised, a thousand more will never occur. Indeed, Hermione teasingly but avidly demands to hear her husband praise her for this earlier time when she "said well": "But once before I spoke to th' purpose? When? / Nay, let me have't—I long" (*WT* 1.2.100–1).

Leontes' startling assertion of Hermione's adultery is baseless and irrational, yet the play's second scene provides a portrait of powerful queen consort who does not perfectly conform to the standards described in Vives' popular conduct book—a book written for another royal mother. Perhaps Leontes' accusation emerges from his anxieties about Hermione's power: as a queen consort whose intercession may prove more potent than his demands, and as a mother on whose chastity rests the legitimacy of his heirs. Further, Hermione's volubility, pride, and demands for praise would mark her as immodest in the terms laid out by Vives. This portrayal of Hermione raises the specter of the powerful and disruptive mother-queen, only to dispel it in subsequent scenes.

In the first scene of Act 2, Shakespeare offers a direct depiction of Hermione as a mother of a young child, which is a rarity in his plays. The intimate exchange between the queen and her son recalls Vives' warnings against mothers showing too much affection for their children: "In man kynde that is the moste vile and the least worthe, that the mother loveth most tenderly."[23] Vives characterizes his own mother as a remote figure who seldom revealed any affection for him, and he favorably characterizes this stern maternal behavior: "A wyse mother shall not wysshe for pleasures unto her childe, but vertue."[24] He implies that too much tender maternal care infantilizes a son rather than allowing him to go out into the world and become a man. He cites the words of a friend who declared that the greatest blessing God ever gave him was the early death of his mother, who "cherisshed hym so wonderously." If not for his mother's death, he would still languish at home among various pleasures; instead, he left home for Paris, where he now studies.[25] Though Vives' warnings are cast in terms of his personal experience and thus might appear idiosyncratic, in fact the concern that mothers will show too much affection to their children is not peculiar to Vives. Felicity Dunworth discusses these early modern warnings against overly affectionate mothering in her exploration of maternity in drama. That children might be "nosled" is a great danger, as the child may be unintentionally corrupted by overindulgence. "Nosled" is a variation of "nursled," a word that means to educate or train in some habit. Dunworth says these warnings are characteristic of sixteenth-century Protestant thought but also recognizes that Vives expressed similar ideas early in the century.[26]

Is Hermione a "nosling" mother? She is not. The idea of overly affectionate mothering is introduced in Act 2, but attributed to one of Hermione's ladies rather than to the queen herself. In Act 1, though Mamillius is on stage with his parents, only Leontes interacts with their child; this fact alone suggests that the queen is not a coddling mother. Hermione's first direct interaction with Mamillius occurs at the beginning of Act 2, and her first line is spoken to her ladies: "Take the boy to you. He so troubles me, / 'Tis past enduring" (*WT* 2.1.1–2). This interesting introduction to Hermione's relationship to her child suggests not overindulgence but limits. The dialogue that ensues between Mamillius and the ladies raises the question of excessive affection, but draws our attention to the difference in the queen's treatment of her son and theirs. The boy says to one of them, "I'll none of you," because "You'll kiss me hard and speak to me as if / I were a baby still" (*WT* 2.1.3–5). Perhaps her ladies coddle Mamillius, but Hermione does not. The queen is neither an overindulgent mother who babies her son, nor a stern and remote one. However, when she eventually allows Mamillius back in her presence and asks him to tell her a tale, we are reminded of another stricture concerning mothers' influence on their children. As Mary Ellen Lamb has pointed out, Mamillius' tale, told in a domestic space inhabited by women and a child, suggests the early modern idea of the old wives' tale, a form of discourse scorned in a patriarchal society.[27] Vives mentions old wives' tales disparagingly in his treatise; he notes that children first learn speech from their mothers, and that because of this crucially important process, much more depends on the mother's influence than one would think: she can make her child either good or bad. Therefore, he warns against telling children old wives' tales, "vayn and tryflyng fables" that might later make the child uninterested in wise and serious discourse.[28] Interestingly, it is Mamillius who tells Hermione a story rather than vice versa. Does this suggest that he has already been subject to the corrupting influence of the old wives' tale, either from Hermione or her ladies? Vives' anxiety about the influence of mothers' speech on their children finds an echo in Leontes' assertion that he is glad Hermione did not nurse their son, as she has "too much blood in" Mamillius as it is (*WT* 2.1.58).[29]

Thus, Hermione's relationship with her son exonerates her of the charge of overindulgence even as Mamillius' reaction to her ladies reminds us of the possibility. But the opening of Act 2 also suggests (both by the child's telling of an old wives' tale and Leontes' accusation) Hermione's influence in his development. Just as did her intercession in Act 1 and her request to be praised for it, her relationship with Mamillius may raise the specter of a too-powerful queen, a too-powerful mother. Certainly, this is how her husband and king reacts to her. He not only bars her from the presence of her son "like one infectious" but he reveals his fear of the eloquence that invested her with the authority of the queenly intercessor in Act 1 (*WT* 3.2.96). After making several speeches accusing Hermione of being "a thing," "an adulteress," and a "bed-swerver," Leontes shows how threatening he finds Hermione's eloquence (*WT* 2.1.82, 88, 93). She answers in an extraordinarily restrained speech of ten lines in

which she resolves to be patient and declares her "honorable grief" at her husband's accusations, ending with "The king's will be performed." "Shall I be heard?" demands Leontes in response, suggesting both that he is demanding instant obedience to his command that she be carried to prison, but also his anxiety that, as she did in Act 1, his queen will out-speak him, and that her influence will be greater than his (*WT* 2.1.115).

Leontes makes clear his anxiety about Hermione's influence: he seems to fear that she will be "heard" when he is not (as happened when she convinced Polixenes to stay) and he clearly fears her ability to delegitimize his heirs as well as influence his son Mamillius. Hermione is not an overindulgent mother, but in the domestic scene with Mamillius we do see evidence of the closeness between mother and son. Shakespeare depicts other mother-queens whose devotion to a child troubles the political order, suggesting that a cultural anxiety existed about maternal devotion and the power of motherly emotion. An example that hints at the fear of overindulgence and "nosling" is found in Titania, Queen of the Fairies, whose tenacious hold on her beloved Indian boy generates a quarrel with Oberon and the resulting failure of the fairy kingdom to order the natural world properly. But in Shakespeare's plays, the devotion of the royal mother to her child is most often dramatized in the queen's reaction to her child's death. Mother-queens who lament their children and sometimes avenge them appear in several plays: 3 *Henry VI*, *King John*, *Richard III*, and *Titus Andronicus*.

The most famous scene of maternal lament occurs in *Richard III*. In Act 4, Queen Elizabeth mourns for her lost sons, murdered in the Tower; the Duchess of York laments them along with all the other deaths, and Queen Margaret provides an eerie counterpoint as she both mourns her dead son and husband, and gloats over the losses of her Yorkist rivals: "Plantagenet doth quit Plantagenet, / Edward for Edward pays a dying debt" (*R3* 4.4.20–1).[30] The women's ritualistic laments are powerful. Elizabeth asks Margaret to teach her how to curse: "My words are dull. O, quicken them with thine!" and Margaret's response suggests the wounding power of words: "Thy woes will make them sharp and pierce like mine" (*R3* 4.4.124–5). Indeed, the bereft women are able to disrupt Richard's military procession with their outcry, and his response reveals his fear: "A flourish, trumpets! Strike alarum, drums! / Let not the heavens hear these tell-tale women / Rail on the Lord's anointed" (*R3* 4.4.149–51). The power of the women's voices to tell tales of his evil frightens him so much that he threatens to drown out their exclamations with "the clamorous report of war" (*R3* 4.4.153). Katharine Goodland argues that these women's laments articulate the grief and dissatisfaction of the community and pose a significant threat to political power; she also points out that Richard's attempt to silence them ends with his being effectively silenced himself, by his mother's curse. These maternal voices shift power from Richard to the women, as the play's succeeding scenes reveal.[31]

Maternal lamentation has a disruptive power in *Richard III*. Maternal revenge is even more potent, as Tamora, Queen of the Goths, demonstrates.

Titus Andronicus begins with Titus' triumphant return to Rome, having defeated the Goths. Claiming that Roman tradition demands the sacrifice of a Goth to requite the loss of his son in war, Titus resolves to kill Tamora's eldest son, Alarbus. As a mother, Tamora pleads for Titus to have mercy: "Victorious Titus, rue the tears I shed, / A mother's tears in passion for her son!"[32] But Titus insists on the sacrifice and his remaining sons exit the stage, taking Alarbus to his death. Before they even return bearing their bloody swords, Tamora's revenge has been foreshadowed. Her second son, Demetrius, tells his mother,

> Then, madam, stand resolved, but hope withal
> The self-same gods that armed the queen of Troy
> With opportunity of sharp revenge
> Upon the Thracian tyrant in his tent
> May favour Tamora, the queen of Goths
> (When Goths were Goths and Tamora was queen),
> To quit the bloody wrongs upon her foes. (*TA* 1.1.138–44)

The comparison of Tamora with Hecuba introduces a motif whose significance Marguerite Tassi argues in *Women and Revenge in Shakespeare*. Tassi asserts that Shakespeare invokes complex narratives of women's revenge from classical sources, particularly the legends about Hecuba, in order to temper the usual representation of avenging women as unnatural, bestial creatures. According to her reading, Tamora is a bold queen who takes some of her traits from heroic tradition but whose "wounded maternity" inspires her most profound passions.[33] I would add that Tamora enacts her maternal revenge through her role as queen; the two are inseparable. Though Demetrius points out in this speech that she is no longer a queen, Tamora soon will be a queen again, as the new emperor Saturninus chooses her as his bride. And it is clear that her fury at the Andronici is based both on her loss as a mother and the insult to her royal authority. When she vows vengeance, she says that she will "make them know what 'tis to let a queen / Kneel in the streets and beg for grace in vain" (*TA* 1.1.459–60).

Tamora's brutal revenge on Titus and his family is thus motivated by both her wounded maternity and her wounded queenship. Furthermore, Tamora uses her position as queen consort to obtain vengeance. She enacts the traditional queenly role of intercessor, but only in order to further her revenge. Speaking to her new husband, the emperor, she pretends to intercede on Titus' behalf:

> My worthy lord, if ever Tamora
> Were gracious in those princely eyes of thine,
> Then hear me speak indifferently for all,
> And at my suit, sweet, pardon what is past. (*TA* 1.1.433–6)

But even as she lulls Titus into believing in her goodwill, she declares her dedication to vengeance in an aside:

> I'll find a day to massacre them all,
> And raze their faction and their family,
> The cruel father and his traitorous sons
> To whom I sued for my dear son's life. (*TA* 1.1.455–8)

Tamora's vengeance is horrific: she urges her sons to rape Titus' daughter Lavinia and kill Lavinia's betrothed, Bassianus, who is the brother of the emperor. Titus' sons are framed for the murder and eventually executed; all these events are part of a chain of violence that culminates in the play's bloody conclusion.

The specter of the bereaved mother-queen who pours out her grief in disruptive lamentation or violent vengeance is insinuated in *The Winter's Tale*, though Hermione takes a different course. When she is accused of adultery and her children are taken from her, she neither loudly laments nor seeks vengeance. Shakespeare instead emphasizes Hermione's restraint. Just as her emotional relationship to her son was balanced—she was neither overindulgent nor remote—so her reaction to Leontes' attack is emotionally balanced. She grieves but she does not weep.

> Good my lords,
> I am not prone to weeping, as our sex
> Commonly are, the want of which vain dew
> Perchance shall dry your pities; but I have
> That honourable grief lodged here which burns
> Worse than tears drown. (*WT* 2.1.107–12)

Hermione's explicit rejection of womanish tears signals that she is not prone to the emotional excess that was often attributed to women and used to cast doubt on women's queenship and motherhood. During her trial, she continues to respond to Leontes' accusations with restraint rather than passion. Hermione raises the possibility of vengeance, only to reject it. She speaks poignantly of the loss of her children, saying that the "first fruits of my body, from his presence, / I am barred, like one infectious," and mourning her newborn, who was "from my breast / The innocent milk in its most innocent mouth / Haled out to murder" (*WT* 3.2.95–9). But she follows this catalog of her injuries with an explicit dismissal of revenge:

> The Emperor of Russia was my father.
> O that he were alive, and here beholding
> His daughter's trial; that he did but see
> The flatness of my misery; yet with eyes
> Of pity, not revenge. (*WT* 3.2.117–21)

These lines emphasize Hermione's royal blood and raise the possibility of revenge, only to reject it. As such, the passage recalls other mourning mother-queens who sought revenge, and thus establishes a sharp contrast between

Hermione and Tamora or Margaret. Hermione is not meek: she strongly defends her honor and directly challenges Leontes' baseless condemnation of her: "I tell you / 'Tis rigour, and not law" (*WT* 3.2.111–12). But despite knowing that Leontes has "haled out to murder" her newborn daughter, she renounces vengeance.

Mary Beth Rose reads *The Winter's Tale* as an early modern version of the Griselda story in which the "happy ending" is achieved not through the wife/mother's complete obedience but rather through "Hermione's and Paulina's active defiance of Leontes."[34] I would argue that Hermione's defiance is quite muted and should not be equated to Paulina's bold and passionate opposition. Even when Leontes bursts into her rooms to accuse her, remove Mamillius from her presence, and carry her off under arrest, she responds "The king's will be performed" (*WT* 2.1.114). During her trial, she repeatedly declares herself willing to accept the death Leontes threatens. However, she is unwilling to accept dishonor; she displays heroic stoicism rather than passion, and makes it clear that she values her honor, not only for herself but for her children:

> For life, I prize it
> As I weigh grief, which I would spare. For honour,
> 'Tis a derivative from me to mine,
> And only that I stand for. (*WT* 3.2.41–4)

Hermione asserts that she would "spare," that is give up, her life just as she would prefer to rid herself of grief. Honor, however, is a different matter, and as her honor is passed down to her children, she is determined to defend it; in this, she appears to privilege her children's wellbeing over her own. I do not mean to suggest that Hermione is meekly acquiescent or a cousin of the medieval Griselda. She is balanced between defiance and deference, between assertions of power and passivity. For example, during her trial, she depicts her former, happy state in terms of both her queenship and her motherhood: "A fellow of the royal bed, which owe / A moiety of the throne; a great king's daughter, / The mother to a hopeful prince" (*WT* 3.2.37–9). Her life divides into three roles: wife, daughter, and mother. But she characterizes each in terms of political power: by sharing the royal bed, she had a portion of royal power; her father was "a great king," her son "a hopeful prince"—the hope being, presumably, accession to the kingship. These lines remind the audience of Hermione's erstwhile power, which was displayed in Act 1. But the queen does not try to reassert her authority. Her resistance to Leontes is mostly passive: she voices her trust in divine power, resolves to be patient, and calls upon the oracle to confirm her innocence. Female anger, subversion, and power reside instead in Paulina. Shakespeare indeed stages the powerful, angry woman who disrupts patriarchal norms, but she is Paulina, not Hermione, the royal mother. It is Paulina who angrily confronts Leontes, defends Hermione, and tells him his behavior "something savours / Of tyranny" (*WT* 2.3.117–18). Her angry speech elicits a series of misogynistic insults from Leontes; he characterizes her as the stereotypical shrew when he calls her "A callet / Of

boundless tongue, who late hath beat her husband" (*WT* 2.3.89–90). It is also Paulina who passionately laments the loss of Mamillius, Perdita, and Hermione, in a long speech that leads one of Leontes' lords to reprove her: "Say no more; / Howe'er the business goes, you have made fault / I' th' boldness of your speech" (*WT* 3.2.213–15). In both instances, Paulina's disruptive and bold language is attributed to her gender; in reply to the lord who reproached her, Paulina says, "Alas, I have showed too much / The rashness of a woman" (*WT* 3.2.217–18). Paulina is the powerful and emotional woman who unsettles patriarchal norms, raising the possibility of a disruptive feminine force, but absolving Hermione. And the play ultimately vindicates Paulina, as Leontes accepts her corrections and cedes control to her, undertaking a course of repentance that leads to a partial restitution of his losses.

Throughout this play, Shakespeare invokes the specter of disruptive mother-queens through the figures of Hermione and her female companions. But repeatedly, that specter is banished or revealed harmless, or even healthful, in the case of Paulina. *The Winter's Tale* stages a powerful mother-queen who is ultimately exonerated from all the charges that might be leveled against her: she has not borne bastards rather than legitimate heirs to the king; she does not challenge the king's authority; she has not overindulged or infantilized her son, nor has she corrupted him. Even when she loses her children, she shows restraint in her grief, neither loudly lamenting nor threatening vengeance. The culprit turns out to be not the powerful royal mother but the damaging fear her power inspires. Just as Paulina repeatedly insists, Hermione is a "good queen" (*WT* 2.3.58). But being a good queen is not enough in a culture that imaginatively constructs so many bad ones.

The final scene of *The Winter's Tale* both raises and limits the possibility that the powerful royal mother can be incorporated into this patriarchal world. Hermione returns, "dear life" redeems her from death, and yet her presence is tentative, her role attenuated. She is a mother-queen still, since her daughter lives, but her son, the "hopeful prince," is dead. The king asks her forgiveness, but she utters not a word to him, despite the fact that she "hangs about his neck." "If she pertain to life, let her speak too!" demands Camillo, but Hermione speaks only to and of her daughter (*WT* 5.3.112–13). Performing another intercession, Hermione asks the gods to pour their graces on her daughter's head, but this is a traditional maternal blessing, not a queen's mediation. In fact, Hermione hesitates even to look upon the object of her last intercession, Polixenes; certainly she never speaks to him, her sparkling language now silenced. Leontes is fully in control; it is he who delivers the play's final lines, directing Camillo to take Paulina in marriage, Hermione and Polixenes to look upon one another, and the entire company to depart.

Perhaps in the "wide gap of time" to come, the potential for a fully restored mother-queen exists, but at the end of *The Winter's Tale*, it seems that Hermione has been only partly resurrected. Her tentative presence in this final scene may be necessary in order to allay the fears that Shakespeare has insinuated by portraying powerful, and powerfully disruptive, mothers such as Tamora, Margaret, Volumnia, and even Titania. If the specter of a dangerous

and damaging royal queen is to be banished and Leontes' authority is to be secure, Hermione must be the silent and deferential figure that Shakespeare stages at the conclusion of *The Winter's Tale*.

Notes

1. *Royal Mothers and Their Ruling Children: Wielding Political Authority from Antiquity to the Early Modern Era*, eds. Elena Woodacre and Carey Fleiner (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), 1.
2. Mary Beth Rose, *Plotting Motherhood in Medieval, Early Modern, and Modern Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 61–65.
3. Cited by Rose, *Plotting Motherhood*, 64.
4. Rose, *Plotting Motherhood*, 74.
5. Rose, *Plotting Motherhood*, 74–76. John Luis Vives, *A very frutefull and pleasant boke called the instruction of a Christen woman*, trans. Richard Hyrde (London: 1529). All quotations from this book refer to *The Instruction of a Christen Woman*, trans. Richard Hyrde, eds. Virginia Walcott Beauchamp, Elizabeth H. Hageman, and Margaret Mikesell (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2002). See p. 150.
6. Mary Villeponteaux, *The Queen's Mercy: Gender and Judgment in Representations of Elizabeth I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), 1–17.
7. Sid Ray, *Mother Queens and Princely Sons: Rogue Madonnas in the Age of Shakespeare* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 9.
8. Michelle A. White, "'She is the man, and Raignes': Popular Representations of Henrietta Maria during the English Civil Wars," in *Queens and Power in Medieval and Early Modern England*, eds. Carole Levin and Robert Bucholz (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2009), 205–223, see 216–18.
9. William Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *King Henry VIII (All Is True)*, ed. Gordon McMullan, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), 1.2.9.
10. Paul Strohm shows that earlier medieval queens had access to more directly powerful roles; he reads the role of mediatrix as a marginalized queenly role that evolved as the institutional basis for queenly authority eroded. *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 95. Julie Crawford makes a very different argument about the role of mediatrix in the politically important kinship networks of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. In her study of Mary Sidney Herbert, Margaret Hoby, Lucy Harington Russell, and Mary Wroth, Crawford analyzes the powerful role these women played in the production of literary texts and in the political culture of early modern England. *Mediatrix: Women, Politics, and Literary Production in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).
11. See Frances Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Notre Dame, IN.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1999), 289, and Ray, *Rogue Madonnas*, 42–43.
12. William Shakespeare, *Coriolanus*, ed. Peter Holland, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 5.3.158–59; 123–24.
13. Janet Adelman, *Suffocating Mothers: Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare's Plays,* Hamlet *to* The Tempest (London: Routledge, 1992), 146–61.

14. Ray, *Rogue Madonnas*, 123.
15. Ray, *Rogue Madonnas*, 124.
16. William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. John Pitcher, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), 1.2.28–29.
17. Donna C. Woodford, "Nursing and Influence in *Pandosto* and *The Winter's Tale*" in *Performing Maternity in Early Modern England*, eds. Kathryn Moncrief and Kathryn R. McPherson (Farnham: Ashgate, 2007), 183–196, see 189.
18. See Charles Fantazzi's introduction in Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, ed. and trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 2.
19. Valerie Schutte, "Under the Influence: The Impact of Queenly Book Dedications" in *The Birth of a Queen: Essays on the Quincentenary of Mary I*, ed. Sarah Duncan and Valerie Schutte (New York: Palgrave Macmillan 2016), 31–47, see 33.
20. Vives, trans. Hyrde, 11.
21. Vives, trans. Hyrde, 11.
22. Vives, trans. Hyrde, 133.
23. Vives, trans. Hyrde, 148.
24. Vives, trans. Hyrde, 149.
25. Vives, trans. Hyrde, 149.
26. Felicity Dunworth, *Mothers and Meaning on the Early Modern English Stage* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), 131–32.
27. Mary Ellen Lamb, "Engendering the Narrative Act: Old Wives' Tales in *The Winter's Tale*, *Macbeth*, and *The Tempest*," *Criticism* 40 (1998): 529–53.
28. Vives, trans. Hyrde, 145.
29. Helen Hackett explores the connection between the female generation of stories and of "issue" in *The Winter's Tale*, concluding that this late play comes close to surrendering to this feminine power, rather than placing it under patriarchal control. "'Gracious Be the Issue': Maternity and Narrative in Shakespeare's Late Plays" in *Shakespeare's Late Plays: New Readings*, eds. Jennifer Richards and James Knowles (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999), 25–39.
30. William Shakespeare, *Richard III*, ed. James R. Siemon, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2009).
31. Katharine Goodland, "'Obsequious Laments': Mourning and Communal Power in *Richard III*," *Religion and the Arts* 7.1–2 (2002): 31–64.
32. William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Jonathan Bate, Arden 3rd Series (London: Routledge, 1995), 1.1.108–109.
33. Marguerite A. Tassi, *Women and Revenge in Shakespeare: Gender, Genre, and Ethics* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2011), 117.
34. Rose, *Plotting Motherhood*, 64.

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PART IV

Queenship and Rhetoric

CHAPTER 10

Margaret of Anjou and the Rhetoric of Sovereign Vengeance

Liberty S. Stanavage

In his *Henry VI* tetralogy, Shakespeare introduces one of his most rhetorically powerful female characters, Margaret of Anjou, a personage who is also continually obsessed with revenging perceived wrongs against her. Shakespeare incorporates the vengeful Margaret as central to the kingdom's descent into bloodshed. In this representation of the chaotic Wars of the Roses, Margaret plays a historically disproportionate role in shaping both the political landscape and the attitudes of those around her. It is not just her role as a political agent, but her actions as a self-described revenger that destabilize the English landscape. While revenge is a deranging force for the men in the play, one that degrades their humanity, for Margaret it is a rhetorical force that allows her to construct effective agency.[1] Although she continually justifies her revenge with wrongs done to the men associated with her, she uses her identity as revenger to establish a sovereign authority that she never legally possesses.[2] In contrast to young Clifford, who is transformed by revenge and incapable of shifting from his unyielding pursuit of it, Margaret is capable of instantly changing "hate to love" should it serve her needs (3H6 3.3.199). Unlike Warwick, who emphasizes a need to revenge that forestalls other emotion, Margaret can both forgive and "quite forget" prior wrongs (3H6 3.3.200).

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M.L. Stapleton notes Margaret's connections with Senecan figures such as Medea, arguing for her as a *femina furens* who is "androgynous in her words and deeds; capable of sorrow, pity, and anger at the weakness of her poor silly ass of a husband."[3] This analysis explicitly links her ability to feel anger with a compromised or complicated gender identity. And critics discussing Margaret have frequently described her as "masculine" or "androgynous," and her revenging wrath as fundamentally masculine. However, Margaret's agency is explicitly marked as feminine, linked inextricably with her identification as queen, mother, and wife.

I contend that Margaret's queenly revenge here does not fit a binary model of gender, but is instead represented as dangerously, degeneratively *unmasculine*. This should not be surprising if one takes into account Stoic discourses of the passions that label excess of *any* emotion as unmasculine. Senecan Stoicism (which had enjoyed a cultural resurgence with the neo-Stoic wave of the 1560s) highlights the dangers of yielding to the violently anti-social passions, those that continually inflame each other. The harnessing of revenge to Margaret's anti-social purposes underscores the dehumanizing nature of the emotion. Her comfort with these unconstrained emotions similarly makes sense within the context of Elizabethan ideas about female instability and the dangers of the female body. Her passionate embrace of revenge estranges the one-sex Galenic body still prevalent in the popular imagination from its civilized humanity (imagined as the ideal masculine subject) and infects those characters around her with the dehumanizing passion of revenge.[4]

Revenge as a Rhetoric of Empowerment

Castigating the York court in *Richard III*, Margaret represents herself as the legitimate authority against whom the others have rebelled:

> Little joy enjoys the queen thereof,
> For I am she, and altogether joyless.
> I can no longer hold me patient.
> Hear me you wrangling pirates, that fall out
> In sharing that which you have pilled from me.
> Which of you trembles not that looks on me?
> If not that I am queen, you bow like subjects,
> yet that by you deposed, you quake like rebels.[5]

According to Margaret, she remains the queen of England, and the usurping Yorkists are "pirates" who have pillaged her possessions. This is a deliberate rhetorical strategy; she invokes both her former queenship and her current exile to position the listening Yorkists as her inferiors, either "subjects" or "rebels." Her authority in this speech comes not from her legal or social circumstances, but from her self-identification as a queen. Margaret's claims to revenge upend the legal structure of monarchic authority, positioning herself suddenly

as regent where she has only been consort or queen mother. This contrasts markedly with the "revenging fire" of the house of York in *Henry VI, Part 2*, predicated on revenging a wrong done to the kingdom by the "shameful murder of a guiltless king."[6] In contrast to Margaret's focus upon achieving her individual desires, the members of the house of York claim to reassert social stability and the proper legal order (perhaps an example of Bacon's "for the most part fortunate" public revenge).[7] Furthermore, Margaret's claims are founded not in an appeal to law, but in her assertion of an unchanging sovereignty independent of legal realities.

Although it has become commonplace to say so, it bears repeating that revenge is represented as anti-social in the sixteenth century.[8] The obsession with revenge as a fundamentally destructive force is particularly heightened in English drama of the 1580s and 1590s, wherein early revenge tragedies repeatedly imagined the destruction of the state from private revenge. Bacon's characterization of revenge as "a kind of wild justice, which the more man's nature runs to the more ought law to weed it out" reinforces Plutarch's injunctions on taking profit from an enemy.[9] The 1531 translation "Howe one maye take profite of his enemye" argues that

> it is moche bet-ter in beinge exercised with checkes, rebukes/ & hatreds of enmyes, to use to subdue anger / and not to chaffe whan thou arte yll spoke to. Therfore on this wyse one ought to use sobrenes, great mynde, and gentyl-nes is more acordyng in frendshyppes. For it is not so homnest to deserve well of a frende, as hit it shame not to do his, as ofte as need requireth. But yet it is taken for gentilnes, whan chaunce gyventh occasion / to set passe and not to be revenged on thyn enmye.
>
> But he that receyneth not his good wyll, & prayseth not his gentylnes, that soroweth the offence of his enmie, & helpeth hym, if he desire it / & taketh some hede to his children, or to his house / that is in peryll, truly *he hath an herte of adyamant, or else of yron*.[10]

The text argues for returning enmity with good deeds, holding this action as an ideal to aspire to. Strikingly, here, this ideal individual is characterized as possessing a "heart of adamant, or else of iron." Rather than the negative sense a contemporary reader might ascribe to a hard heart, here it is evidence of an ability to resist the malign influence of ill treatment. The Oxford English Dictionary notes this particular use of a heart of adamant "*fig.* The quality of not being easily destroyed, overcome, or affected: having a quality of being unmovable, inflexible, or unsusceptible to even strong emotions, esp. of sympathy or affection (esp. in ***heart of adamant***)."[11] In the context of vengeance, an adamantine heart suggests a masculine fixity that resists excesses of emotion and cleaves to reason. The dictates of revenge remove social bonds from the revenger, something that robs male characters of the social network so essential to early modern masculine experience and that robs female characters of social strictures that restrain them.

Margaret's actions throughout the *Henry VI* tetralogy follow a pattern of aggressive self-assertion circumventing such social strictures. Her affront in *Henry VI, Part 2* at Gloucester's control over the monarchy—"shall King Henry be a pupil still/ Under the surly Gloucester's governance" (*2H6* 1.3.47–8)—might initially seem focused on assisting Henry in reasserting the social order. Her subsequent words, however, show that this concern stems from anxiety about her own authority: "Am I a queen in title and in style, / And must I be made subject to a Duke?" (*2H6* 1.3.49–50). Her subsequent rejection of Henry's valor demonstrates that her concern is never with Henry's power (whom she claims she would gladly pack off to become pope if she could), but with her own.[12] In fact, her first vengeance is voiced not against the Duke for this control, but against his Duchess for her insults to Margaret's lineage:

> Shall I not live to be avenged on her?
> […]
> She vaunted 'mongst her minions t'other day
> The very train of her worst-wearing gown
> Was better worth than all my father's lands,
> Till Suffolk gave two dukedoms for his daughter. (*2H6* 1.3.83–8)

Prioritizing the Duchess' slander to Margaret makes clear that Margaret's claims to revenge are not about consolidating her position as the wife of the king, but about reaffirming her sense of her own lineage and authority. The Duchess' insult does not pertain to Margaret's current status, but is about Margaret's origins, and represents claims that threaten to unmake Margaret's identification of herself as a prince in her own right, and instead portray her as an inferior supplicant. Margaret's assertion of her right to revenge verbally reinscribes the legitimacy of her claims.[13]

Throughout the tetralogy, Margaret repeatedly represents her motives as simply a desire to redress wrongs done to her. Upon hearing Henry's mourning plaints for Gloucester in *Henry VI, Part 2*, Margaret immediately reasserts her supposedly wronged position, claiming that she is offended by his grief itself as her state is more pitiful than that of the dead Gloucester: "be woe for me, more wretched than he is" (*2H6* 3.2.73). In fact, her extended monologue constructs Henry as a murderer, killing her with his disdain and his "flinty heart" (*2H6* 3.2.99), and herself as the "witched" (*2H6* 3.2.119) Dido, deceived into a self-destructive love. Although this speech clearly lacks any basis in reality, it nevertheless provides her with a rhetorically grounded justification for her affair with Suffolk and her actions to undermine Henry. Just as Suffolk calls for his "vengeful sword" (*2H6* 3.2.198) to defend him against the (accurate) charge of murder, so too does Margaret construct a revenge in opposition to her actual circumstances. However, unlike Suffolk, who claims slander as a simple defense, a way of forestalling retribution, Margaret uses her claims to justify her future actions. As with her cursing of "threefold vengeance" upon

the King and Warwick for Suffolk's exile, Margaret grounds her revenge in an extra-social code of justice predicated on her own desires.[14]

Margaret's ability to employ the rhetoric of revenge to further her ends contrasts with other revengers in these texts, such as Young Clifford. Upon discovering the body of his father in *Henry VI, Part 2*, Young Clifford verbally surrenders his identity. He describes the effects of wrath in estranging him from his humanity:

> Even at this sight
> My heart is turned to stone, and while 'tis mine
> It shall be stony. York not our old men spares;
> No more will I their babes. Tears virginal
> Shall be to me even as the dew to fire,
> And beauty that the tyrant oft reclaims
> Shall to my flaming wrath be oil and flax.
> Henceforth I will not have to do with pity.
> Meet I an infant of the house of York,
> into as many gobbets will I cut it
> As wild Medea young Absyrtus did. (*2H6* 5.2.49–59)

Beauty that would reclaim even a "tyrant" can no longer touch Clifford. Wrath and vengeful passion are opposed to pity and civilized conventions of war that forbid the slaughter of women and children. In contrast to Margaret, who uses revenge to justify her choices, young Clifford denies his capacity for any choice at all, claiming to be unable to feel anything other than wrath or to do anything but obey its vengeful dictates. The negation of his social identity is underscored by his description of his father's corpse as "thou new ruin of old Clifford's house," (*2H6* 5.2.61). His father's death betokens the ruin of his house, since his son now serves vengeance instead of posterity.

Clifford's allusion here is telling. His "flaming wrath" and lack of pity are not cast as masculine, but like the female (monstrous) Medea. According to Alison Findlay, Medea exemplifies "the epitome of fanatic female vengeance" for a Renaissance audience.[15] Violenta, for instance, in William Painter's 1566 *The Palace of Pleasure*, is "inchaunted with wrathe, rage, and furie, like an other Medea," in her murderous vengeance on her unfaithful husband.[16] This identification with Medea does not, however, apply only to those in similar situations. Spenser's Adicia, the evil wife of the Souldan in Book 5 of the *Faerie Queene*, is identified with Medea in her desire to be avenged.[17] Adicia is marked out as "furious." Despite her passion that outstrips even the Maenads, she is rational. She "gather[s] vnto her her trovbled wit" to "deuise" revenge. This rage is striking both in its overt gendering, as female rage, and in the universalizing of this rage to associate notably disparate motives and actions. However, while Violenta—like Medea—revenges herself on a faithless husband, Adicia seeks revenge *for* her husband on the woman she blames for his death. Despite her protective maternal concern, "like an enraged cow" bereft of her calf, her

rage associates her with unnaturalness, with unnatural mothers, Medea and Ino, and with the Maenads, symbols of irrationality. This rage becomes a unifying descriptor, rather than a marker of unique depravity, a rage that can even be outdone by a later revenger (as Adicia's case suggests).

In discussing Renaissance transformations of Medea, Katherine Heavey traces a pattern of changes that she argues render Medea less threatening: "It is clear that these translations all betray a desire to limit the autonomy and agency they find so alarming in Medea, either by making her more personally vulnerable, or by suggesting some higher power or future punishment that will see her held to account."[18] I would suggest, however, that this humanization of the two carries additional repercussions for the role of the passions and broader human failure in the text. This humanization does not simply make Medea less threatening (after all, she still destroys Corinth); it reduces the sense of her uniqueness, renders her more universal. Any woman, or in fact, anyone, can fail in this way.

Clifford's focus on vengeance positions him not simply against civilized mores and gendered expectations, but also against legal and social structures. In *Henry VI, Part 3* Clifford notes that his revenge takes priority over law or ethics:

> King Henry, be thy title right or wrong,
> Lord Clifford vows to fight in thy defence.
> May that ground gape and swallow me alive
> Where I shall kneel to him that slew my father.[19]

Regardless of the legitimacy of Henry's title, Clifford claims, he must fight for him because he cannot submit to his father's murderer. Clifford here rejects the divinely appointed nature of kingship, the good of the kingdom, and his own role as a rational human being. He aligns his vengeance with the natural world, opposed to socially constructed rules of status, asking the ground to gape and swallow him if he acts against the demands of vengeance; Clifford holds no other allegiances, either to self or nation. In contrast, Margaret rejects these ties outright and is thus able to maneuver between and invoke them for her advantage.

Margaret's ability to consciously employ revenge in *Henry VI, Part 3* can be seen in her immediate reconciliation with Warwick upon his return to the Queen's cause: "Warwick, these words have turned my hate to love, / And I forgive and quite forget old faults / and joy that you becom'st King Henry's friend" (*3H6* 3.3.199–201). This presents a dramatic contrast to the prior rancor that colored her speeches toward Warwick, whom she decries only forty lines before as "impudent and shameless" (*3H6* 3.3.156). Unlike Clifford, who cannot abandon his unyielding pursuit of revenge, even if his target is acknowledged as the rightful heir, Margaret is capable of instantly changing "hate to love" should it serve her needs. Unlike Warwick, who emphasizes his burning need for revenge, a need that forestalls all other emotion, Margaret can delight,

forgive, and "quite forget" prior wrongs. Despite defying social networks and conventions in the pursuit of her revenge, Margaret is able to manipulate them, using her rhetorically constructed wronged identity as a tool with which to control others, rather than being controlled herself.

Gender and Revenge in the Sixteenth Century

Critics such as Alison Findlay have noted the feminine and "effeminizing" nature of revenge in classical texts, such as Juvenal's satires—which suggest that pursuing revenge emasculates the revenger. The difference between Margaret and her male counterparts would therefore be a logical one of affiliation: if revenge is "effeminizing," then it would make female revengers more female, thus empowering them and enabling them to avoid the fragmented identities of their male counterparts.[20] This thinking depends upon a two-sex model of human physiology in which to become more female is to become essentially greater, to become "more" something. However, being "effeminized" is a fundamentally different thing in a Galenic model, the dominant model of the sixteenth century, where feminine characteristics and traits are not alternatives but absences.

As numerous critics have mapped, the Galenic, humoral model of gender promotes an idea of women as simply less fully developed, and therefore inferior, men. The male body becomes the ideal human body, and female is simply a lower status on a scale defined by the absence of male perfection (an ideal that actual male bodies cannot themselves achieve, remaining in the words of Mark Breitenberg "inherently anxious"[21]). Similarly, the Senecan passions are not coded as *opposite* to masculine reason, but rather as representing an *absence* of it.[22] In accordance with ideas of female physiology that, according to Gail Kern Paster, read the leaking and permeable female form as indicating "women's inability to control the workings of her own body," Margaret refuses to control her desires.[23] The threat of degeneration is highlighted by anxieties that join effeminate men and women in their "leaky" and permeable bodies. Gender here functions in the context of performance; as Bruce R. Smith has argued about early modern masculinity, "masculinity […] is a matter of contingency, of circumstances, of performance."[24] In line with the other hierarchical structures that (albeit contestably) frame the Renaissance imagination, gender as another imagined hierarchy describes the performance of civilized and social humanity, from a pinnacle of unachievable masculine fixity to monstrous beastliness at its base.[25] Putting aside the familiar rhetoric of gender as binary, English sixteenth-century gender identification is understandable as marking the state of being more or less fully *human*.

Margaret's ability to change her attitudes and the root of her sovereignty so rapidly, a mutability that undermines the civilized world of the court (and evokes the strife of the Wars of the Roses, with their shifting loyalties, that underlies the violence of the tetralogy as a whole), is thus precisely what enables her rhetorical empowerment. Her mutability allows her to use

revenge as a tool without being alienated from an identity that is itself (in her femaleness, her foreignness, and her embrace of vengeance) already estranged from fully civilized Englishness. She uses revenge to draw others under her pervasive influence through her rhetoric, her stinging rebuke or impassioned injunction.

Their attitudes to the murder of Rutland in *Henry VI, Part 3* highlight the differences between Clifford's and Margaret's relationships to revenge. Rebuked by the nameless Tutor who claims that the act will make Clifford "hated both of God and man" (*3H6* 1.3.9), Clifford replies that the need for revenge has cut him off from such concerns: "my father's blood / Hath stopped the passage where thy words should enter" (*3H6* 1.3.21–2). He notes that Rutland's words "should enter" into his heart, but these social channels of communication have been literally cut off, "stopped," by his revenge imperative.[26] He argues that the blood of all York's sons could not assuage him:

> Had I thy brethren here, their lives and thine
> Were not revenge sufficient for me.
> No—if I digged up thy forefather's graves,
> And hung their rotten coffins up in chains,
> It could not slake mine ire nor ease my heart.
> The sight of any of the house of York
> Is as a fury to torment my soul.
> And till I root out their accursed line,
> And leave not one alive, I live in hell. (*3H6* 1.3.25–33)

Clifford "live[s] in hell," tormented by the need to avenge his father, and, living in hell, commits "hellish" deeds. Not content with murder, Clifford verbally enacts grave-robbing and desecration as well as an absolute blood-feud that eradicates all trace of the Clifford name from the Earth. Like Margaret, he transgresses the bounds of civil behavior in his revenge, but unlike her, his vengeance takes control over his actions; it, not him, is central to his narrative.

In her revenge upon York in Act 1, scene 4 of *Henry VI, Part 3*, Margaret explicitly connects Rutland's murder and York's suffering with her own pleasure and satisfaction. Unlike Clifford, Margaret revels in her revenge. Despite her claim when she stabs York that she is doing so to right the wrongs done to Henry, her prior speeches make it clear that the motive is her own anger over being exiled from her position as queen. The body of the speech shows her focus on her own desires:

> Look York, I stained this napkin with the blood
> That valiant Clifford with his dagger's point
> made issue from the bosom of thy boy.
> And if thine eyes can water for his death,
> I give thee this to dry thy cheeks withal.
> Alas poor York, but that I hate thee deadly

> I should lament thy miserable state.
> I prithee, grieve, to make me merry, York. (*3H6* 1.4.79–86)

Margaret's use of a bloody napkin—memorial of *his* son's death—as a mocking comfort to York and her insistence on tormenting instead of simply killing him, mark her as concerned with something more than removing a threat. It is her hatred for York that inspires her actions. If she did not "hate [York] deadly," she would mourn his state, and her sympathy would forestall her actions. While she does claim, like Clifford, that her hatred estranges her from pity, she is not cut off from emotion. Instead, she directs him to "grieve, to make me merry." This torment is performed for Margaret's pleasure, and it is expressly her own desire for revenge that motivates and enables the torture. Unlike Clifford, who is wracked by a torment that even Rutland's death cannot assuage, the queen revels in her ability to control and direct others.

Gwynne Kennedy notes the association of revenge with pleasure for female characters anticipating or enacting it and argues that this association discredits those characters' legitimacy, remarking that the plays she maps, "present […] the pleasures their female characters take in contemplating or enacting their revenge in ways that, in conjunction with other strategies, significantly affect the women's virtue and both the legitimacy and success of their desires."[27] Margaret's expressed pleasure highlights both her immorality and the artificiality of her revenging persona. While Clifford commits atrocities in the name of vengeance, doing so requires an essential negation of his identity, a self-destruction occasioned by overwhelming passions that control and transform him. Margaret's contrary ability to manipulate these passions for rhetorical empowerment and satisfaction marks her as threatening in how she can shift her allegiances and approaches in service of satisfaction, a state Clifford has been rendered incapable of by revenge.

Margaret and (Anti-)Social Agency

Margaret employs revenge as a rhetoric to create a position of anti-social and passionate agency. In doing so, she acts with psychological consistency compatible with an early modern understanding of the mind and the passions. In neo-classical understanding, emotion is fully embodied: the Aristotelian humors affecting the Galenic body, driving human behavior through physiological processes that are simultaneously psychological. At the same time, the influence of neo-Stoic philosophy marks this as dangerous territory, a psychological landscape mapped on the body as a terrain of warfare between reason and the passions. Emotion is thus not only inherent to the body, but perilous in excess. While these concepts are nothing new to the Renaissance, they also exist alongside the development of an inherently anxious sense of identity, one that is expressly relational, not solely external or internal, but focused on the negotiation of these two spheres.

John Jeffries Martin argues for the complex and social nature of Renaissance identity, which he contends was not focused around the discrete self (either fragmented or contained) of modern imaginings, but instead concerned with uncertain boundaries and the situation of the self within its broader social context:

> Renaissance identities (no matter which particular form they assumed) were almost always anxious identities, uncertain about the nature of the boundaries between what not only well-known writers and artists but also ordinary men and women viewed as a kind of wall between the inner and the outer "self" [...] Renaissance identities, that is, were less about adopting a particular stance to the world than about the question of how different stances might affect one's relations to the world and, in particular, one's relation to other human beings.[28]

For Martin, the "self" is about negotiation of identity, rather than simply its assertion by the individual or its creation by outside forces. Martin's version of Renaissance identity suggests a process spanning social classes, one that reflects an epochal uncertainty about the boundaries of interiority as well as the uncertain position of the individual in their society.

Like Martin's model of the Renaissance "self," the theatrical "self" constructed and reasserted by Margaret is relational, one profoundly concerned with its social connections to others, but monstrously dangerous in her conscious manipulation of these connections. Moving from "daughter of a king" (5.2.72) in *Henry VI, Part* 1, and from slighted queen to wronged lover to threatened royal in *Henry VI, Part 2*, Margaret redefines herself at the outset of *Henry VI, Part 3* as queen mother:

> Ah, wretched man, would I had died a maid
> And never seen thee, never borne thee son,
> Seeing thou hast proved so unnatural a father [...]
> Hadst thou but loved him half so well as I,
> Or felt that pain which I did for him once,
> Or nourished him as I did with my blood,
> Thou wouldst have left thy dearest heart-blood there
> Rather than [...]
> disinherited thine only son. (*3H6* 1.1.216–25)

It is Margaret who has loved and suffered for her son, and Margaret who has "nourished him [...] with [her] blood." Henry's disinheritance of Edward marks him as an "unnatural father," empowering her to reject his royal authority and take control of their son. Margaret rhetorically mediates Edward's claim to kingship through her parenthood, not Henry's, despite her lack of English blood.

In rejecting Henry's actions as "unnatural" and claiming primary parenthood of the disenfranchised heir to the throne, Margaret creates a royal identity independent of the marriage that has legally rendered her an English royal.

> I now divorce myself
> Both from thy table, Henry, and thy bed,
> Until that act of Parliament be repealed
> Whereby my son is disinherited.
> The northern lords that have forsworn thy colors
> Will follow mine, if once they see them spread—
> And spread they shall be, to thy foul disgrace
> And the utter ruin of the house of York. (*3H6* 1.1.247–54)

Usurping the power of a later English sovereign in her legal language, Margaret "divorces" herself from Henry. While still legally bound by the marriage contract, Margaret verbally severs their connections and claims Edward as "my son." And Margaret's claim of authority is not simply by proxy; the northern lords will follow *her* colors, not Edward's, and *her* troops will march to both York's ruin and Henry's "foul disgrace." York refers to "the army of the Queen" pursuing him, not the army of the prince (*3H6* 1.4.1). Margaret, who earlier in the trilogy claimed to stab York to right the wrong done to "our gentle-hearted king", and who later, in *Richard III*, rebukes the Yorkists for depriving her of her husband, here denies both his role as king and as husband (*3H6* 1.4.176). She uses her association with Henry only at those moments that it is advantageous to her in creating a position of "queenly" agency to pursue her goals. In her suit to the court of King Lewis in *Henry VI, Part 3*, Margaret defines her husband and son in relation to herself and her desires: she describes Henry as the "sole possessor of [Margaret's] love," and Prince Edward as "my son, Prince Edward, Henry's heir" (*3H6* 3.3.24, 31). In Margaret's speech, the men's royal roles are secondary to their relationships to her, and her suit to win Bona's hand for Prince Edward is *her* suit, not his (*3H6* 3.3.142). This ability to fluidly shift her claims to authority while maintaining continuously her status as queen seems key to her success in constituting herself as a revenger.

Even when she is deprived of her husband and son by their deaths, she uses this deprivation as a means of empowerment. Although her initial response to the death of her son is an appeal to be killed, she swiftly regroups. Before the speech is out, she has metamorphosed her plaints into retributive curses: "But if you ever chance to have a child / Look in his youth to have him so cut off / As, deathsmen, you have rid this young sweet Prince!" (*3H6* 5.5.65–7). By the time of her exit, she extends her curse to charge that "So come to you and yours as to this Prince!" (*3H6* 5.4.82). In her chastisement of the Yorkists in *Richard III*, Margaret describes her missing relations as a debt owed to her by their murderers:

> A husband and a son thou ow'st to me,
> And thou a kingdom; all of you allegiance.
> This sorrow that I have by right is yours,
> And all the pleasures you usurp are mine. (*R3* 1.3.169–72)

In this speech, her dead son and husband are her possessions that have been stolen and her relation to the dead men is the justification for her curses. Even with this position, however, she makes clear that revenge is her vehicle for empowerment rather than a process for attempting to redress wrongs. Margaret denies any similar debt for Rutland's death, arguing it ridiculous that her losses "should all but answer for that peevish brat" (*R3* 1.3.193). Margaret is not arguing for divine justice, but suggesting that divine retribution can be manipulated, first by "York's dread curse" and now her "quick curses" (*R3* 1.3.190, 195).

Margaret gives voice to cultural attitudes about emotional regulation, even while underscoring how they fail to constrain her. Presented with her lover's death in *Henry VI, Part 2*, she attempts to cast revenge as a restorative force, and anger as a countermeasure to grief. Gazing upon the severed head of Suffolk, Margaret attempts to invoke revenge as a way of staving off the "degenerate" influence of grief:

> Oft have I heard that grief softens the mind,
> And makes it fearful and degenerate;
> Think therefore on revenge and cease to weep.
> But who can cease to weep and look on this?
> Here may his head lie on my throbbing breast,
> But where's the body I should embrace? (*2H6* 4.4.1–6)

While Margaret initially voices the idea that grief damages the body and posits revenge as a corrective measure, her attempt to position anger in opposition to grief collapses as revenge fails to distance her from it. Not only does thinking on revenge fail to forestall weeping, but Margaret also suggests the impossibility of being unmoved by grief at such a sight: "who can cease to weep […]?" These commingled passions, suggests Margaret, are universal, despite young Clifford's rejection of any other emotion.

Her drive for revenge mixes not only with grief but also with lustful desire as she rhetorically reconstructs an adulterous liaison with her dead lover; his severed head lies on her "throbbing breast" and she desires to "embrace" his absent body. Her rapid shifts between emotions here are echoed elsewhere: her shift "from hate to love" at Warwick's defection to Henry's cause, her change from "mourning weeds" to "armour" on her return from France (*3H6* 3.3 229–30), her commingling of hatred and pleasure in her torment of York, and her gloating over the distressed Queens and Duchess of York in *Richard III* (*R3* 4.4.61–78). Deborah Willis notes this association of vengeful and sexual desires, focusing on Shakespeare's Tamora and arguing that her sexuality works

"to underscore the *incontinence* of her revenge."[29] It is this same incontinence that Margaret demonstrates in the inseparability of emotional states. The harnessing of revenge to Margaret's anti-social purposes disrupts other social bonds, influencing others to embrace revenge, either to counter her (as with the Duchess of Gloucester in *Henry VI, Part 2*) or in allegiance.

In *Henry VI, Part 3*, Lady Bona invokes her need for revenge to help obtain Lewis' aid for Margaret's cause, appealing to her brother "how shall Bona be revenged / But by thy help to this distressèd Queen?" (*3H6* 3.3.212–13) and arguing that "my quarrel and the English Queen's are one" (*3H6* 3.3.216). In the same scene, both Warwick and King Lewis also align their quarrels to hers. Indeed, Lewis asserts that his military involvement is based specifically on revenge for a woman, for the wrongs done to Lady Bona, "I long till Edward fall by war's mischance / For mocking marriage with a dame of France" (*3H6* 3.3.254–5). While Warwick's desire for revenge is his own, his closing words reassert the power of this revenge imperative over him in his disregard for the rightness of Henry's cause: "Not that I pity Henry's misery, / But seek revenge on Edward's mockery" (*3H6* 3.3.264–5).

As I have noted, in *Richard III*, Margaret uses revenge to reassert her identity as queen, and uses rhetoric itself as her revenging action. While Margaret lacks legitimate moral grounds for her subsequent curses, her curses are later cited as prophetic. Facing death, Grey reminds Rivers of Margaret's curse, "Now Margaret's curse is fall'n upon our heads, / When she exclaimed on Hastings, you, and I, / For standing by when Richard stabbed her son" (*R3* 3.3.14–16). While he blames God's punishment for his lies, Buckingham links this punishment to Margaret's retaliatory curses: "Thus Margaret's curse falls heavy on thy neck: / 'When he,' quoth she, 'shall split thy heart with sorrow, / Remember Margaret was a prophetess'" (*R3* 5.1.25–7). Her rhetorical skill is also acknowledged by the women of the play, as the bereaved Queen Elizabeth implores Margaret to teach her to curse: "O thou, well skilled in curses, stay awhile / And teach me how to curse mine enemies" (*R3* 4.4.116–17). The "skil[l] in curses" that Elizabeth envies is Margaret's rhetorical deftness, clarified by her further suit, "My words are dull. O, quicken them with thine" (*R3* 4.4.124). Margaret's lesson stresses the artificially enhanced nature of her revenging rhetoric with advice to exaggerate the queen's woes,

> Think that thy babes were sweeter than they were,
> And he that slew them fouler than he is.
> Bettering thy loss makes the bad causer worse.
> Revolving this will teach thee how to curse. (*R3* 4.4.120–3)

Here Margaret acknowledges that the vengeful cursing she employs requires a deliberately altered identity that positions the speaker as wronged beyond the reality. To learn cursing, it seems, is to learn to create a rhetorical identity at odds with one's social context, an identity that asserts a deviant individual reality as fact.

To return to Stapleton's claims, Margaret does indeed demonstrate characteristics of the *femina furens*, yet notably helps to illustrate the ways that these characteristics are not androgynous or masculine, but explicitly *unmasculine* ones. In *Just Anger*, Gwynne Kennedy explains that Renaissance thought associated women more clearly with anger than men.[30] Despite Margaret's characterization by her foes as hard and unwomanly, according to Henry she can express pity and grief as movingly as she expresses anger:

> She's a woman to be pitied much.
> Her sighs will make a batt'ry in his breast,
> Her tears will pierce into a marble heart,
> The tiger will be mild while she doth mourn,
> And Nero will be tainted with remorse. (*3H6* 3.1.36–40)

Margaret's rhetoric is thus unnaturally powerful; the tiger is estranged from its natural fierceness and the hard marble becomes permeable. Even the most unrepentant tyrant, Nero, would be "tainted with remorse". In an era that saw even virtuous female bodies as potentially contaminating, Margaret's ability to "taint" the untaintable marks her as threatening not simply bodily degeneracy but a broader social contagion, something intrinsically linked with female revenge in the Renaissance mind.[31] This potential for contamination speaks to the inherently "anxious" nature of early modern masculinity that arises, as Breitenberg suggests, from the "confrontation between the 'natural' superiority of men and the profound costs of maintaining that superiority."[32] Rather than denying the passions and resisting their transformative assaults on the fortress of reason, Margaret throws wide the gates, employing an artificially constructed vengeance and using it to fuel a rhetorical identity that renders her always sovereign and always justified in vengeance.

Notes

1. Critics such as Fredson Bowers, *Elizabethan Revenge Tragedy 1587–1642* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1959), John Kerrigan, *Revenge Tragedy: Aeschylus to Armaggedon* (Clarendon: Oxford, 1996), and Charles and Elaine Hallett, *The Revenger's Madness: A Study of Revenge Tragedy Motifs* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1980) have discussed the role of revenge as a self-alienating force for the revenger. In contrast, Tanya Pollard, "A Kind of Wild Medicine: Revenge as Remedy in Early Modern England," *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 50 (2005): 57–69, and Harry Keyishian, *The Shapes of Revenge: Victimization, Vengeance, and Vindictiveness in Shakespeare* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1995) have both argued for the healing properties of revenge, with well-nuanced work, but arguments that seem to me less applicable to figures like Young Clifford. Recent work on feminine revenge by critics such as Alison Findlay, *A Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1999), Gwynne Kennedy, "Gender and the Pleasures of Revenge," in *Feminisms and Early Modern Texts: Essays for Phyllis Rackin*, eds. Rebecca Ann

Bach and Gwynne Kennedy (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), 152–71; and Marguerite Tassi, *Women and Revenge in Shakespeare: Gender, Genre, and Ethics* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2011), among others, have questioned the traditional masculine type of the early modern dramatic revenger by examining models of female vengeance on the Renaissance stage. Where Tassi sees a call for justice in these figures assertion of their individual female concerns, and Findlay sees it as a means of gaining self-determination, Kennedy notes the ways that the pleasure women take in revenge is used to undermine their virtue and legitimacy as revengers.

2. Foundational work on Queen Margaret's pronounced role in the histories was done by Jean Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Account of Shakespeare's English Histories* (New York: Routledge, 1997). In considering Queen Margaret as a revenger, I draw on critical work about the revenge tragedy. Revenge is not simply an obsession for the English in their tragic drama, but in their sense of their own often bloody history. In extending this work across genres, I am not trying to dispute the centrality of the revenge tragedy to the revenge tradition, but to show the ways in which this theme is not merely central to this one (admittedly influential) type of play, a claim similarly advanced by Kavita Mudan Finn in her discussion of the rhetoric of sovereignty in the Henry VI tetralogy, "Bloodlines and Blood Spilt: Historical Retelling and the Rhetoric of Sovereignty in Shakespeare's First Tetralogy," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 30 (2017): 126–46. Other critics have examined the role of revenge themes in other Shakespearean genres, such as Linda Anderson's discussion of revenge in Shakespeare's comedies, *A Kind of Wild Justice: Revenge in Shakespeare's Comedies* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003). Margurite Tassi also notes Queen Margaret as explicitly female and, notably, maternal in her revenge in *Women and Revenge in Shakespeare*, 124. However, her analysis of Margaret's revenge reads her as focused on justice, a position that plays against Margaret's willing rejection of broader value systems. Tassi argues that we need to reconsider the virtuous potential of revenge. Arguably, Margaret's contaminatory potential itself underscores the dangers of this potential sympathy.
3. M.C. Stapleton, "'I of Old Contemptes Complayne': Margaret of Anjou and English Seneca," *Comparative Literary Studies* 43:1–2 (2006): 100–133, 105. Stapleton reads Margaret's extreme emotional range as indicating androgyny, feminine pity mixed with masculine anger, a mix he describes as explicitly derivative of Seneca.
4. Stephen Greenblatt has notably discussed the influence of Galenic physiology on Renaissance literature. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: the Circulation of Social Energy in Shakespeare's England* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Berkeley Press, 1988), see particularly 78–83, as have Thomas Laqueur, *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992), Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1993), and Bruce R. Smith, *Shakespeare and Masculinity:* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000). Janet Adelman qualifies this somewhat with her discussion of increased two sex models in "Making Defect Perfection: Shakespeare and the One-Sex Model," in *Enacting Gender on the Renaissance Stage*, edited by Viviana Comensoli and Anne Russell

(Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 23–52. Some other recent work has continued to challenge this influence in the Renaissance, such as Christian M. Billing, *Masculinity, Corporality and the English Stage, 1580–1635* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2008), but I take as an assumption for this study that the Galenic model had not yet been replaced in Elizabethan popular culture in the late 1580s and early 1590s, despite its replacement in medical treatises. While science may have been replacing the Galenic model, popular culture seems to have (as happens even now) lagged behind considerably. Moreover, in studying works that are as strongly influenced by Seneca as the revenge plays of the 1580s and 1590s, discounting the role of Galenic and Stoic ideas about women in their representations on the stage seems heavy handed.

5. William Shakespeare, *Richard III*, ed. James Siemons, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 1.3.154–162.
6. William Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part 2*, ed. Ronald Knowles, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1999), 4.1.97, 95.
7. Bacon asserts that public revenges "are for the most part fortunate" in serving the state and removing tyrants; public revenge restores the state, rather than degrades it. Bacon, "On Revenge," in *The Essayes or Counsels, Civill and Morall* (London: John Haviland/Hanna Barret, 1625), 21.
8. In fact, pain itself can be understood itself as having an anti-social effect. Michael Schoenfeldt argues that pain in Shakespeare "not only 'upsets and destroys the nature of the person who feels it,' as Aristotle argues; it also entails a profound disruption of the entire social network in which a person is embedded. Shakespeare suggests, moreover, that physical and emotional pain is best addressed by the diligent effort to restore that network." Schoenfeldt, "Shakespearean Pain," in *Shakespearean Sensations: Experiencing Literature in Early Modern England*, edited by Katherine A. Craik and Tanya Pollard (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2013), 206–207. The disruption Schoenfeldt charts can be remedied by a focus on reconnecting into society, turning the other cheek as both Classical and Christian philosophers counseled, but can also be drastically amplified by a turn to revenge, either as someone driven to it (like Young Clifford) or as someone who deliberately employs it (like Margaret).
9. Sir Francis Bacon, "On Revenge," 19.
10. Plutarchus Chaeronensis, and Thomas Elyot. *Howe One May Take Profite of His Enmyes [sic], Translated Out of Plutarche* (London: Thomas Berthelet, 1531), 10. Emphasis mine.
11. *OED Online* "adamant" *n*. 1.b.
12. Complaining to Suffolk of Henry's mild temperament in *Henry VI, Part 2*, Margaret bemoans: "all his mind is bent to holiness / […] I would the college of the cardinals / Would choose him Pope and carry him to Rome" (1.3.56–63).
13. As J.L. Austin argues, "performative utterances," like this oath are at least as important as the action they describe, and in many ways *are* the action. For Austin, the speech act is of primary importance, noting that the physical, bodily action described is in fact less significant: "the performance of which [act] is also the object of the utterance, but is far from being usually, even if it is ever, the *sole* thing necessary if the act is to be deemed to have been performed" Austin, *How to Do Things With Words* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1962), 8. Kavita Mudan Finn argues that Shakespeare emphasizes the role of speech in the

politics of the *Henry VI* tetralogy: "This emphasis on speech, on *theatrical* legitimacy in contrast to legitimacy through lineal succession […] completes the refashioning of the fifteenth century civil wars into an interconnected series of individual revenge tragedies that privilege the rhetorical conventions of that genre over straightforward political narrative" ("Bloodlines and Blood Spilt," 129). Notably, sixteenth-century treason law seems to recognize this power with the 1534 statute that Rebecca Lemon reminds us made speech itself prosecutable as treason. Lemon, *Treason By Words: Literature, Law, and Rebellion in Shakespeare's England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006) Chapter 1, particularly p. 8.

14. *Henry the Sixth, Part 2.* 3.2.304.
15. Findlay, *A Feminist Perspective on Renaissance Drama*, 53.
16. William Painter, *The Palace of Pleasure Beautified: Adorned and Well Furnished, with Pleasaunt Histories and Excellent Nouelles, Selected Out of Divers Good and Cammendable Authors* (London, John Kingston and Henry Denham/ Richard Tottell and William Jones, 1566), 299.

17. Streight downe she ranne, like an enraged cow,
    That is berobbed of her youngling dere,
    With knife in hand, and fatally did vow,
    To be revenged on that mayden messengere
    […]
    Like raging *Ino*, when with knife in hand
    She threw her husbands murdred infant out,
    Or fell *Medea*, when on *Colchicke* strand
    Her brothers bones she scattered all about;
    Or as that madding mother, mongst the rout
    Of *Bacchus* Priests her owne deare flesh did teare.
    Yet neither *Ino*, nor *Medea* stout,
    Nor all the *Moenades* so furious were,
    As this bold woman, when she saw that Damzell there. (5.8.45.1–47.9)

18. Katherine Heavey, "Translating Medea into the Sixteenth Century," *Appositions: Studies in Renaissance/Early Modern Literature and Culture* 1: Genres and Cultures, 2008. ISSN: 1946–1992, para. 8.
19. William Shakespeare, *Henry the Sixth Part 3*, eds. John D. Cox and Eric Rasmussen, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), 1.1.159–62, emphasis mine.
20. Gail Kern Paster discusses the equation of leakiness and femininity and the relation of emotions to the Galenic body in drama. See Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, particularly chapters 1–2 and Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
21. According to Breitenberg, "Masculinity is inherently anxious: according to this argument, anxiety is not a secondary effect of masculinity, nor simply an unpleasant aberration from what we might hypothetically understand as normative. […] Thus we may say that anxiety is not only a constituent element of masculinity but also that it is deployed in positive ways; more than merely an unpleasant symptom, anxiety is so endemic to patriarchy that the issue becomes not so much its identification but rather an analysis of the discourses that respond to

it—the compensatory or transferential strategies operating behind its representations and projections." Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 2.

22. Bruce R. Smith notes this conflict as a physiological process: "In his very person, therefore, an early modern man was subject to conflicting physiological imperatives: on the one hand, accept the promptings of blood that make you a man; on the other, be reasonable." Smith, *Shakespeare and Masculinity*, 21.
23. Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, 83.
24. Smith, *Shakespeare and Masculinity*, 4.
25. In this context, we might well consider the repeated reference to Margaret as an Amazon, a tiger, or a monster—these place her as less than human in her inhumane actions.
26. Gina Bloom details the role of sound as a material object in Renaissance thought, and notes the role of stopping the ears as a form of defense, preventing external influence. Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), ch. 3. Revenge, in its activation of the passionate body has physically stopped the ability of others to influence Young Clifford's actions, rendering him cut off from the social dynamics that compose society.
27. Gwynne Kennedy, "Gender and the Pleasures of Revenge," in *Feminisms and Early Modern Texts: essays for Phyllis Rackin*, edited by Rebecca Ann Bach and Gwynne Kennedy (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press, 2010), 153.
28. John Jeffries Martin, *Myths of Renaissance Individualism* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave/St. Martin's Press, 2004), 13–14.
29. Deborah Willis, "'The Gnawing Vulture': Revenge, Trauma Theory, and Titus Andronicus," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 53:1 (Spring 2002): 21–52. Emphasis Willis.
30. Gwynne Kennedy, *Just Anger: Representing Women's Anger in Early Modern England* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 2000).
31. Discussing the 1597 *The Problemes of Aristotle*, Janet Adelman notes that not simply menstrual blood, but even women's hair could be construed as dangerously contaminatory to the male body. Adelman, "Making Defect Perfection," particularly 30–33. Although Adelman is arguing for a shift from the Galenic model of gender, she also highlights the ways in which certain aspects of anxiety about female potential remain even in medical texts that were shifting these ideas.
32. Breitenberg, *Anxious Masculinities*, 2.

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CHAPTER 11

"I Can No Longer Hold Me Patient!": Margaret, Anger, and Political Voice in *Richard III*

Bella Mirabella

The role of women in Shakespeare's history plays has been the focus of significant scholarly analysis. Some scholars have argued that the women are subordinate, insignificant cogs in the masculine machines of government and war, while others have granted that in *Richard III*, for example, Margaret, Anne, Elizabeth, and the Duchess do at least establish a community of women and do, indeed, have agency—as evidenced through their cursing.[1] This chapter focuses on the power and significance of Queen Margaret's role in *Richard III* with regard to her anger, which I propose is the engine that drives her appearance. When Shakespeare has Margaret burst into Act 1, scene 3 does he present her as a crazy, angry hag, a marginal weird woman on the edge of sanity or does he grant her the "noble anger" for which Lear hopes?[2] I suggest that between these two extremes of anger—irrationality and nobility—we can find Shakespeare's construction of Margaret's performance.

Shakespeare went to a good deal of trouble to twist history, and bring Margaret into the play, since in reality she died in France before Richard usurped the English throne. Her presence is crucial to the play, and Shakespeare, making real the debate about anger, does not reiterate the prevailing stereotypes of women as unstable, irrational creatures, incapable of noble anger, but departs from this common notion to grant Margaret a political presence and a persuasive voice in his dramatic exploration of the final chapter of the War of the Roses.

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There are a number of angry women in Shakespeare who, like Margaret, have agency, defy and disrupt male authority, speak truth through clarity of voice, and who, through their determination, have a major effect on the outcome of the play. In *Othello*, it is Emilia who finally reveals the truth to the Moorish general, ignoring his threats by denouncing him as "ignorant as dirt," a "gull," a "dolt."[3] She then defies Iago's efforts to silence her with "I will not charm my tongue; I am bound to speak" (*Oth.* 5.2.185).[4] Emilia is similar to Paulina in *The Winter's Tale*, who, although not a queen, is a lady of the court. Paulina angrily defends Hermione, defies Leontes' condemnation of the queen and mocks the king's power in "What studied torments, tyrant, hast for me?" Calling the king a "fool, inconstant, / And damnable ingrateful," she identifies and speaks his misdeeds, and unlike Iago who silences Emilia, Leontes praises Paulina with "Thou didst speak but well."[5] Queen Hermione, unlike Desdemona, angrily defends herself against her husband's accusations calling him "villain," telling him, "you, my lord, / Do but mistake," that his actions will "grieve" him when he comes "to clearer knowledge" (*WT* 3.2.183–4). Earlier in the play, she has already condemned him with "her honourable grief," which "burns / Worse than tears drown" (*WT* 2.1.78, 80–1).[6]

In trying to uncover Margaret's importance in *Richard III*, I will concentrate on her anger, its interaction with patience, and cursing and consider whether she attains justifiable and hence noble anger. Anger is a powerful emotion that has great potential, as long as it is controlled. Although anger is "a vital ingredient in individual and social life," according to Carol and Peter Stearns, it is also an "elusive emotion, and as such, no society can hope for "coherence" if it allowed "a fully free indulgence in anger."[7] An overview of anger reveals that it is complex and has solicited contradictory evaluations since antiquity. While it appears amongst the Seven Deadly Sins, wrath is also recognized as a defense against evil, particularly in the hands of God.[8] In Romans 1:18, for example, God's wrath is described as "against all ungodliness and wickedness of men who by their wickedness suppress the truth" (4:26, 27). In Ephesians, humans are counseled: "Be angry but do not sin; do not let the sun go down on your anger, and give no opportunity to the devil."[9]

Ancient Greek philosophers such as Aristotle recognized the reality and necessity of anger in certain instances; in fact, according to Aristotle, to not get angry is a sign of a "deficiency," since "those who do not get angry at things that ought to make then angry are considered to be foolish."[10] The person "who gets angry at the right things and with the right people" is therefore to be "commended."[11] But Roman philosophers such as Marcus Aurelius were troubled by the abandonment of reason in anger. Seneca and the Stoics agreed that anger and extreme passions of any kind are dangerous and always to be avoided. People who are angry are "insane," according to Seneca; they lack self-control, have forgotten the meaning of decency, and most pointedly are "shut off from rational deliberation."[12]

Fifth-century theologian John Cassian (d. 435) describes anger as "poison of the heart."[13] Martin of Braga, writing about a century later, reasons that since

anger is always a sin, it can never correct a wrong. But to condemn anger completely can create a religious conundrum, since there are many examples of God's wrath, including Noah's ark and the great flood, and Jesus chasing from the temple the buyers and sellers and the money lenders for turning his "house" into a "den of robbers" (Matthew 21:12). Thus, other theologians such as Pope Gregory I in *Moralia in Job*, recognize that anger fueled by zeal is actually a virtue.[14] Saint Augustine, continuing in this vein, makes the very important distinction between uncontrolled anger and righteous anger, when he writes that no "right thinking person would find fault with anger at a wrongdoer."[15] Saint Thomas Aquinas coincides with Augustine's theories and argues that anger is not irrational, but rather "requires an act of reason," particularly in response to an injury, since anger is the logical "result of reason's denouncing the injury." Anger's desire for revenge is actually "something good," according to Aquinas, because it seeks and "belongs to justice."[16] Recent scholars of anger in the medieval period, such as Richard Barton and Stephen White, emphasize the political aspects of "zealous anger" with regard to the establishment of "legitimate authority," honor, morality, and, very importantly, power.[17]

Early modern notions of anger were directly influenced by these earlier assessments and reveal the same debate over the virtue and vice of anger and its conflicting social and spiritual uses.[18] Some writers, such as Leon Battista Alberti, considered anger to be equal to "intellect, judgment, appetite," "reason and discretion," and refer to these divine, virtuous forces ["*divine forze e virtu*'"] as "capacities given to us" for our use.[19] Other writers understand the efficacy and honor of just anger in the vein of Aristotle. A crucial component of just anger is intention, such as the need to take a stand and fight wrongdoing by speaking out. One anonymous homily from the mid-1550s advises that to "speake well against evill commeth of the spirite of God." Such advice stresses the necessity of a spiritual dimension and a higher purpose within just anger.[20] The early seventeenth-century writer John Downame links the spiritual and political dimensions of anger when he describes "just and holy anger" as that which defends "the publick good of the church or common wealth."[21] In fact, Downame posits that the condemnation of evil through human anger can avert God's punishment since people would be chastising and correcting themselves.[22]

Edward Reynolds, writing in 1625, focuses on the role that honor and integrity play in the instigation of anger. Reynolds builds on Aristotle's idea that anger originates when one is slighted, and echoes Aquinas' theory that a person's "excellence" is what spurs anger. Reynolds emphasizes that people are driven by the desire to perfect and perpetuate their "Reputation and Good name." When reputation is maligned, the "greatest […] of all Contempts," according to Reynolds, one suffers both public and private violation of honor, injured "in the eyes and Eares of the World."[23] However, what is perhaps even more odious is that the memory of one's good name is also forever tainted. For Reynolds, an injury of such gravity leads, understandably, to an expression of just anger.

While some of these texts argue for the positive role of anger, they are unified in either ignoring or condemning the role women might play with regard to anger. Proverbs laments the sad state of a husband condemned to live with a "a contentious and an angry woman" (Proverbs: 21:19). Marcus Aurelius writes: anyone "excited by anger" "turns away from reason," and anyone inspired to anger by "desire" and "pleasure" is "intemperate" and "womanish in his offences."[24] Early modern commentaries are united in associating female anger with inferiority, weakness, excessive emotionality, and evil; in contrast, masculinity is defined by the ability to control anger. In fact, any man who cannot do so is "weake and feble, and rather more lyke a woman or a child."[25] Pierre de la Primaudaye, writing in 1586, perfectly summarizes this idea with his comment that women are more easily "driven into choler than men," because such choler comes from the "infirme and weak part of the soule."[26] For Helkiah Crooke, anger is "more vigorous in woman than in man" because women are "easily heated" over the smallest slight, which is a clear indication of the "disease of a weak mind."[27] Throughout *The Education of a Christian Woman*, Juan Luis Vives cautions women against anger, highlighting its ills, dismissing female anger as "peevish pueling."[28] When a woman gets angry, as Thomas Wilson declares, "she is a devill."[29]

Montaigne's essay "Of Anger" in many ways reinforces these ideas. Although Montaigne starts with a condemnation of anger, writing that there "is no passion that so shakes the clarity of our judgment as anger," as he continues his exploration, he struggles to find a more balanced view, even acknowledging that Aristotle's idea that anger "can be used as a weapon for virtue and valor," is "likely." Montaigne is both critical of and sympathetic to his own struggles with anger but dismisses women, claiming that they express anger "only so that" men will get angry; and they do this "in imitation of the laws of love."[30] His other example of female anger derives from his sympathy for those men who have to deal with "headstrong women" and have experienced the "rage" women are "thrown into" when men "oppose silence and coldness to their agitation."[31] While mocking the rage that follows this male "disdain," he continues with a story of the orator Coelius, who in a similar situation with a man who ignores his anger, demands: "By all the gods, contradict me in something, will you, so that we may be two." The configuration of "two" in Coelius' comment speaks to the necessity of respect, voice, and agency that *both* participants require in any exchange, even an angry one. Montaigne might recognize this issue for Coelius, but mocks female anger, stripping women of a valid position, and reducing them to insignificance.[32]

These attitudes coincide, of course, with the anti-female sentiments of the day, but are significant with regard to Shakespeare's more positive portrayals of Margaret and other angry women in his plays. But these attacks on women are also pertinent in light of the reign of Elizabeth I, who was known for her vigorous temper. William Camden described the queen as one who could "pardon the Humble," and "tame the proud," who in her very "Countenance and Presence carried such a majesty, that her very frowne made the Stoutest to

quake."[33] According to her godson, John Harington, "her wrath" could "descend like thunder."[34]

There are a number of moments that illustrate the queen's anger, such as Harington's report of how Elizabeth "chaffed, much, walked fastly and fro," and "looked with discomposure in her visage," over the earl of Essex's return to court from Ireland in 1599 after disregarding the queen's orders; indeed, the culmination of the queen's anger with Essex was his execution later that year.[35] Twenty years earlier, in 1579, an anonymous pamphlet attacked the queen's proposed marriage to the French Catholic Duke of Anjou, describing him as an "old serpent" "come to seduce the English Eve."[36] Although the identified author John Stubbes reaffirmed his loyalty to the queen, Elizabeth had his right hand cut off.[37] In both incidents, it is easy to imagine the female monarch's anger at feeling dismissed, disregarded, and disrespected by the men surrounding her, whether her court favorite (Essex) or a mere pamphleteer (Stubbes).

A 1597 incident between Elizabeth and the Polish ambassador, Pawel Dzialynski, referred to as Paul De Jaline, reveals a more complex response to insult. Because De Jaline had a fine reputation and came so well recommended, his visit, according to Robert Cecil in a letter to the Earl of Essex, was "held publicly in the Chamber of Presence" and was seen as an opportunity to make "it a great day," with "most of the Erles and Nobleman about the Court" in attendance.[38] The ambassador, however, used the event to publicly attack and insult the queen. After greeting the queen and "kiss[ing] her majesty's hands," De Jaline, in a rather dramatic gesture, apparently walked back three yards from the throne and delivered a stinging oration in Latin against the monarch.[39] Elizabeth was undaunted. Rather than having a courtier, Sir Thomas Egerton, respond for her, she rose "Lionlike" to deliver her rebuke. Starting her retort with "O how have I been deceived! I expected an embassage, but you have brought to me a complaint," she proceeded to "marvel[s] at so great and insolent a boldness in open Presence," and derided De Jaline for revealing himself as "utterly ignorant" in "what is convenient between kings."[40] Cecil records that "her Majestie made one of the best answers, *ex tempore*, in Latin that ever I heard, being much moved to be so challenged in publick, especially so much against her expectation."[41]

By dramatically stepping back three yards, Dzialynski, in essence, took center stage, commanding the attention of the audience and forcing them to turn away from Elizabeth and look at him as he spoke. However, in this provocative moment, Elizabeth, recognizing that she had been gravely insulted, that her reputation was at stake, and that De Jaline had violated expected diplomatic protocol, rhetorically and politically triumphed over him in a brilliant display of righteous anger. In doing so, the queen staged her own triumph, regained control of the performance that was played out before the assembled court and signaled to the male courtiers, particularly, that she had authority and was in command.

The above examples with Queen Elizabeth illustrate the complexities of anger that ancient and early modern writers addressed, while the De Jaline incident particularly demonstrates how a prominent woman, through her words and actions, could make an argument for the moral and political benefits of justifiable anger. Elizabeth kept her patience, enhanced her reputation and good name, much desired by an aging queen, and, importantly, negotiated her anger to political advantage. This brief consideration of Elizabeth's political use of anger serves as a prelude to Margaret ,who employs similar strategies in *Richard III*, written and performed in the mid-1590s. When Shakespeare allows Margaret to step forward and publicly challenge Richard in court, she does so against a backdrop of the standard attitudes toward women and anger outlined above, as well as the presence of a powerful female monarch.

Act 1, scene 3 in *Richard III* begins with Queen Elizabeth, Rivers, and Grey on stage. Elizabeth is worried, as well she should be; King Edward is ill and Richard is poised to take power. The Queen, correctly perceiving that Richard's "outward action" reveals his "interior hate," is afraid of the political results of the King's death, but Grey and Rivers dismiss her fears and council "patience."[42] In the middle of this exchange, Richard, apparently in conversation with Hastings, crashes in with "They do me wrong, and I will not endure it" (*R3* 1.3.42). He complains that, because he "cannot flatter, and look fair," he "must be held a rancorous enemy" (*R3* 1.3.47, 50). Richard uses his anger to seize control of the moment, commanding everyone's attention. In a perversion of Reynolds' support of just outrage—that associated with loss of reputation—Richard complains that he is "disgraced," by "the nobility / Held in contempt" (*R3* 1.3.78–9). Such anger allows Richard to draw everyone into his circle of blame. Defending himself, he aggressively accuses and questions his listeners, putting them on the defensive with "When done thee wrong? / Or thee? Or thee? Or any of your faction?" and finally punctuating his attack with a curse: "A plague on you all!" (*R3* 1.3.56–8). It is Richard's vigorous anger and the group's wrangling that set the stage for Margaret.

Margaret, who enters the play in the middle of this quarrel, watches from the sidelines as Richard, in total control, orchestrates the narrative, distorts previous events, and rewrites history. In retelling the story from his perspective, he defines the other characters and presents himself as superior: "Let me put in your minds, if you forget, / What you have been ere this, and what you are; / Withal, what I have been, and what I am" (*R3* 1.3.30–3). But Margaret, as counterpoint, is there at every turn, telling the audience through her asides what Richard really is, naming him a "devil," "A murd'rous villain," a "cocodemon" (*R3* 1.3.118, 134, 144). Although Thomas Wilson might have called an angry woman a devil, in this incident it is the woman who is able to justifiably label Richard as the demon.

Margaret's asides are powerful; at every moment, she draws the audience's attention away from Richard and to herself. But she has an even greater impact when she disrupts and enters the conversation—now audience and characters are focused on her. It is, in fact, significant that Margaret enters the scene with

the declaration: "I can no longer hold me patient" (*R3* 1.3.156). Patience has an important role to play alongside anger, and it is necessary to explain this context before returning to the scene. Many of the writers who deal with anger, including those who both accept and condemn its use, advise the necessity of patience to control anger. Patience, in medieval monastic circles, for example, could be a "virtuous counterpoint" to anger, as well as a necessary component, along with clemency, to balance royal ire, according to Lester Little.[43] Early modern writers such as Francis Bacon saw the efficacy of patience, but recognized the challenge to remaining calm. Bacon, therefore, advises that one needs a firm sense of honor to "win time" so as "to still himself" and wait for the best moment for revenge.[44] There are reports that Queen Elizabeth made use of a similar tactic, following the ancient advice that Apollodorus apparently gave to the Emperor Augustus about how to hold on to patience and avoid anger. The remedy is to go through the letters of the alphabet, one by one, confusing the order at times to distract the mind. Using patience to bide one's time was not only used to control anger but to give one more time to plan a strategy and make the right decision about how to be effectively angry.[45]

When King Lear, in Act 2 of the eponymous play, begs the heavens for help, crying, "give me patience, patience I need!", he is perhaps doing what Bacon recommends (*KL* 2.2.460). This is partly in response to his daughter, Regan, who earlier counsels him both to "take patience" (*KL* 2.2.325), and "being weak, seem so" (*KL* 2.1.390). Such an exchange reveals the complexity of patience; it can be a prelude to just anger, but it can also be used dismissively, much like when Rivers counsels Elizabeth in *Richard III*. Regan dismisses her father too, advising patience in order to further destabilize Lear and keep him from his anger and agency.[46] However, when faced with an opportunity to fight evil, when one has been insulted, or when one's reputation and honor were in question, it is necessary and even right, as the writers previously mentioned recommend, that patience yield to anger's privilege. In fact, earlier in Act 2 of *Lear*, Kent, furious at Oswald's disrespect, defends his anger to Cornwall, reminding him "anger hath a privilege" (*KL* 2.2.66). This comment and the similar—"impatience has its privilege"—were both common proverbs, and indicate the universal understanding that at certain times one is right to be frustrated and impatient with the transgressions of others.[47] Recall that to not do so is to be "foolish" and deficient, according to Aristotle.

Drawing on commonly held beliefs about anger and patience, as well as the role that women might negotiate through anger, Shakespeare creates this juncture between the two passions to signal a revelatory and compelling shift in *Richard III*. Margaret, feeling the conviction of her just anger and "no longer able to hold" herself "patient," forcefully enters the scene with the words "Hear me" (*R3* 1.3.156–7). As Gina Bloom observes, Margaret "clears an aural space" for herself, silencing the others so that she can speak and be heard.[48] Margaret attacks the courtiers as "pirates," asserts her right to be queen, and is the first character to directly denounce Richard (*R3* 1.3.157).[49] Politically, this declaration is potent; Margaret is reclaiming her former role,

while speaking publicly both within the scene to the assembled court—who are all men, except for Queen Elizabeth—and dramatically for the audience of citizens who watch this historical dramatization. It is the privilege of Margaret's zealous anger, combined with the legitimacy of her former power, and her witness to and memory of past events, that grants her the authority to speak and fires her through the scene. Although belittled by Richard—"Foul wrinkled witch, what mak'st thou in my sight?"—Margaret's reply speaks to her purpose (*R3* 1.3.162). Through "repetition of what thou hast marred" she says to Richard, "will I make before I let thee go" (*R3* 1.3.163–5). Using the word "I" twice and seizing the meaning and power of "make," Margaret, echoing Coelius' demand that "we be two," makes Richard stay and listen so that she can publicly reconstruct and correct his distorted narrative.

Secure in her ability to unsettle the group, the old queen challenges all of them with "Which of you trembles not" (*R3* 1.3.159). Everyone seems anxious about her presence, particularly when she begins to curse. In retaliation, Hastings calls her a "false-boding woman," and Dorset a "lunatic" (*R3* 1.3.246). The latter comment is consistent with attacks on anger, particularly female anger, but Margaret reminds Dorset of the dangers of flimsy presumptions and "young nobility" (*R3* 1.3.253–6). Richard tries to outdo Dorset, asserting his elevated place, "born so high," and secure in his "aerie" (*R3* 1.3.262). But Margaret, stung by the memory of her dead husband and son, undoes Richard's hoped for legitimacy with her own usurpation—"Your aerie buildeth in our aerie's nest," she retorts (*R3* 1.3.269). In this moment, she restates and reestablishes what she believes to be the legitimacy and privilege of her position as the wife of the Lancastrian, Henry VI. While earlier writers excluded women from just anger, Shakespeare allows Margaret to speak with the authority of her anger, as she threatens the political legitimacy and order of the Yorkist court as well as the security of Richard. And she calls on God, "that seest" the York faction occupying her rightful throne to "not suffer it" (*R3* 1.3.270).

Margaret allies herself with God throughout the scene and even earlier when she is only eavesdropping she calls for God's "revenge" (*R3* 1.3.136). Such an alliance with God bolsters Margaret's position and puts her in the company of those writers who see just anger working within the "spirite of God."[50] Throughout her harangue, Margaret invokes the heavens, affirming her association with godlike forces. Linking the power of her anger and her cursing to God, she asks if curses can "pierce the clouds and enter heaven" by commanding that the "dull clouds" "give way" to her "quick curses" (*R3* 1.3.194–5). As God was invoked in just anger, so too God often played a role in cursing, even if indirectly, which is perhaps one reason why cursing was no small matter in the early modern period.

Like anger, cursing has a long, contested past, and like anger, the power of cursing was recognized; one wanted to be on the right side of anger and of cursing. Shakespeare's audience would have been familiar with a wide variety of curses for all occasions, including those directed against natural world blights,

or petitions to the Pope to curse the land and the king, or parishioners cursed by their bishop for not paying their tithes, or the Beggar's curse against those who did not give to the poor.[51] According to Lester Little, for example, "there existed a widespread if not universal popular tradition of cursing" by all classes of people, even as the Church tried to maintain control over the right to curse.[52] One of the more terrifying and well-known curses of the day had to do with Henry VIII's seizure of church lands and property. According to Keith Thomas, this "divine curse" was leveled against those who possessed and profited from the thefts, such as Cardinal Wolsey and Thomas Cromwell, both of whom suddenly fell from power and, in the case of Cromwell, were violently executed.[53] The general belief, and certainly one held by such preachers as Foulke Robartes, was that those who profited had suffered "in so short a space so great a change" that the severity of the punishments "must make men see" that this action was "displeasing" to God.[54]

Margaret's curses would have most likely sounded familiar, touching on superstitious beliefs and fears that the characters within the play as well as the audience had about the power of language in the form of cursing.[55] Further, as Robartes' comment makes clear, God has to endorse the curses if they are going to have power and become reality. Cursing and anger are deeply connected—the inciting situations are often similar, one is often in an angry state when cursing, and in both instances the angry person who also curses usurps a power usually reserved for God. Certainly, this is true for Margaret, who repeatedly calls on God's endorsement. But it is also true that not all angry people curse—so, why does Margaret curse?

Margaret begins her eavesdropping already feeling displaced, disregarded, disrespected, and angry, and when she hears the courtiers lie and distort what she believes to be true, particularly Richard, her ire grows to such a degree that she feels she can no longer stay patient and silent. When she does begin to speak, the combined response of the court, with Richard as the leader, is to jointly attack her. Further, it is Richard who initiates the idea of cursing by reminding her that the Duke of York, Richard's father, had placed a curse on her around the death of Rutland.[56]

This attack on her only further fuels the feeling that her honor, the honor of her family—in past, present, and future recollections—has been defiled, which, according to Edward Reynolds, is the most severe of "all Contempts".[57] Margaret wants to right what she sees as wrong; she wants to correct and humiliate her enemies, particularly Richard; she wants what she feels is the legitimate throne; she wants to correct the narrative that Richard is spinning, determine the future and by doing so, and more effectively seal Richard's fate. It is the combination of her anger and cursing that guarantees a more successful destruction of her enemies while strengthening the gravity of her statements and the political power of her voice. The audience, familiar with the power of justifiable anger and cursing, would see Margaret as seeking justice, believing that God will help her get revenge. She is working with the fundamental belief, well known to the audience, that, as Keith Thomas writes, "the

more justified the curser's anger, the more likely the imprecation would take effect." God, therefore, is on the side of those truly injured, and if the wrongdoers suffer in this life, the audience is reassured that divine justice will be done on earth as well as in heaven.[58] The cursing gives her a potent voice and turns her anger into direct action—she predicts the future, the fall of the Yorks, the accession of the Lancasters, and the prelude to the marriage that unites the factions.[59]

Despite Richard's efforts to turn Margaret's curse back upon her, she has shaken everyone. Although Buckingham sides with Richard and dismisses Margaret's words as "Nothing that I respect," as she exits, she reminds her listeners to "remember this day" that will show her a "prophetess" (*R3* 1.3.295, 298–300). Despite his early remark, Buckingham, clearly unnerved, acknowledges her power immediately, confessing that his "hair doth stand on end to hear her curses;" Rivers agrees with "And so doth mine" (*R3* 1.3.303–4). In fact, it is Richard himself who, in an aside, confirms the power of Margaret's anger and her words: "For had I cursed now, I had cursed myself" (*R3* 1.3.318). The play's end results prove Margaret's cursing and her angry denouncements to be right. Many of the characters acknowledge this, including the other women who turn to Margaret to help them cope and learn to curse. Buckingham validates Margaret just before his death with "Thus Margaret's curse falls heavy on my neck," naming her "prophetess" (*R3* 5.2.25–7).

Shakespeare's careful staging of this scene offers a positive portrayal of female anger, beginning with Elizabeth's fears, which, although dismissed by the men, serve as a prelude to Margaret, as both women's words are validated with the outcome of the play. With her asides, Margaret continually upstages the conversation, and when she enters the scene, she undoes the power dynamic. While Richard and Buckingham's disdain recalls the traditional male assessment of female anger from the ancients to Montaigne and other early modern writers, through this scene Shakespeare undermines the commonly held belief that women are incapable of rational, justifiable anger. In doing so, he allows Margaret to claim center stage as Queen Elizabeth did with the Polish ambassador.

Other examples from the period, such as the conflict between Elizabeth and Anthony Bourne and their sons in the 1580s, reinforce this idea that just anger was not "reserved" for men; on the contrary, female anger could be effectively recognized and respected for its sound judgment. Anthony Bourne wanted to bring his mistress to live with him and his wife.[60] When Elizabeth refused, he made violent threats against her, including murder. Elizabeth fled into hiding, but her angry letters to her husband reveal her condemnation of his "wante of judgment," "carles accompte" of his "conscience," as well as her demand of an annulment.[61] Another exchange with Elizabeth Bourne and her son, Francis, reveals her defense of herself but also her son's respect for his mother's anger, without the usual attacks on female weakness and irrationality.[62] In fact, Elizabeth's ability to withstand her husband's threats and voice her condemnation of his behavior speaks to the power of female anger.

Shakespeare grants Margaret a veracity of voice and a legitimacy of position in a similar way, while incorporating commonly held beliefs and practices about anger and cursing in his staging of this scene. Although it is true that Richard also gets angry throughout the play, he uses his anger to manipulate and threaten those around him in order to establish and maintain his personal power. Thus far, this chapter has focused on the distinction between rational, just anger and irrational, violent anger, but Richard uses another kind of anger—feigned, pretended anger. His anger is in sharp contrast to Margaret's since Richard's is only a performance, with no substance. This mockery of anger further highlights the significance and validity of Margaret's wrath.

Of course, Margaret has her sordid and violent past and is certainly not presented as a symbol of self-sacrificing virtue. But Margaret's goals are directed toward what she believes to be justice—her family honor and the rightful position of the Lancasters—and it is through her exposure and denunciation of Richard that Margaret approaches the more high-minded qualities of anger.[63] In order for political harmony to be restored to the world of the play, the villain, Richard, must be rejected and defeated. Margaret's words and actions initiate this necessary result; she frightens and unsettles the characters in the play, sways the audience to abandon Richard, and correctly predicts the outcome of Richard's defeat.

Writers such as Aristotle recognized that anger often follows an unjust act, and as such is a judgment against that act, but Aristotle does not seem to have had women in mind. It is also true that the early modern period often condemned female anger. However, Shakespeare offers a positive portrayal through Margaret, granting her the necessary qualities that any man would require. One element of this portrayal is that Margaret voices her anger publicly before the audience of the court and the audience in the theater; in doing so, she approximates a court of law by declaring accusation, judgment, and eventual punishment of Richard.[64] In writing about female anger, Elizabeth Spellman contends that being angry with one's superior is an act of insubordination, as well as a statement of equality and self-worth.[65] This assessment is useful in further understanding Margaret, who, although a former queen and warrior who once held power equal to Richard, is now in a compromised position.

Further, it is Margaret's zealous, just anger combined with the legitimacy of her former power that grants her political authority.[66] As Margaret defies and denounces Richard, she asserts her equality and value; she reprieves and improves her earlier image by angrily challenging Richard in the court and on the stage. In this way, she demonstrates her ability to defy, judge, and condemn Richard. Her words threaten and undermine him, and once Margaret speaks, neither the audience nor the characters in the play can regard him in the same way. Her actions initiate his demise. In this moment, it becomes clear how theater can be a political action. Shakespeare has, of course, done this with other female characters as mentioned above, but in *Richard III* he grants Margaret the power of a political voice by bringing her into the play and demonstrating that if change and political action are going to take place, anger is

often the driving force. Legitimizing female anger and having a woman act in this politically powerful manner may not be what Aristotle had in mind, but it seems to be what Shakespeare did.

Notes

1. See Elizabeth H. Hageman, "Review: In Defense of Shakespeare's Female Characters," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 35.1, (1984): 126–28; Patricia-Ann Lee, "Reflections of Power: Margaret of Anjou and the Dark Side of Queenship," *Renaissance Quarterly* 39.2, (1986): 183–217 for an overview of Margaret's life and her political career. For a further discussion of Margaret, women, and Shakespeare's history plays see, for example, Madonne M. Miner, "'Neither mother, wife, nor England's queen': The roles of Women in *Richard III*," in *The Woman's Part: Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare*, ed. Carolyn Lenz. (Urbana: Illinois University Press, 1980), 35–55; Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Brighton: Harvester, 1983); Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Martha A. Kurtz, "Rethinking Gender and Genre in the History Play," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 36.2 (1996): 267–87; Jean Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation* (London: Routledge, 1997); Nina S. Levine, *Women's Matters: Politics, Gender and Nation in Shakespeare's Early History Plays* (London: Associated University Presses, 1998); Kathryn Schwarz, "Fearful Simile: Stealing the Breech in Shakespeare's Chronicle Plays," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 49.2 (1998): 140–167; Jane Donawerth, "'The issue of the Mother's Body': The Differences Feminist Criticism has made to Shakespeare's *Richard* III," *Graven Image* 4, (2002): 174–190: Jennifer C. Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion in Early Modern English Literature* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2008). Vaught argues for the strength and integrity of Queen Isabel in *Richard II*.
2. Shakespeare, *King Lear,* ed. R.A. Foakes, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2005), 2.2.460.
3. Shakespeare, *Othello,* ed. E.A.J. Honigmann, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), 5.2.164–5.
4. Through her anger, Emilia reveals the truth and by doing so undermines the gender politics that demand female silence and obedience. Isabella in *Measure for Measure* challenges Angelo's attempted seduction and abuse of power, attacking him as a "proud," "most ignorant" man "Dressed in a little brief authority," ed. J.W. Lever, Arden 2nd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2008), 2.2.117–19.
5. Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. John Pitcher, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 3.2.172.
6. See also the Duchess of Gloucester in *Richard II*, who rebukes her husband, John of Gaunt's reluctance to challenge the king, rejecting his "patience" as "pale, cold cowardice in noble breasts," ed. Charles R. Forker, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2002), 1.2. 33–4; Tamora in *Titus Andronicus* ed. Jonathan Bate, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2006); Volumnia, "Anger's my meat," in *Coriolanus,* ed. Peter Holland, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 4.2.50.

7. Carol Zisowitz Stearns, Peter N. Stearns, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America's History* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1986), 12.
8. The terms "anger" and "wrath" are fairly similar in meaning. According to the Oxford English Dictionary, wrath is "vehement or violent anger," and "resentment;" both are associated with "indignation."
9. Before this line comes "Therefore, putting away falsehood, let everyone speak the truth with his neighbor, for we are members one of another" (4:25). Of course, recall God's anger and the great deluge in "Genesis", or Jesus's wrath when he drives the moneychangers from the temple in Matthew, *The New Oxford Annotated Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962), 21:12–13.
10. Aristotle, *The Ethics of Aristotle,* trans. J.A.K. Thomson (New York: Penguin, 1976), 161.
11. Aristotle, *Ethics*, 161.
12. "For he who is excited by anger seems to turn away from reason with a certain pain and unconscious contradiction." Marcus Aurelius, *The Meditations,* trans. George Lang (New York; Dover, 1997), 9–10; Seneca, *Complete Works of Lucius Annaeus Seneca: Anger, Mercy, Revenge,* trans. Robert A. Kaster and Martha C. Nussbaum (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2010), 14.
13. John Cassian, "Conferences" and "The Institutes," in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, trans. Edward C.S. Gibson (Oxford, 1894), vol. II, 42.
14. Pope Gregory I, *S. Gregorii Magni Opera: Moralia in Job*, ed. Marc Adriaen (Turnhout: Brepols, 1979), 5.33; the *Moralia* was written between 578–95. Martin of Braga, *De Ira*, 6.8; quoted in Lester Little, "Anger in Monastic Curses," in *Anger's Past*; Matthew 21:12.
15. Saint Augustine, *De civitate Dei, Concerning the City of God Against Pagans,* trans. Henry Bettenson (New York: Penguin, 2003), 14–15.
16. Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologica*, ed. Daniel J. Sullivan (Chicago: Encyclopedia Britannia, 1952), 1436, 4.
17. See Richard Barton, "'Zealous Anger' and the Renegotiation of Aristocratic Relationships in Eleventh and Twelfth-Century France," 169 and Stephen D. White, "The Politics of Anger," both in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages,* ed. Barbara H. Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 153–170.
18. For a sample of writings on anger, see *Anger's Past*; Gwynne Kennedy, *Just Anger: Representing Women's Anger in Early Modern England* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 2001); William V. Harris, *Restraining Rage: the Ideology of Anger Control in Classical Antiquity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001); *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotions,* eds. Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe, Mary Floyd-Wilson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); Peter Burke, "Is There a Cultural History of the Emotions?," in *Representing Emotion: New Connections in the Histories of Art, Music and Medicine*, eds. Penelope Gouk and Helen Hills (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 35– 47; Daniel Gross, *The Secret History of Emotion: from Aristotle's Rhetoric to Modern Brain Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); Richard Strier, *The Unrepentant Renaissance* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Jennifer C. Vaught, *Masculinity and Emotion*; Susan Broomhall, *Ordering Emotion in Europe, 1100–1800* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Susan

Broomhall, *Authority, Gender, and Emotion in Late Medieval and Earl Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015); Susan Broomhall, ed., *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder* (Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2015).

19. Leon Battista Alberti, *The Family in Renaissance Florence*, trans. Renee Neu Watkins (Columbia: S. Carolina University Press, 1969), 133.
20. Anon., *Certain Sermons or Homilies (1547) and A Homily Against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion (1570)*, ed. Ronald B. Bond (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 194.
21. John Downame, *A Treatise of Anger. VVherein is shewed the lawfull, laudable, and necessarie vse of iust and holy Anger, and what is required thereunto* (London: William Welby, 1609), 19.
22. Downame, *A Treatise of Anger*, 20.
23. Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of the Passions and the Faculties of the Soul of Man* (1640), intro. Margaret Lee Wiley (Gainesville, Florida: Scholar's Facsimiles & Reprints, 1971), 323. Reynolds wrote his text in 1625. See also Francis Bacon's essay on anger from 1625 in which he writes, "Lastly, opinion of the touch of a man's reputations doth multiply and sharpen anger." Francis Bacon, *A Selection of his Works*, ed. Sidney Warhaft (New York: Odyssey, 1965), 189.
24. Marcus Aurelius, trans. Lang, 10; Proverbs, 21:19.
25. *A Homily Against Disobedience*, 195.
26. Pierre de la Primaudaye, *The French Academy* (1586) (London: 1618), 129.
27. Helkiah Crooke, *Microcosmographia: A Description of the Body of Man, Together with the Controversies and Figures Thereto Belonging* (London, 1616), 272.
28. Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman,* trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000), 186.
29. Thomas Wilson, *The Art of Rhetorique* (London, 1585), 130.
30. *The Complete Essays of Montaigne*, trans. Donald M. Frame (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1968), 542.
31. Montaigne, trans. Frame, 543.
32. Montaigne, trans. Frame, 545.
33. William Camden, "R.N.," To the Reader, *William Camden's The History of the Most Renowned and Victorious Princess Elizabeth, Late Queen of England*, 3rd edition. (London, 1657), A32, 7.
34. *The Letters and Epigrams of Sir John Harington Together with the Private Life,* ed. Norman McClure (Philadelphia: Pennsylvania University Press, 1930), 362.
35. Harington, *Letters and Epigrams*, 22.
36. *John Stubbs's Gaping Gulf with Letters and Other Relevant Document,* ed., Lloyd E. Berry (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1968).
37. See also John Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments: 1559–81* (New York: Norton, 1966).
38. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, eds. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2000), 334.
39. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 334.
40. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 332–33.
41. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 335. See also Janet M. Green, "Queen Elizabeth I's Latin Reply to the Polish Ambassador," *Sixteenth Century Journal* vol. 31, 4 (2000): 987–1008.

42. William Shakespeare, *Richard III,* ed. James R. Siemon (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 1.3.65–66, 1.
43. Lester Little, "Anger in Monastic Circles," 9. See also Gerd Althoff, and Paul Hyams in *Anger's Past* on the use of patience and clemency with regard to royal anger.
44. Francis Bacon, *A Selection of his Works,* 189.
45. According to Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms*, (Cambridge, 2005), 77–8, Queen Elizabeth used the suggested practice in two parliamentary speeches. See Thomas Elyot, *The Castel of Helth* (London, 1541), in which he advises that one should "think on the lesson" that Apollodorus apparently gave to Emperor Augustus: "before speaking or acting in anger, he should 'recite in order all the letters of the A. B. C., and remove somewhat out of the place, that he is in, and seke occasion to be otherwyse occupied" (sig 64r). See Stephen Pender, "Subventing Disease: Anger, Passions, and the Non-naturals," in *Rhetorics of bodily disease and health in medieval and early modern England,* ed. Jennifer C. Vaught. (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010), 193–218 for a further discussion of Elyot's remedies. See also Hermione's comment in *The Winter's Tale*: "I must be patient till the heavens look / With an aspect more favorable" (2.1.106–7).
46. Apropos of being righteously angry, there is also an anti-patience argument to be made. See Adriana, in *Comedy of Errors* who refuses to be patient: "There's none but asses will be bridled so." Shakespeare, *The Comedy of Errors*, ed. Kent Cartwright (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 2.1.14. See also Richard Streier's discussion of anti-patience in *The Unrepentant Renaissance,* 46, 138.
47. See *King John*, (4.3.32), "Sir, impatience hath privilege." Both proverbs are in R. W. Dent, *Shakespeare's Proverbial Language: An Index* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1981), P595.1.
48. See Gina Bloom, *Voice in Motion: Staging Gender, Shaping Sound* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007). Bloom specifically makes this remark about the Duchess but then goes on to discuss the "material link between lament and curse that provides Margaret and the Duchess a robust model of agency" (92–3).
49. It is true that Elizabeth's anxiety about Richard reveals that she knows who he is. But the men around her quickly silence her, and when Margaret appears, Elizabeth also attacks the old queen.
50. *Certaine Sermons or Homilies,* 194.
51. Raphael Holinshed, *The first (laste) volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Ireland* (London, 1577), III, 936/1. See Little for further discussion of curses coming from Popes and the authority they carried. Richard Grafton, *A Chronicle at large and mere history of the affayres of England* (London, 1568), II, 119. Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic: Studies in popular beliefs in sixteenth and seventeenth century England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), 604.
52. Lester Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), 99. See Little for a discussion of the dilemmas the medieval church faced around cursing. Uncomfortable with the vindictive cursing in the Bible as well as its pagan associations, the Church tried to regulate the practice, sanctioning the Church's "official" use of cursing as a "legitimate" "social and spiritual necessity," while forbidding cursing by ordinary people.

53. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic,* 32, 114–5.
54. Foulke Robartes, *The Revenue of the Gospel is Tythes* (Cambridge, 1613), 79.
55. See David Bevington, "'Why should calamity be full of words?' The Efficacy of Cursing in *Richard III*," *Iowa State Journal of Research* 56.1 (1981) for a discussion of superstitions, fears, and prophesy; see also Rebecca Totaro, "Revolving this will teach thee how to curse:' a Lesson in Sublunary Exhalation," in *Rhetorics of Bodily Disease and Health in Medieval and Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer C. Vaught. (Ashgate: Burlington, VT, 2010); Kenneth Gross, *Shakespeare's Noise* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2001), for an analysis of cursing.
56. The Duke of York's curse is: "There, take the crown—and with the crown, my curse: / And in thy need such comfort come to thee / As now I reap at thy too cruel hand" (165–7) Shakespeare, 3 *Henry VI,* eds. John D. Cox and Eric Rasmussen (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), 1.4.164–65.
57. Reynolds, *A Treatise*, 323.
58. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, 602, 4. "But the real source of the continuing belief in the efficacy of cursing lay, not in theology but in popular sentiment." Thomas also emphasizes the power within village life of the belief that "God would avenge all injuries" (604).
59. Kavita Mudan Finn in "Bloodlines and Blood Spilt: Historical Retelling and the Rhetoric of Sovereignty in Shakespeare's First Tetralogy" in *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 30, 126–46 writes that Margaret "co-opts Richard's sovereign power over life and death by calling upon the blood of his murdered victims to bring divine justice upon him" (140). See also Kavita Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts: Gender, Genre, and Historiography, 1440–1627* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002).
60. Elizabeth Bourne to Anthony Bourne, n.d., BL, Conway papers, Additional MSS 23212, fo. 12 in Linda A. Pollack, "Anger and the Negotiation of Relationships in Early Modern England," *The Historical Journal,* 47, 3 (2004): 576.
61. Pollack, "Anger," 578.
62. Pollack, "Anger," 580.
63. "Yet curses also belong to speakers who are themselves under prohibition. The great cursers of classical tradition are victims who are themselves criminal, deluded, and cursed, both sinned against and sinning." Kenneth Gross, "*King Lear* and the Register of Curse," in *Shakespeare's Noise*, 166.
64. See Stephen D. White, "The Politics of Anger" in *Anger's Past* and his argument that anger expressed publicly "involves a quasi-juridical appraisal," 140.
65. See Elizabeth V. Spellman, "Anger and Insubordination," in *Women, Knowledge, and Reality: Explorations in Feminist Philosophy*, eds. Ann Garry, Marilyn Pearsall (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1989), 263–73.
66. See Richard E. Burton, "'Zealous Anger' and Aristocratic Relationships," in *Anger's Past* for an argument that "good" anger had its practical side, politically. "Good" anger came about through the righteous zeal that flowed out of the exercise of legitimate authority" (169–70). With regard to female authority and anger, Helen Ostovich argues that *The Winter's Tale* is "daring in its affirmation of women's just anger, casting into doubt the legitimacy and necessity of men's authority over women." This is from a paper delivered at the MLA, New Orleans, Dec 27–30, 2001; "Women's Anger," 8.

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CHAPTER 12

Shakespeare's Cleopatra as Meta-Theatrical Monarch

Shiladitya Sen

Censorship and attempts at government control of their enterprise were fundamental realities for Renaissance playmakers, substantially mediating the nature of theatrical production. As David Scott Kastan notes, "scrutiny and regulation were among the defining characteristics of playmaking no less than were boy actors in the theater or casting off copy in the printing house."[1] The licensing pen of the Master of the Revels attempted (with mixed success) to ensure that politically or religiously subversive material did not appear on London stages. Most major Elizabethan and Jacobean playwrights endured legal questioning (and sometimes, as in Thomas Kyd's case, prison and even torture) regarding their work at some point. Such scrutiny was especially strong when it came to theatrical depictions of monarchy. Ruling in a particularly conflicted period in European history, threatened by dissidents at home and enemies abroad, a woman commanding in a patriarchal world, Queen Elizabeth wielded much of her power through a careful and theatrical manipulation of personal appearances and display. She was understandably wary about how she—and those that might be analogized to her—was represented in the popular theater, as evidenced by her reported statement to the antiquarian William Lambarde regarding the Essex rebellion of 1601: "I am Richard II, know ye not that?"[2] The reference to Shakespeare's *Richard II*, even if apocryphal, and the comparison between theatrical and real monarchy was neither novel nor surprising.

Many private citizens also critiqued theatrical depictions of royalty. Henry Crosse complained in 1603 that in the theaters "there is no passion wherewith

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the king, the soueraigne maiestie of the Realme was possest, but is amplified, and openly sported with, and made a May-game to all the beholders."[3] A few years later, Sir Henry Wotton criticized a performance of *All is True* (the contemporary title for Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*, before the First Folio), saying that the play, "which was set forth with many extraordinary circumstances of Pomp and Majesty […] [was] sufficient in truth within a while to make greatness very familiar, if not ridiculous."[4] Though such opinions and the existence of state censorship rendered the staging of monarchy highly risky, there were also strong inducements for attempting it. The popularity of the history play from the late 1580s onward provided strong pecuniary motives. The figure of the stage monarch also possessed rich metaphoric and dramatic potential, owing to the very same comparisons that made it suspicious to censorious eyes.

Partly due to this complex context, Shakespeare's depiction of monarchy in the history plays has drawn dramatically differing critical opinions regarding its subversiveness (or lack thereof). Critics as divergent as E.M.W. Tillyard and Stephen Greenblatt argue that his works (and Renaissance theater in general) support and serve state authority. In contrast, Kastan contends that even if that was so, theater was also

> at least as effective as a subversion of that authority, functioning as a significant cultural intervention in a process of political reformation […] on stage the king became a subject—the subject of the author's imaginings and the subject of the attention and judgment of an audience of subjects. If, then, English history plays recollected and rehearsed the past, they also prophesied the future [execution of Charles I], as they placed the king on a scaffold before a judging public.[5]

In agreement with Kastan, I would add that Renaissance meta-theatre played a substantial role in facilitating the appearance of such subversion on stage.[6] Utilizing the meta-theatrical mode allowed potentially risky material and themes that could have been viewed as seditious to appear comparatively innocuous. Shakespeare's history plays regularly utilize meta-theatre to this end. The efficacy of the approach is evidenced by him being among the few major playwrights whose works never landed them in serious difficulty with the Crown, in contrast to, among others, Jonson, Nashe, Chapman, and Marston.[7]

While Shakespeare regularly uses the meta-theatrical mode to depict monarchy in the histories (as in the movement of Hal from performing prince in the two parts of *Henry IV* to stage-controlling monarch in *Henry V*), his most overly meta-theatrical ruler appears in *Antony and Cleopatra*. Though this chapter focuses on *Antony and Cleopatra* and, especially, the depiction of the Egyptian queen, it is useful to first compare the play with *Henry V*. Both plays feature monarchs who are consummate actors and seem, at first glance, to present the conventional English view of their subjects—a national and overtly masculine military hero (Henry) and a foreign queen who is seen as an exotic seductress (Cleopatra). In other ways, the plays virtually mirror each other, presenting reversed images that cast the other in relief. *Henry V* explicitly

proclaims its theatricality and the limitations of the material stage on which it occurs, but is virtually silent about the fact that it presents an actor-monarch—despite the fact that "[t]o play the king is to play the actor, for the king must have many roles in his repertoire."[8] *Antony and Cleopatra* implicitly references the nature of the stage it occupies, but is constantly explicit about the performative nature of the rulers (especially Cleopatra) depicted. *Henry V*'s actor-king controls the stage via powerful rhetoric and seeming consistency, successfully forcing onstage audiences to view him and their surrounding reality as he desires. *Antony and Cleopatra*'s actress-queen displays her mutability and virtuosity as a performer, but is surrounded by critical spectators who serve other individuals and who see her (and her displays) negatively. *Henry V* subtly depicts the dangers of theatrical ability, particularly the influence a skilled actor possesses over uncritical and credulous audiences. *Antony and Cleopatra* similarly explores the dangers inherent in performance, but reverses the direction, displaying the power that audiences (especially hostile or critical ones) possess over the performing actor, however skilled the latter. Where *Henry V* depicts the potentially damaging power of protean ability and the skill to transform oneself to meet every situation, *Antony and Cleopatra* explores how such expertise may be viewed by critical spectators as an example of duplicity and inauthenticity—as Renaissance anti-theatricalists did.

Each play contains an ironic and subversive subtext, undercutting the apparent surface subject and position. *Henry V* was published around 1600, a dozen years after the defeat of the Armada, likely written as the Earl of Essex ("the general of our gracious Empress"; Act 5, Prologue, 31) left for Ireland to (unsuccessfully) put down a rebellion. Fitting this context, the play appears to be a unilaterally patriotic treatment of a conquering English warrior-monarch. Similarly, *Antony and Cleopatra*, composed a few years after Elizabeth's death, seemingly depicts the inevitable fall of an exotic Egyptian (i.e. African and Orientalized) siren before the staunchness of Roman (i.e. Western and European) virtue, as embodied in a figure (Octavius) with whom the current monarch (James I) identified. Yet *Henry V* subtly questions the moral dimensions of Henry's ability and ends with an explicit reminder of the transience of his reign. *Antony and Cleopatra* undercuts the sense of Roman rectitude and concludes with a paean to the transcendent glory of Cleopatra's theatricality. In combination, the plays explore and elaborate on the beauty and the pitfalls of acting, for both performer and audience, via heavily meta-theatrical performances that ironically question the very enterprise they are engaged in.

The framework of *Henry V* constantly references the theatrical enterprise, though not as simply as some critics opine. Comparing the Chorus with similar figures in the earlier histories (such as Rumour in *2 Henry IV*), Calderwood says that its "name in itself implies musical unity" and it secures "unity of interpretation."[9] Grene calls it a "knowing commentator, orchestrating the action with a self-conscious mood-music," possessing a "very strong position of theatrical authority."[10] Such appraisals ignore or downplay the Chorus' consistent misrepresentation of the play to come. In the Prologue, the Chorus bemoans the players'

inability to truly depict the battle of Agincourt and explains that they can, at best, work with the audience's imagination to recreate the legendary battle. Before Act 4, it again apologizes for the insufficiencies of what is to come and beseeches the spectators' aid in creating the scene. Fascinatingly, the Chorus "apologizes for events it does not even attempt to show [...] Agincourt, or its serious side, is never depicted at all."[11] Such disjunctions constantly, if subtly, question the suitability of the responses that the Chorus requests. The opening scene between Canterbury and Ely, for example, questions the morality of the impending invasion. The Chorus' presence, and its meta-theatrical misrepresentation of the play, is additionally subversive because of the relationship between its voice and Henry's. While it is a commonplace that Henry is an actor, comparatively less common "is the recognition that the special actor, Shakespeare's Chorus, is like the King."[12] The Chorus' rhetoric and diction closely match Henry's, with both making unilateral calls to English patriotism. Metaphorically too, the Chorus' unifying voice, introducing events and influencing audience responses to them, reflects the monarch's voice that links and guides the kingdom and its inhabitants. The relationship is doubly true for Henry, the consummate playmaker, his rhetorical power capable of not just affecting the events that occur on stage but reframing the meaning of such occurrences—past, present, or future—to dramatically influence how they are perceived by his onstage audiences.

Is Henry a Machiavellian manipulator? Is he a good-hearted champion of the English people? Is he the former but views himself as the latter? Kastan sees Henry as a self-deluding idealist whose "uncritical moral intelligence forges the unambiguous moral environment that heroic action demands."[13] I would argue that the play intentionally leaves us with no certain answer. The Chorus views Henry as a national hero, but its other flawed pronouncements bring that judgment into question. Cleopatra displays similar ambiguity, functioning as a performer whose theatricality is constantly interpreted by individuals whose overt bias against her leaves them as unreliable as the Chorus' bias toward Henry. Less open to debate is the power of Henry's performative skill and rhetorical ability. He justifies his claim to the lands of France and the rightness of his invasion, persuades the very traitors who sought to kill him that they are guilty and deserve death, persuades his retreating soldiers at Harfleur to leap "[o]nce more unto the breach" (*H5* 3.1.1), threatens the town's Governor into surrendering, persuades his tattered army at Agincourt that they are lucky to face overwhelming odds and gain certain immortality on Saint Crispin's Day, and ends the play by presenting himself as an awkward lover wooing the reluctant, if resigned, French princess Catherine. Henry is virtually always more successful than Cleopatra, but he has a significant advantage over the queen, in that he always performs for captive (literally, in the case of the traitors) audiences, which are unable to question or oppose him due to the political and/or military power he has over them. This is arguably also why Henry, much like the Chorus, constantly emphasizes the agency and choice available to his audiences (placing, for example, the blame for the impending invasion of France on the Dauphin and for the potential destruction of Harfleur on the Mayor). Just as Cleopatra displays the dangers faced by an actor—or monarch—

faced with hostile audiences, Henry displays the dangerous power that an actor—or king—wields over credulous and/or captive audiences.

The play never makes this element explicit, but regularly undercuts Henry's role "as choreographer of the national memory […]. [It] both hides and—largely by making visible the process of hiding—reveals the stress points in the sense of nationhood to which the increasingly militaristic and imperial England of the 1590s was aspiring."[14] It does so subtly, via the Chorus' claims or moments such as after Agincourt, where the "astonishing kill ratio announced by the English after their victory—dramatically italicized as Henry reads the casualty accounts separately" simultaneously aggrandizes the victory and renders it fantastical.[15] The effect is enhanced when Henry implies that "God fought as well for the true English King" and "reinterprets the event as evidence of sacred sanction."[16] Reading the names in order of status and dismissing those below the rank of squire as "None else of name" (*H5* 4.8.103), Henry explicitly works against the words of his great performance before the battle, the Saint Crispin's Day speech, where he democratically described his army as "We few, we happy few, we band of brothers" (*H5* 4.3.61). One of the issues for a theatrical performer, particularly one who seeks to present a sense of verisimilitude to their audience, is that contexts and audiences change, requiring protean adaptability to cater to them all. Henry certainly possesses such capability, but the audience—if attentive enough—can see the shifts and movements that he makes, which reveal that what he does is an art as fictive as it is profitable for his nation. Roleplaying is, as Greenblatt notes, "one of power's essential modes," but Henry's art does not always conceal the art as much as the play—at least on its surface—pretends.[17] Cleopatra, in contrast, is overt about her roleplaying, and in doing so, reveals its limitations.

Lastly, as many critics have noted, the Epilogue "undermines our sense of the strain and heroism implicit in what have been depicted as strenuous acts of memorializing and re-presentation (just as the play can undermine the sense of heroic effort in its depiction of Agincourt)."[18] Less discussed is how the effect is ironically achieved via an act that subtly replicates Henry's approach throughout the play—a reworking of the past by rephrasing and representing it to suit his purposes. Shakespeare, manipulating his audience in the manner that Henry has meta-theatrically mimicked on stage, subtly implies a sense, "several times hinted at in the play, of national memory as the product of cunning and artful manipulation practiced by monarchs, conquerors, and colonizers against dissidents, the vanquished, and the colonized."[19] And he does so while overtly proclaiming through the Chorus, just as Henry has, that his aims are utterly transparent and that all power in the dramatic interchange lies in the hands of the audience. In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Shakespeare reverses the process, the moment of Cleopatra's apparent defeat leading to her greatest victory, one that is achieved via the very theatricality that the play—and its onstage audiences—has consistently seemed to critique.

Henry V has arguably the most overt meta-theatrical frame in Shakespearean drama, with the Chorus bookending the drama and providing connective threads between acts that continuously emphasize the artificiality of the performance and,

especially, the audience's role. In contrast, *Antony and Cleopatra* has no such frame, nor choric figures that stand outside the dramatized world of the play. Instead, the inhabitants of the fictionalized world on stage constantly, if subtly, reference and emphasize their theatricality. Additionally, the presentation of the world in *Antony and Cleopatra* quickly, if implicitly, indicates its fictionalized nature to the audience. It features the most scenes (forty-four) of any Shakespeare play and constantly moves between locations in the manner bemoaned by Sidney in *The Defence of Poesy*.[20] Such dramatic movements require constant imaginative awareness on the audience's part. The third Act, for example (following a scene set in Misenum, off Italy's western coast), begins in an unspecified Middle Eastern location near Parthia and then shifts through Rome, Cleopatra's palace in Alexandria, Athens, Rome again, Actium on the western coast of Greece, either Egypt or somewhere near Actium, Caesar's camp in Egypt, and concludes in Cleopatra's palace. This dizzying effect is exacerbated by the ambiguity in many locations, especially on the relatively prop-less Jacobean stage. The resultant effect, an emphasis on the play's fictionality, is underlined by the attempts of later versions to deemphasize these geographical shifts. John Dryden, imitating and reworking the play in *All for Love* (1678), placed every scene in Alexandria. Such an approach fits well with the verisimilitude-seeking performances on the Restoration stage, but is clearly not sought by Shakespeare's original.

The effect of the play's geographical shifts is enhanced by the characters' innumerable references to themselves and others as actors. The bulk of these comments come from Cleopatra, by far the preeminent performer of the play, not only in the sheer volume of her lines and how they dominate the speech of most others (such as when she cuts off the dying Antony multiple times) but in her explicit emphasis on performance as a state of being. Part of this emphasis arises inherently from the multiple positions she fulfills and represents, serving "simultaneously as a symbol of woman, of female sovereignty, of racial difference, and of subjected nationhood."[21] However, Cleopatra evinces and revels in theatricality to a degree that far surpasses what is required as Queen of Egypt and consort to Antony, cycling deftly through various roles and positions as suits her, both enthralling those around her and leaving them uncertain and critical of the mercurial queen.

Cleopatra's playing is so pervasive and influential that it draws others into similar actions. Antony, naturally, is one of the most susceptible, enacting Mars to her Isis. It is clear, however, that it is the queen who chooses what roles the Roman general is to play. She laughingly recalls how, when they caroused together, "Ere the ninth hour, I drunk him to his bed; / Then put my tires and mantles on him, whilst / I wore his sword Philippan."[22] Here, Cleopatra draws Antony into cross-dressing, exchanging gender positions with him—an act that has particular meaning on a stage where she is played by a boy. When Antony chooses to return to Rome after the death of his first wife, Fulvia, Cleopatra first bemoans his decision and then berates him for not mourning Fulvia, explaining how he should perform at this moment:

> I prithee, turn aside and weep for her,
> Then bid adieu to me, and say the tears
> Belong to Egypt. Good now, play one scene
> Of excellent dissembling, and let it look
> Like perfect honour. (*A&C* 1.3.77–81)

Such moments fill the play, where Cleopatra functions as actor and stage manager alike. Even in relaxed moments with her beloved attendants, she regularly references playing and performance. Shortly before the mention of donning Antony's sword, she jokes with Mardian about playing billiards (punningly switching the meaning to stage-playing midway):

> CLEOPATRA
> As well a woman with an eunuch played
> As with a woman. Come, you'll play with me, sir?
> MARDIAN
> As well as I can, madam.
> CLEOPATRA
> And when good will is showed, though't come too short,
> The actor may plead pardon. (*A&C* 2.5.5–9)

These, of course, are seemingly unimportant moments in comparison to the play's primary plot. However, the constant emphasis on playing and performance in even the most innocuous of scenes only underlines the theme's importance, laying the groundwork for the subject to take center stage in the climactic moments of *Antony and Cleopatra*.

In conjunction with Cleopatra's overt self-presentation as an actor, the play more subtly presents the role of spectatorship in performance by deploying a series of (meta-)theatrical audience members, many of whom view her performances with a jaundiced eye. The first, Antony's follower Philo, delivers the opening lines of the play, taking up a position near the audience and describing to his ally Demetrius what they (and the theater audience) are about to see:

> Nay, but this dotage of our general's
> O'erflows the measure: those his goodly eyes,
> That o'er the files and musters of the war
> Have glow'd like plated Mars, now bend, now turn,
> The office and devotion of their view
> Upon a tawny front. His captain's heart,
> Which in the scuffles of great fights hath burst
> The buckles on his breast, reneges all temper
> And is become the bellows and the fan
> To cool a gipsy's lust.
>
> *Flourish. Enter ANTONY, CLEOPATRA, her Ladies [CHARMIAN and IRAS], the train, with Eunuchs fanning her.*

> Look, where they come!
> Take but good note, and you shall see in him.
> The triple pillar of the world transformed
> Into a strumpet's fool: behold and see. (*A&C* 1.1.1–14)

Philo's "behold and see," bolstered by his likely positioning near the margin of the stage, is an explicit injunction to the audience. With the audience all around the Renaissance stage, the physical proximity of the actor would have made the speech function effectively as an aside, drawing them into his confidence. These opening words significantly color spectator perception of Antony and Cleopatra, presenting a negative viewpoint that is dramatically different to that sought by the two lovers. Thematically, they display what the play presents as key elements in the nature of theatricality—its reliance on the understanding of the spectator, as well as its potential for being misunderstood and misrepresented, particularly by those who lack sympathy and appreciation for the beauty and value of performance. This has added resonance for queens like Elizabeth, whose political position (allied—like Cleopatra's—with their gender) means that they must forever face some degree of critical spectatorship at home and abroad (as does Cleopatra in Egypt and Rome).

In a period where theatergoing was a contentious subject and the playhouse a highly contested space, *Antony and Cleopatra* begins by introducing views that are inherently anti-theatrical and that retain significant force throughout the play, apparently even winning out in the end. To make a somewhat reductionist distinction, theatricality splits along national lines, with Egypt (via Cleopatra) embracing performance and Rome (through Octavius) rejecting it. Antony, of course, falls squarely into Cleopatra's camp. Though the play depicts a foreign and historically distant conflict, rendering the subject of performative monarchy less risky than when displayed via a chronicle history, it draws upon contemporary morality and political ideals. In *Antony and Cleopatra*,

> Shakespeare juxtaposes a rational and right-conquering Rome, embodied in the character of Octavian, against not only the luxurious and eastern colonial territory of Egypt, embodied in the despotic figure of Cleopatra, but also against the figure of Marc Antony, who succumbs to the dangers of "going native" rather than maintaining control of the colonized lands.[23]

Considering the contemporary English view of Rome as the pinnacle of ancient civilization and the regard for Octavius, better known as the Emperor Augustus (to whom James I aspired to be compared), such a juxtaposition would presumably dispose the audience to side with Rome. Philo's opening lines invite "the audience to view Antony's [and Cleopatra's] state from his Roman point of view, though Antony and Cleopatra themselves, through their words and their behavior to each other, show that there is another point of view about their love."[24] Despite the lovers' presentation of themselves, it is likely that the audience would have found the Roman attitude more appropriate and acceptable.

Certainly, the Roman viewpoint is presented regularly and forcefully throughout the play, especially regarding Antony's perceived failings and his ensnarement by Cleopatra's evil machinations. One of the commonest criticisms of theatricality in the Renaissance was its inherent inauthenticity, a charge deployed against the Egyptian queen.[25] Her constant shifts and roleplaying raise the question of who the true Cleopatra is, the play leaving not just characters but spectators uncertain by never providing a moment where Cleopatra is not speaking to an audience. The play's forty-four scenes do not feature a single soliloquy or even an aside from Cleopatra, which is exceptional for Shakespeare's protagonists. Antony too has no major soliloquies, but he has multiple short ones, as does Enobarbus (with multiple asides), with even Scarus having a few lines alone on stage. In the world of the play and for the watching audience, one is never entirely certain that Cleopatra is not engaged in a performance. Here too Henry is a mirror for her, since *Henry V* similarly features a lack of soliloquies from the protagonist for much of the play—and then allows Henry to unburden himself about a king's responsibilities (*H5* 4.1.231–86). Earlier, in *Henry IV, Part 1*, Hal provides a key to the varied performances that he will enact, addressing the audience directly with "I know you all" and unambiguously explaining his plans.[26] Cleopatra never experiences such a moment. The ambiguity and uncertainty raised by Cleopatra's eternal performativity are only heightened by her positioning as an Oriental monarch (especially one opposed to the Western civilization represented by Rome) and a woman who is unabashedly open about her interest in both power and her physical appetites. This particular identity would have additional meaning at the play's first performances, since the "combination of erotic power and political authority that had made Cleopatra such a troubling figure to Romans and humanists alike might also have struck a responsive chord in Shakespeare's original audiences: they had, until recently, lived under the sway of their own powerful queen."[27] It is perhaps not coincidental that this one Shakespearean drama featuring a queen as the primary character appears after the death of Elizabeth, who might have seen somewhat more of her in Cleopatra than even Richard II, especially the way the Egyptian queen is viewed by those opposed to her.

Cleopatra's displays of protean ability certainly enable a degree of power as a woman and a monarch. As Francesca Royster notes:

> She signifies reinvention—the fantasy of being able to slough off one's 'tires and mantles' for a new skin […] An image always still in formation, Cleopatra slides out of the poet's and scholar's grasp […] She can never satisfyingly be described or explained because she is always shifting.[28]

These performative abilities simultaneously leave Cleopatra open to various accusations, many of them highly gendered. Her identity as queen and co-ruler with Antony is ignored in favor of the more simplistic conception of her as femme fatale, one whose "shape shifting and putting on and taking off of costumes disguises and therefore infers a deception, a disguising of some true identity."[29] Naturally, the harshest critics are her enemies, particularly Octavius, as when he comments on her appearing in divine garb:

> She
> In th'habiliments of the goddess Isis
> That day appeared, and oft before gave audience,
> As 'tis reported, so. (*A&C* 3.6.16–19)

When his sister Octavia (now Antony's wife) arrives, he disparages Cleopatra's morals, claiming that Octavia has been abandoned due to the Egyptian's sexual influence:

> No,
> My most wronged sister. Cleopatra hath
> Nodded him to her. He hath given his empire
> Up to a whore. (*A&C* 3.6.65–8)

Performing women, whether queens or commoners, are always threatening in a patriarchal world. Cleopatra here is tarred with the sort of criticism that the first women who appeared on English stages, after the Restoration, would face.

Cleopatra's political enemies are not the only ones who level such accusations. The power of her theatrical skills over Antony becomes grounds for criticism from Antony's Roman followers, as in the case of Philo. On multiple occasions, she is characterized as a beguiling enchantress, as in Scarus' description of her as the "ribaudred nag of Egypt" and to Antony as the "noble ruin of her magic" (*A&C* 3.10.10, 19). Antony himself takes up this image, describing her as follows in the span of a few lines: "Triple-turned whore! […] For when I am revenged upon my charm […] This grave charm… Ah, thou spell! […] The witch shall die" (*A&C* 4.12.13, 16, 25, 30, 47). Tellingly, this is neither the first nor the last time in the play that he thus suspects his partner (or threatens her with death). In view of such criticisms and the absence of clear evidence of Cleopatra's intentions, it is unsurprising that scholars have similarly, and long, doubted the Egyptian queen, some problematically reflecting the misogynist language of the play's Romans. George Bernard Shaw stated: "I always think of what Dr. [Samuel] Johnson said [about Lady Diana Beauclerk]: 'Sir, the long and short of it is, the woman's a whore!' […] You can't feel any sympathy with Antony after […] Actium […] All Shakespeare's rhetoric and pathos cannot reinstate Antony after that, or leave us with a single good word for his woman."[30] Even more measured critics doubt the genuine nature of Cleopatra's feelings, often basing the skepticism on her acting ability, as when E.A.J. Honigmann muses, "Showmanship, we quickly learn, means as much to Cleopatra as love. We often wonder whether she is interested in love for its own sake, or whether she merely needs it as a pretext for posing in amusing new attitudes."[31] Larry S. Champion describes her world as "decadent and enervating," arguing that she "utilizes her unlimited power and her limited beauty for the gratification of her own vanity," and sees Antony as the focal tragic figure in the play, not Cleopatra.[32] Such dismissals of Cleopatra and the sexist language in which they are often couched have a long history in Shakespearean criticism; they also regularly (if usually implicitly) serve to revisit

the criticisms of performance that the anti-theatricalists brought to bear on the Renaissance stage.[33]

Many feminist and/or postcolonial theorists have pushed back against such simplistically negative evaluations of the Egyptian queen. Jyotsna Singh argues for the play's subversiveness in that the "qualities that characterize the Renaissance stereotype of the duplicitous female—beauty, eroticism, changeability, ingenuity—are those that enrich and empower Cleopatra's artistry in shaping her own self-representations in challenging those of the Romans."[34] As such criticism notes, to unilaterally accept the conception of Cleopatra as nothing more than a deceitful, exotic siren is to wholly adopt the official Roman point of view in the play—and, much like Octavius, largely to ignore the fact that she is a powerful monarch. Cleopatra is many things, and among them she is also—and always—Egypt, no less than Octavius is always Rome. As Cristina León Alfar indicates, "Shakespeare's conflation of Cleopatra with Egypt interrogates both the tyranny of absolute, masculinist state power and the violent objectification of the female attendant on that system."[35] Continuing the comparison drawn earlier in this study, *Henry V* is, of course, a perfect companion piece to *Antony and Cleopatra* in this regard. Princess Catherine is overtly rendered equivalent to France and a prize for Henry to claim, with "the cities turned into a maid; for they are all girdled with maiden walls that no war hath entered" (*H5* 5.2.317–18).

Just as Henry's victory in France seems, at first glance, to reinforce the values that he espouses, Octavius' eventual triumph and the fates of Cleopatra and Antony appear to support a criticism of theatricality—at least on the surface. There is also, however, a sustained subtext that runs through *Antony and Cleopatra*, one that both undercuts the assumption that feigning and theatrics can only be ascribed to the sensual Oriental and the fallen Roman, and provides a subtle assertion of the power of dramatic performance. Despite claims to the contrary, theatricality and an emphasis on appearance are as much part of the Roman world in the play as of the Egyptian. The Romans, including those who oppose the two lovers, repeatedly seek to achieve the perception of honor just as much as, if not more than, the reality. When Pompey's ally Menas suggests to his leader that they slay the former's two great rivals, Antony and Octavius, who are currently aboard Pompey's galley, the Roman general refuses, while admitting that he would have happily accepted such an eventuality if he could have appeared honorable while doing so:

> Ah, this thou shouldst have done,
> And not have spoke on't. In me 'tis villainy;
> In thee't had been good service. Thou must know
> 'Tis not my profit that does lead mine honour;
> Mine honour, it. Repent that e'er thy tongue
> Hath so betrayed thine act. Being done unknown,
> I should have found it afterwards well done;
> But must condemn it now. Desist, and drink. (*A&C* 2.7.74–81)

The central aim here is the performance—and appearance—of honor. The eventual victor of the triumvirate, Octavius, during his interactions with Antony and, later, Cleopatra, takes considerable pains to ensure that he is perceived to be coerced into acting against them in self-defense. Even after Antony's death, he insists that his allies should let him show them "How hardly I was drawn into this war, / How calm and gentle I proceeded still / In all my writings" (*A&C* 5.1.74–6). Octavius' actions here are reminiscent of Henry's when the latter uses the Archbishop of Canterbury to justify his intended invasion of France (notably doing so even before the Dauphin's insulting gift of tennis balls provides him an additional excuse to do so), via "the law Salic that they have in France" (*H5* 1.2.11). Octavius, like Henry, is cognizant that, as Queen Elizabeth noted, "princes are set as it were upon stages in the sight and view of the world," and is careful to ensure that his "proceedings be just and honorable"—or, more precisely, that they are performed so as to seem so.[36]

Octavius' understanding of the benefits of performance and theatricality leads to his ultimate aim when victorious—to exhibit Antony and Cleopatra as part of his triumph in Rome. His follower Proculeius, immediately after having disarmed Cleopatra when she tries to stab herself, describes her desire for suicide as damaging not her but rather the performance that Octavius seeks to put on:

> Cleopatra,
> Do not abuse my master's bounty by
> The undoing of yourself. Let the world see
> His nobleness well acted, which your death
> Will never let come forth. (*A&C* 5.2.41–5)

Unsurprisingly, the two lovers are unwilling to participate in such a display. That is the primary basis for Antony's request to Eros to aid him in committing suicide:

> Eros,
> Wouldst thou be windowed in great Rome and see
> Thy master thus with pleached arms, bending down
> His corrigible neck, his face subdued
> To penetrative shame, whilst the wheeled seat
> Of fortunate Caesar, drawn before him, branded
> His baseness that ensued? (*A&C* 4.14.72–8)

Cleopatra, the eternal actress, is particularly aware of and opposed to being displayed as Octavius wishes. She refuses to partake in "th'imperious show / Of the full-fortuned Caesar"; responds to Proculeius' earlier argument with a refusal to let her captors "hoist me up / And show me to the shouting varletry / Of censuring Rome"; and, later, informs Iras of exactly what would await them if displayed in Rome:

> Now, Iras, what think'st thou?
> Thou an Egyptian puppet shalt be shown
> In Rome as well as I. Mechanic slaves
> With greasy aprons, rules and hammers shall
> Uplift us to the view. In their thick breaths,
> Rank of gross diet, shall we be enclouded
> And forced to drink their vapour.
> (*A&C* 5.2.24–5, 54–6, 206–12)

The description of the "mechanic slaves," intentionally matching some of the more opprobrious depictions of the groundlings in both Renaissance plays and the anti-theatrical tracts that criticized them and their audiences, might have been better known for its meta-theatricality if it had not preceded the famous reference to a "squeaking Cleopatra boy" that follows shortly after (*A&C* 5.2.219).

Before considering the overt meta-theatre and high theatricality of this closing scene, one should pause to note that it is arguably Shakespeare's most stark departure from Plutarch in the play. Plutarch provides three motivations for Antony's suicide but none for Cleopatra's.[37] She is simply described as being overcome by "sorrow and passion of mind" and her death reported as "very sudden."[38] Shakespeare not only provides her with the dying speeches but also clear motivation, which ties directly into the play's presentation and engagement with theatricality, and cements her position as protagonist. Cleopatra displays complete resistance (as does Antony) to the prospect of being displayed and viewed in a negative manner, a response that arises not simply as a consequence of political defeat but reflects the earlier events of the play. While a few Shakespearean plays (*Hamlet*, for example) have more onstage examples of characters being observed in ways they do not wish to be, *Antony and Cleopatra* stands alone in the degree to which the actions, appearance, thoughts, character, and general identity of characters are reported on to others. Sometimes, as in the opening moments, a narrative is closely followed by an onstage appearance related to what is being reported, but that occurs in the minority of cases. What happens far more often is the portrayal (usually, though not always, negative) of individuals to others without any control or mediation by the person being commented on. Cleopatra and Antony are the ones to whom this most occurs, but so too for even relatively minor characters, such as Octavia (in Act 3, scene 3, followed by reports on Octavius, Antony, and Cleopatra in Act 3, scenes 4–6). Some of Cleopatra's most strident critics, especially early in the play, are those who have only heard her described or reported on. The two lovers are aware of these events, having had such reports repeated to them on various occasions, as when Enobarbus warns Cleopatra of how her influence on Antony is viewed in Rome:

> Your presence needs must puzzle Antony;
> Take from his heart, take from his brain, from's time
> What should not then be spared. He is already

> Traduced for levity, and 'tis said in Rome
> That Photinus, an eunuch, and your maids
> Manage this war. (*A&C* 3.7.10–15)

In view of this context, it is unsurprising that both Antony and Cleopatra seek desperately to exert what control they have over the narratives and performances that they are written into.

Antony and Cleopatra thus engages consistently with issues of performance, representation, and theatricality, but it is in the closing scenes (especially the last) that the meta-theatrical relationship between the play and the world within which it is performed comes to its fullest fruition, as does the figure of Cleopatra. As Linda Charnes notes,

> Cleopatra […] remains a *practice* rather than a product; and as such, her "infirmity" of identity is the source of her strength. Shakespeare uses the figure of Cleopatra and her multiplicitous and marginal domain as representatives of the place and players of the Renaissance stage: the habitus of the continually changing persons who performed "wrangling" playtexts outside the margins of London and exercised a fascination over the city that uneasily tolerated and kept watch over—through its own spies and whispers—their operations.[39]

In almost every element of her being, Shakespeare's Cleopatra is analogous to the Renaissance playwrights and actors. She is protean and fascinating, yet deeply troubling and difficult to decipher. She is capable of incredible beauty, but potentially also a source for corruption. She is brilliantly articulate and can control the speech of others, but those in greater power seek to shackle her, making her words and performance suit their own ends. While such connections exist almost exclusively on an implicit level throughout the play, albeit with subtle indications that make their presence clear to an alert audience, the closing scenes make them utterly overt.

The shift toward explicit meta-theatre occurs shortly after a moment of stagecraft that matches the play's use of multiple, shifting locations in implicitly making the theatrical nature of the performance and the reliance on audience imagination even clearer than usual on the Renaissance stage—the monument scene. The scene occurs immediately after Antony's suicide attempt, occasioned by a fear of capture and upon hearing the falsified message of Cleopatra having killed herself (arguably the most influential of the play's many reports). The dying Antony is brought to the monument in which Cleopatra and her attendants have sequestered themselves to avoid capture, and is then pulled up to its top. The scene is "unique in the Shakespeare canon in that it seems to have demanded a special structure to stage the first of the play's two tragic deaths."[40] Its oddness is particularly noteworthy in the context of *Antony and Cleopatra*. Thus far, the play has accepted the limitations of the physical stage (and communicated it implicitly) by relying more on verbal description rather than actual stage business for its geographical shifts and most dramatic visual

moments (as in Enobarbus' speeches about the voyage on the Cydnus and the battle of Actium, which lack accompanying action). Now, paradoxically, by requiring the actors to physically align actions and words, "Shakespeare brings the histrionic surface of the actors' performances sharply into view, dramatizing the double vision that the theater requires of its audience as part of our experience of the play."[41] The characters not only engage in physical labor but explicitly describe themselves doing so, emphasizing the theatrical nature of their enterprise. Soon afterward, as Cleopatra prepares for her own death, Shakespeare makes the issue of (meta-)theatricality even more explicit.

Two scenes after the one in the monument, in the process of warning Iras what will occur if she and her attendants are transported as captives to Rome, Cleopatra delivers the most explicitly meta-theatrical lines in the play:

> Nay, 'tis most certain, Iras. Saucy lictors
> Will catch at us, like strumpets, and scald rhymers
> Ballad us out o' tune. The quick comedians
> Extemporally will stage us and present
> Our Alexandrian revels; Antony
> Shall be brought drunken forth; and I shall see
> Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness
> I'th' posture of a whore. (*A&C* 5.2.213–20)

In this moment, the boy actor describes to the Jacobean audience the performance that they are currently involved in viewing, which the character he plays now disparages. Scholars have long quoted these lines as an example of profound meta-theatre and, more often, debated precisely what their effect is and why they occur here. One approach is to treat the lines as a passing self-reference to Renaissance stage practice, a "tribute to the effectiveness of the convention being used that made no bones about admitting the means of performance: i.e. the cross-dressing, the open stage, the dramatic poetry," an appreciative side-glance at staging, which "allowed the spectator to concentrate on the events of the stage fiction and their outcome rather than being distracted by mere verisimilitude."[42] In view of the fact that *Antony and Cleopatra* is heavily focused on meta-theatrical matters and that the engagement has been implicit rather than explicit, such an appraisal of the lines, even if accurate, seems lacking.

The lines occur at a point when *Antony and Cleopatra* makes a dramatic shift, one that has been partially signaled by the sudden physicality of the monument scene minutes earlier. Thus far, the play has seemingly presented a strong critique of theatricality and performance, underlining its deleterious influence and negative potentiality to a degree that Renaissance anti-theatricalists might have appreciated. Most of the negativity has arisen from the Roman perspectives on Cleopatra's character and her corruption of Antony. With Octavius' victory, Roman rectitude and stern duty have seemingly triumphed over dissolute Eastern hedonism and theatricality. Yet that, in keeping

with the rest of *Antony and Cleopatra*, is a facade. Up to this point, Cleopatra's greatest theatrical performances have been a matter of report, as in Enobarbus' fifty-line long speech about her appearance on the Cydnus (*A&C* 2.2.200–50). As the play is about to end, however, she performs in full view of the audience and creates a scene that will be her legacy (within the world of the play and, via the performance of Shakespeare's company, in the *theatrum mundi* beyond it). It is in the explicit, multilayered meta-theatricality of the "squeaking Cleopatra" speech that this final movement begins. As Rackin notes,

> In this speech, and in the scene that follows, the question of her worth is directly associated with the question of the worth of shows. Here she seems to set the two at odds: only if we reject the shows we have seen can we accept the unseen greatness of Cleopatra. But in her suicide she will present a new show that validates both, and even in this speech the validation begins. The very fact that Cleopatra can talk about the show and claim that it is a poor parody implies that she has access to a level of reality beyond what has been presented. By implying the inadequacy of the representation, she implies also that she can transcend it.[43]

Sir Philip Sidney argued that "poets only deliver a golden" world.[44] Having tried and failed to succeed in the brazen world of politics and war, that is precisely what Cleopatra sets out to do here, transcending the physical limitations of her world to achieve poetic (and dramatic) immortality.

Thus far, Cleopatra has suffered the fate that any actor must risk and which those performing on the Renaissance stage continually faced. In having her performances viewed, described, and interpreted by others, she has been subject to a critical audience beyond her control. In her final moments, however, she enacts a performance with incontrovertible meaning and effect. Earlier in the play, she has been called a witch, a whore, a strumpet, and a boggler, before being transformed into a Roman captive. Now, Cleopatra utterly repudiates all such criticisms, especially those of unreliable changeability, saying:

> My resolution's placed, and I have nothing
> Of woman in me. Now from head to foot
> I am marble-constant. Now the fleeting moon
> No planet is of mine. (*A&C* 5.2.237–40)

Of course, being Cleopatra, the eternally unchanging state that she will now take on ("I have / Immortal longings in me") incorporates multiple layers and components, all of them meshing seamlessly. Nor, even now, can her words be taken utterly at face value. When Lady Macbeth asks the "spirits / That tend on mortal thoughts, unsex me here," she is unequivocally eschewing her femininity.[45] When Elizabeth appeared, armored and mounted, before the troops at Tilbury (1588) in a brilliantly performative moment (one that, like many of Cleopatra's, was described much later by the chaplain Leonel Sharp), she rhetorically straddled the boundary between woman and man. In her appearance and self-description that her mortal "body of a weak and feeble woman" was

bolstered by the "heart and stomach of a king," Elizabeth explicitly demonstrated the "double image she had of herself as both woman and king, this time presented visually as well as verbally."[46] Equally explicitly, Cleopatra takes on a greater variety of roles, many of which—despite her claim of ceasing to be a woman—are conventionally coded as feminine. She is, of course, a lover, remembering her greatest performance from the past, when she appeared as Venus herself: "I am again for Cydnus, / To meet Mark Antony" (*A&C* 5.2.227–8). She is also a wife, boldly taking a difficult journey to meet her absent spouse: "Husband, I come! / Now to that name my courage prove my title!" (*A&C* 5.2.286–7). She also presents herself rhetorically as a mother, as the asp bites her: "Dost thou not see my baby at my breast / That sucks the nurse asleep?" (*A&C* 5.2.308–9). She is a kind mistress and a friend, bidding her followers a sad goodbye: "Farewell, kind Charmian. Iras, long farewell" (*A&C* 5.2.291). Above all else, she is a mighty monarch, commanding her attendants: "Show me, my women, like a queen" (*A&C* 5.2.226). And moments after her death, Charmian identifies her as a celestial deity, the goddess Venus shining in the night sky: "O eastern star!" (*A&C* 5.2.307)

This moment of incredible dramaturgy on the part of character and playwright is unequivocally meta-theatrical. Cleopatra not only invests herself rhetorically with grandeur, but is physically dressed on stage in a manner that befits her position and final moments. Even as she seeks to transubstantiate herself spiritually and gain eternal fame, saying, "I have / Immortal longings in me" and "I am fire and air; my other elements / I give to baser life", she simultaneously orders her attendants, "Give me my robe. Put on my crown" (*A&C* 5.2.279–80, 288–9, 279). Even after her death, both her spiritual self and her physical stage appearance are commented on, with Charmian saying, "Now boast thee, Death, in thy possession lies / A lass unparalleled," before addressing Cleopatra's corpse to say, "Your crown's awry; / I'll mend it, and then play" (*A&C* 5.2.314–15, 317–18). Shakespeare's choice to thus dramatize the scene is key to its function as the denouement (and, in many ways, reversal) of the play's treatment of theatricality. Acting and performance have been viewed skeptically throughout *Antony and Cleopatra*, seemingly for good reason. To have Cleopatra achieve a moment of transcendent splendor now would perhaps redeem her character, yet if presented purely rhetorically, would not only provide no such redemption for the subject of theatricality, but imply that purity and beauty are found only in poetry, not dramatic performance. By blending words and stage business, with the former explicitly commenting on and drawing attention to the latter, Shakespeare communicates the fact that Cleopatra's triumph lies not only in her verbal flourishes but also in the theatrical displays that have always accompanied them. Similar grandeur and beauty, by extension, may be found in the theatrical business that the playwright and his actors are involved in, as indicated by the explicit connection drawn between the theatrical Cleopatra and the boy actors playing her, Iras, and Charmian.

In sharp contrast to virtually all her earlier onstage actions, Cleopatra's last performance is a complete success, robbing Octavius of his triumph and replac-

ing the theatrical display that he sought to force her into with one of her own choosing, one that (as the dying Charmian insists, connecting performance and monarchy like Elizabeth), "is well done, and fitting for a princess / Descended of so many royal kings" (*A&C* 5.2.325–6). Its efficacy is underlined by the admiration Cleopatra's death draws from her greatest critic, Octavius himself:

> Bravest at the last,
> She levelled at our purposes, and, being royal,
> Took her own way.
> [...].
> Take up her bed;
> And bear her women from the monument.
> She shall be buried by her Antony.
> No grave upon the earth shall clip in it
> A pair so famous. High events as these
> Strike those that make them, and their story is
> No less in pity than his glory which
> Brought them to be lamented. Our army shall
> In solemn show attend this funeral,
> And then to Rome. Come, Dolabella, see
> High order in this great solemnity. (*A&C* 5.2.334–6, 355–65)

Octavius' attempt, as he has done repeatedly earlier, to aggrandize his own glory via a reference to himself as the conqueror of Cleopatra and Antony, only weakly echoes his earlier successes. At the play's end, the performing queen overcomes the critical gazes of critic and spectator, achieving a matchless immortality, though paradoxically via the act of self-annihilation.

Antony and Cleopatra provides a multifaceted exploration of the nature of theatricality and performance, one that simultaneously recognizes its beauties and its negatives, its potential for spiritually uplifting and morally corrupting, and its reliance on both the actor and the spectator. Utilizing the figure of the monarch-player as both subject and tool, the play speaks strongly of the conditions under which it was created, in and for a particular theatrical moment where boys played women, when audiences surrounded a mostly bare stage, when theatre was—problematically but enticingly—always potentially corruptive and seditious, and when a powerful queen had recently reigned but did so no longer. The play's deployment of meta-theatre inevitably speaks to such influences and concerns, allowing those separated from its unique moment to gain something of a sense of its manner of creation, performance, and reception. It also allows the play to explicate, as Renaissance drama in general does, how dramatic performance is intrinsic to human existence, whether for the queens and kings of the world or for the audience of commoners who watch them strut their way across the stage, in both the theater and the world outside it.

Notes

1. David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare After Theory* (New York: Routledge, 1999), 104.
2. Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and her Circle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 294.
3. Crosse, quoted in E. K. Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage*, vol. 4 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1923), 247.
4. Logan Pearsall Smith, *The Life and Letters of Sir Henry Wotton*, vol. 2 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1907), 32.
5. Kastan, *Shakespeare After Theory*, 111.
6. Here I am defining meta-theatre as a particular mode of dramatic performance, where actors, playwrights, dramatic characters, and/or (in particular) audiences express or share a perception of drama as a fictional and theatrical construct. For more on Shakespearean meta-theatre, see James L. Calderwood's *Metadrama in Shakespeare's Henriad: Richard II to Henry V* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979) and Judd Hubert's *Metatheater: The Example of Shakespeare* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1991).
7. For Jonson's arrest and Nashe's flight after the controversy over *The Isle of Dogs*, see David Riggs' *Ben Jonson: A Life* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989), 32–33. For the arrest of Jonson and Chapman (and Marston's escape) due to *Eastward Ho!*, see C. G. Petter's edition of the play (New York: Bloomsbury, 2014), xxiii–xxv.
8. Calderwood, *Metadrama in Shakespeare's Henriad*, 170.
9. Calderwood, *Metadrama in Shakespeare's Henriad*, 145.
10. Nicholas Grene, *Shakespeare's Serial History Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 241.
11. Melissa D. Aaron, "The Globe and *Henry V* as Business Document," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 40.2 (2000): 283.
12. Lawrence Danson, "*Henry V*: King, Chorus, and Critics," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 34:1 (1983): 30.
13. David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare and the Shapes of Time* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1982), 73.
14. Jonathan Baldo, "Wars of Memory in *Henry V*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 47.2 (1996): 134.
15. Donald Hedrick, "Advantage, Affect, History, *Henry V*," *PMLA* 118.3 (2003): 471.
16. Laurie E. Osborne, "Crisis of Degree in Shakespeare's *Henriad*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 25.2 (1985): 355.
17. Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 46.
18. Baldo, "Wars of Memory," 143
19. Baldo, "Wars of Memory," 143.
20. Sidney, "The Defence of Poesy" in *Sir Philip Sidney: Selected Prose and Poetry*, ed. Robert Kimbrough (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 148.
21. Dympna Callaghan, *Shakespeare Without Women: Representing Gender and Race on the Renaissance Stage* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 7.

22. William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. John Wilders (London: Bloomsbury, 1995), 2.5.21–23.
23. Theresa D. Kemp, *Women in the Age of Shakespeare* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2010), 97.
24. Andrew Gurr and Mariko Ichikawa, eds., *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 85.
25. As noted above, even Sidney, when referring to the unity of space, criticizes the English stage for requiring its audiences to believe what is obviously false ("The Defence of Poesy," 148). Anti-theatricalists especially complained of the falsehood (and immorality) inherent in boys and men playing women on stage (as, of course, occurred in *A&C*). See Stephen Gosson's *Playes Confuted in Five Actions* (London, 1582), 197; John Rainoldes' *Th'overthrow of Stage-Plays* (London, 1599), 17–18; and William Prynne's *Histrio-Mastix. The Players Scourge, or Actors Tragedie, Divided into Two Parts* (London, 1633), 187–188, 212–214.
26. William Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part 1*, ed. David Scott Kastan, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2002), 1.2.185–207.
27. Phyllis Rackin, *Shakespeare and Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 117.
28. Francesca T. Royster, *Becoming Cleopatra: The Shifting Image of an Icon* (New York: Palgrave, 2003), 1–2.
29. Susan Osmond, "'Her Infinite Variety': Representations of Shakespeare's Cleopatra in Fashion, Film and Theatre," *Film, Fashion and Consumption* 1.1 (2011): 56.
30. Qtd. in Phyllis Rackin's "Shakespeare's Boy Cleopatra, the Decorum of Nature, and the Golden World of Poetry," *PMLA* 87.2 (1972): 202.
31. E.A.J. Honigmann, *Shakespeare: Seven Tragedies* (New York: Macmillan, 1976), 163.
32. Larry S. Champion, *Shakespeare's Tragic Perspective* (Athens: Georgia University Press, 2012), 241.
33. L.T. Fitz, "Egyptian Queens and Male Reviewers: Sexist Attitudes in *Antony and Cleopatra* Criticism," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 28.3 (1977): 297.
34. Jyotsna Singh, "Renaissance Anti-theatricality, Anti-feminism, and Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*," *Renaissance Drama* 20 (1989): 113.
35. Cristina León Alfar, *Fantasies of Female Evil: The Dynamics of Gender and Power in Shakespearean Tragedy* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2003), 141.
36. Part of Elizabeth's reply to a deputation from Parliament (November 12, 1586) asking her to carry out the death sentence on Mary, Queen of Scots. See J. E. Neale, *Elizabeth I and her Parliaments, 1584–1601*, vol. 2 (London: Jonathan Cape, 1965), 119.
37. Fitz, "Egyptian Queens and Male Reviewers," 313.
38. "The Life of Marcus Antonius," trans. Thomas North, *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, ed. T.J.B. Spencer (London: Penguin, 1964), 286, 291.
39. Linda Charnes, *Notorious Identity: Materializing the Subject in Shakespeare* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 147.
40. Gurr and Ichikawa, *Staging in Shakespeare's Theatres*, 62.
41. W.B. Worthen, "The Weight of Antony: Staging 'Character' in *Antony and Cleopatra*," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 26.2 (1986): 296.

42. David Mann, *Shakespeare's Women: Performance and Conception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 118.
43. Phyllis Rackin's "Shakespeare's Boy Cleopatra," 208.
44. Sidney, "Defence of Poesy," 108.
45. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, eds. Sandra Clark and Pamela Mason, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 1.5.41–42.
46. Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 144.

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PART V

Absent/Missing Queens

CHAPTER 13

"Nothing Hath Begot My Something Grief": Invisible Queenship in Shakespeare's Second Tetralogy

Kavita Mudan Finn and Lea Luecking Frost

In Act 1, scene 3 of the anonymous play *Thomas of Woodstock*,[1] the titular character observes of Richard II's new queen,

> What erst seemed well by custom now looks rude;
> Our women till your coming, fairest cousin,
> Did use like men to straddle when they ride,
> But you have taught them now to sit a-side.
> Yet, by your leave, young practice often reels:
> I have seen some of your scholars kick up both their heels.[2]

The anecdote that inspires this speech appears within a far less flattering context in the source text, John Stow's *Annales of England* (1592), where the queen's retinue is blamed for several "detestable" trends, including "piked shooes" for men and horned headdresses for court ladies, as well as the more admirable sidesaddles.[3] These other trends appear in the play, but are displaced onto "Richard's peculiar fashion-design committee" made up of Bushy, Bagot, and Green.[4] "Anne o'Beame," in contrast, is shown making shirts for the poor and interceding on behalf of the commons with her careless husband—the perfect image of a well-behaved queen.

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The *Woodstock* playwright seems to have been aware of the reputation the historical Anne of Bohemia had as a mediator. Although this is a traditional role assigned to medieval queens rather than something necessarily unique to Anne, Paul Strohm has argued that "Anne of Bohemia's thirteen-year reign was quite literally framed within previously established expectations of her mediatory activity" and that literary representations of Anne, in contrast to those of some of her predecessors, realize the potential that queenly intervention holds as an avenue for legitimate political criticism.[5] In medieval texts such as Richard Maidstone's *Concordia* and Geoffrey Chaucer's *Legend of Good Women*, Anne (and figures meant to represent her) "briefly but suggestively opens the possibility that the intercessory tradition might be assimilated to less supplicatory and more energetic forms of critique."[6] In the play, Anne is certainly presented as a mediating figure and at least a potential good influence on her husband. The text frequently equates the continued stability of the realm with the stability of Richard and Anne's marriage. Woodstock, for instance, assumes that it will, so to speak, straighten Richard out:

> I have good hope this happy marriage, brothers,
> Of this so noble and religious princess,
> Will mildly calm his headstrong youth to see
> And shun those stains that blurs his majesty.[7]

Anne herself is told by the Duchess of Ireland that "your virtuous charity […] So graciously hath won the commons' love / As only you have power to stay their rigour"[8]; and Woodstock worries that her death will usher in chaos: "Her charity hath stayed the commons' rage […] And, 'fore my God, I fear when she is gone / This woeful land will all to ruin run"[9]—which is, of course, exactly what happens. *Woodstock*, on the one hand, dramatizes the suggestion that queenly rhetoric and behavior can serve as a positive influence. But while Anne is described as a wise mediator capable of advising her husband to make good decisions, she never plays that role onstage.[10] Anne's admonitions to Richard are quickly blown off: her suggestion that Richard revoke his condemnation of his uncles earns the response "King's words are laws. If we infringe our word / We break our law,"[11] and her disapproval of his lavish spending only serves to underscore his resolution toward conspicuous consumption:

> *Queen Anne*. O but, my lord, 'twill tire your revenues
> To keep this festival a year together.
> *King Richard*. As many days as I write England's king
> We will maintain that bounteous festival.[12]

While their marriage is depicted as affectionate and Richard is shown to grieve profoundly—as his historical counterpart did—at her death, Anne's political influence on her husband is deeply circumscribed; her criticisms have no effect whatsoever on his actions.[13] It is the commons', rather than Richard's, love for her that makes the most difference.

Woodstock, then, idealizes queenship as something that should be seen and not heard. Anne's exemplarity is connected to her retiring nature. While the historical Anne was critiqued for her foreign retinue, the play's Anne is culturally and personally self-effacing. In her first appearance, she simultaneously disavows her own culture and her own past:

> Your all-accomplished honors have so tied
> My senses by a magical restraint
> In the sweet spell of these your fair demeanours
> That I am bound and charmed from what I was.
> My native country I no more remember
> But as a tale told in my infancy,
> The greatest part forgot; and that which is
> Appears to England's fair Elysium
> Like brambles to the cedars, coarse to fine,
> Or like the wild grape to the fruitful vine.
> And having left the earth where I was bred,
> And English made, let me be Englishèd.[14]

By setting aside her past as "a tale told in my infancy," Anne allows herself to be rewritten into English history—to be "Englishèd," or "essentially, translated, a word (and action) with both linguistic and narrative undertones."[15] Woodstock's imagining of her place in the history books, discussed earlier, follows immediately upon this speech. Indeed, her most effective action is her death, which Richard deems "chorus to some tragic scene / That shortly will confound our state and realm,"[16] and leads him to attempt to forestall the murder of Woodstock on the grounds that "We have too much provoked the powers divine."[17] Given the play's clear preference for a hands-off monarchy and a strong aristocracy, it is Anne's retiring nature and indeed her semi-martyrdom that make her a good queen and thus worthy of being listened to.

In Shakespeare's second tetralogy, likely written around the same time as *Woodstock*, the silence of women is far less idealized. It is something of a commonplace in criticism of these plays that they sideline women to a degree extreme even for the male-dominated Shakespearean stage. This chapter argues that, rather than simply omitting women from the tetralogy, Shakespeare—like many historical writers of his day—uses their relative absence to underscore moments of crisis. In part, these crises are dynastic. The helplessness of the unnamed Queen in *Richard II*, combined with the sexual undertones of her language in her most prominent appearance, reminds the audience that she and her husband are a dynastic cul-de-sac. Henry IV, who takes the throne from Richard at the end of that play, already has sons from a prior marriage, and thus has no pressing need for a queen. That the historical Henry IV was married to Joan of Navarre in 1403 is a detail Shakespeare omits from the two parts of *Henry IV*, rendering the Lancastrian court a wholly male—and thus by definition sterile—place.[18] Finally, Princess Katherine's few appearances in *Henry V* are accompanied by ironic reminders that her son's reign will occasion its own

disastrous succession crisis, undercutting what would otherwise be a triumphant ending. But the invisibility of queenship in the second tetralogy is purposeful in that it underscores how an avenue for female political power is closed off to the detriment of everyone involved. Women in the second tetralogy are rarely heard—the Queen's fears in *Richard II* are dismissed by everyone she interacts with, while Princess Katherine in *Henry V* literally does not speak the same language as the men in the play, including her own countrymen as well as the one she marries. Henry IV's court, as mentioned above, is devoid of women, and what few women do appear elsewhere have their good advice ignored, like Anne o'Beame in *Thomas of Woodstock*. As Phyllis Rackin and Jean Howard have pointed out:

> From a feminist standpoint, one of the most striking features of the second tetralogy is the restriction of women's roles […]. In the second tetralogy, women's roles are further constricted. There are fewer female characters; they have less time on stage and less to say when they get there. Moreover, virtually all the women we see in these plays are enclosed in domestic settings and confined to domestic roles.[19]

At the same time, however, the tetralogy engages the real-life queenship of Elizabeth I through its ambiguously gendered portrayal of Richard II's kingship—a parallel that Elizabeth famously, if perhaps apocryphally, recognized in her observation to William Lambarde, "I am Richard II, know ye not that?"[20] As Steven Mullaney notes, furthermore, even if the story is exaggerated or fabricated, "the queen's purported reaction—taking it both personally and politically—is entirely credible in historical terms."[21]

If the first tetralogy, as discussed in several other chapters in this volume, examines the concept and practice of queenship through the depiction of Margaret of Anjou, a powerful if *de facto* queen regnant, the second tetralogy sidelines the queens it depicts, pushing them into fictional, narratorial spaces as in *Richard II*, or isolating them linguistically, as in *Henry V*.[22] The only female characters in the *Henry IV* plays are affiliated either with the rebels against the crown—Lady Percy, Lady Mortimer, the Countess of Northumberland—or, as is the case with Mistress Quickly and Doll Tearsheet, with the Boar's Head Tavern. At the same time, the gender ambiguity of Elizabeth's own queenship serves to inform the plays' construction of kingship—as Louis Montrose argues, "the circumstantial fact that the body politic of English kingship was incarnated in the natural body of an unmarried woman ensured that gender and sexuality were foregrounded in representing the Elizabethan state."[23] While it would be disingenuous—not to mention factually wrong—to suggest that all monarchs in English history plays should be read against Elizabeth I, Shakespeare's particular preoccupation with the gendered aspects of monarchy in *Richard II*, and to a lesser extent the Henriad, bring into focus a reading of absent queenship in the second tetralogy that is in its own way just as damning as the "tyger's heart" Margaret.

"Flattering Glass": *Richard II* and the Mirror of Queenship

In Act 3 of *Richard II*, Henry Bolingbroke, about to execute erstwhile royal favorites Bushy and Greene, proclaims that this action is justified on account of, among other things, their otherwise-undramatized sexual immorality:

> You have in manner with your sinful hours
> Made a divorce betwixt his queen and him,
> Broke the possession of a royal bed
> And stained the beauty of a fair queen's cheeks
> With tears drawn from her eyes by your foul wrongs.[24]

Critics have spilled considerable amounts of ink attempting to explain away this passage as a reference to source material such as Holinshed's *Chronicles* or even Christopher Marlowe's *Edward II* (*c.* 1592), and to point out that the "divorce" alleged by Bolingbroke is not particularly in evidence elsewhere in the text. As Rackin and Howard point out, however, while the Queen "grieved for her husband" in earlier scenes, she always did so "in isolation from him, and there was nothing to counter Bullingbrook's accusation."[25] Indeed, the potential disruption of the royal marriage becomes central to the play's nexus of political and sexual anxieties because, as Jonathan Goldberg puts it, "marriage is the social institution whose regulatory functions ramify everywhere."[26] It also serves to allegorize the bonds of subjects and rulers—thus Richard decries the dissolution of "a twofold marriage, 'twixt my crown and me, / And then betwixt me and my married wife"—and to underscore the gendered nature of the political dilemma the play poses (*R2* 5.1.72–3). While the play may not dramatize any overt discord between Richard and the Queen—as Marlowe did in *Edward II*—the dramatic tension created by the intersection of flattery, rebellion, and sodomy is, as Meredith Skura has persuasively argued, subsumed into the language.[27] The Queen first appears as a visitor to Gaunt's deathbed in 2.1, but she speaks only a throwaway line of greeting; the text makes no mention of her appearance as part of the court in the early scenes.[28] Her presence is a silent one and, depending on how one reads York's denunciation of Richard for stealing Gaunt's lands after his death—"when he [the Black Prince] frowned, it was against the French / And not against his friends" (*R2* 2.1.178–9)—potentially quite awkward, since the historical Isabelle de Valois was the daughter of the French king. Her role, therefore, is confined to the domestic rather than the public sphere; she does not appear in a public space until Act 5.

Her first scene of any substance is Act 2, scene 2, and it is significant that she is speaking not to the king or to his uncles—she does not directly address Richard until Act 5—but to Richard's favorites Bushy, Bagot, and Green. The Queen's dialogue is full of sexual subtext: she laments that "nothing hath begot my something grief, / Or something hath the nothing that I grieve" (*R2* 2.2.36–7), and she describes her unarticulated anxiety as a monstrous phantom pregnancy which is all the more monstrous because "nothing hath begot" it[29]:

> Yet again, methinks,
> Some unborn sorrow, ripe in Fortune's womb,
> Is coming towards me, and my inward soul
> With nothing trembles. At something it grieves
> More than with parting from my lord the King.[30] (*R2* 2.2.9–13)

The wordplay here evokes multiple, overlapping anxieties: "thing," "something," and "nothing" can all, particularly in the context of the larger pregnancy metaphor, be early modern terms for multiple forms of genitalia as well as references to more or less any kind of sex act.[31] Moreover, these sexualized metaphors carry political implications "since the imagery of pregnancy underscores the fact that Richard and his Queen have no children, and thus are a dynastic dead end. Or, more to the point, the Queen has no place within a political and iconographic structure which is, ultimately, driven by same-sex attachments."[32] Unlike Anne of Bohemia in *Woodstock*—a queen whose purported influence is far greater than what is actually dramatized onstage—the unnamed Queen in *Richard II* is a visible and discomforting lacuna in the middle of the play, lamenting her political and dynastic insignificance while also foreshadowing the end of Richard's reign. Indeed, Mario DiGangi has argued that the courts of Richard II and Henry IV parallel one another in their omission of women from the production and reproduction of royal power:

> The homoeroticized body of one king produces male favorites, who share synchronically the space of his royal household; the procreational body of another king produces male offspring who share diachronically the name of his royal "house." Thus the play reveals "illegitimate" political affiliation and "legitimate" biological filiation to be parallel processes.[33]

The Queen therefore embodies her very status as a narrative blank space. Existing as she does outside of the historical narrative, reimagined from a prepubescent child, as the historical Isabelle de Valois was, into a mature young woman and thus a *potentially* reproductive body, she thus serves to enact an unfulfilled reproductive and therefore emblematic potential. The culmination of the pregnancy imagery further underscores the nonreproductive quality of dynastic succession in this play:

> So, Green, thou art the midwife to my woe,
> And Bolingbroke my sorrow's dismal heir.
> Now hath my soul brought forth her prodigy,
> And I, a gasping new-delivered mother,
> Have woe to woe, sorrow to sorrow joined. (*R2* 2.2.62–6)

The image of the Queen as the unnatural "new-delivered mother" to an adult man highlights the audience's knowledge that her role in dynastic succession is purely metaphorical. Her role in the play, then, is another sign of dynastic

disjunction: if social disruption, in Jonathan Goldberg's well-known formulation, makes sodomy visible, it also makes women visible.[34]

The upheaval indicated by the visibility of femininity and/or queerness, of a discursive register outside that of the normatively (heteronormatively?) masculine, is figured in the play as occurring within the narrative gaps. The threat this poses is, once again, articulated by the Queen:

> I cannot but be sad; so heavy sad,
> As thought, on thinking on no thought I think,
> Makes me with heavy nothing faint and shrink. (*R2* 2.2.30–2)

The phrase "heavy nothing," suggesting both a threatening lacuna, and carrying (particularly in its context within the scene) unsettling undertones of pregnancy, encapsulates the presence of the unspoken. "'Nothing,' one of the play's prominent motifs (the word occurs twenty-five times), is often associated with absence, vacancy, or loss, and, especially in Acts 4 and 5, with the problem of Richard's identity as a deposed monarch; the Queen's usage here is therefore effectively proleptic."[35] But it also serves to create an overlap in anxieties caused by sexual and political identity. When Richard, surrendering his crown, insists that "I must nothing be" (*R2* 4.1.201), or envisions his own burial—which he does at least three times,[36] and the grave/womb analogy has already been made explicit in John of Gaunt's own self-negating description of himself as "gaunt as a grave / Whose hollow womb inherits naught but bones" (*R2* 2.1.83)—or when he ruminates that "I am unkinged by Bolingbroke / And straight am nothing" (*R2* 5.5.37–8), he locates himself within that interpretive gap. To be "nothing" is to be not-a-man, outside of the historical narrative and aligned with femininity and queerness, signifiers of socio-political disruption. As such, Richard's charge to the Queen in their final scene together to tell "the lamentable tale of me" (*R2* 5.1.44) projects his story into a genre that is both ahistorical and traditionally feminine, that of a winter's tale told by "good old folks" (*R2* 5.1.41).[37] If sexualized narrative gaps signify anxiogenic spaces in the historical record, then what Harry Berger calls Richard's "luxurious self-representation," which consists primarily of auto-feminization and auto-negation, paradoxically dramatizes a resistance to being inscribed within the historical narrative and endowed with symbolic significance.[38]

This focus, then, on things that are unspeakable in both political and sexual terms underlies the controversial status of Shakespeare's text in its own day. Many critics, of course, have remarked on the resonance the play must have had to its original audience; Lisa Hopkins has said that despite its status as the history play with the largest temporal distance between its audience and the events it depicts, "*Richard II*, far from being the play most remote from the concerns of an Elizabethan audience, was in fact the most closely connected to them of all Shakespeare's history plays."[39] In its evocation of an England that incorporates qualities that are both masculine and feminine, that is a masculine "seat of Mars" (*R2* 2.1.41) and a phallically "sceptred isle" while also being a "mother"

and "nurse" (*R2* 1.3.307) whose "maid-pale peace" is threatened by Bolingbroke's invasion (*R2* 3.3.98), *Richard II* envisions an androgynous nation embodied by an androgynous monarch. This is most clearly seen, of course, in his comparison of himself to "a long-parted mother with her child" (*R2* 3.2.8), but the emphasis throughout the play on his youth and attractiveness also serves to distance him from traditional images of masculinity.[40] In doing so, the play creates parallels to the cross-gendering that appears in depictions of Queen Elizabeth herself. Certainly Elizabeth's own assertion of the dually gendered nature conferred upon her by her queenship, particularly in her famous proclamation at Tilbury that "I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and of a king of England too," is familiar: her skill in negotiating the gendered disparity of her two bodies is much remarked upon.[41] Slightly less remarked upon is the queerness of this disparity. Louis Montrose spends considerable time addressing that queerness in his discussion of an accusation made against Catholic-hunter Richard Topcliffe in 1591: that he had claimed to have had sexual encounters with the queen, and that during one of these encounters "she said unto him, 'be not thease the armes, legges, and bo[dy] of King Henry?' to which he answered 'yea.'"[42] In Montrose's reading, the behavior attributed to both Topcliffe and Elizabeth in this anecdote illustrates the degree to which even the queen's organic femininity is inextricable from the masculinity intrinsic to her office:

> Topcliffe's statement and Elizabeth's negative response constitute a simultaneous juxtaposition and identification of the erotically feminine body of Queen Elizabeth with the virile body of her much feared father. The energy released by this queer verbal exchange is not so much homoerotic as it is *monarchoerotic* [...] This anecdote is comprehensible in terms of the Elizabethan cultural logic that cross-gendered the royal bodies natural and politic—a cultural logic that was itself consequent upon the anomalous historical circumstance of an unmarried female prince.[43]

This particular bit of gossip, then, imagines Elizabeth as desirable not only because of her femininity but because of the masculine body conferred on her by her office, and indeed her father—both components are presented as intrinsic to her desirability. As such, it is an illustration of the way in which some depictions of the queen go so far as to rhetorically or symbolically re-gender her body natural. Another example comes from the 1578 pageants held for Elizabeth, accompanied by the French ambassadors, in the Protestant stronghold city of Norwich, which celebrate the queen as a specifically Protestant ruler, an emphasis occasioned by her controversial plans to marry the Catholic Duke of Anjou. The Norwich pageantry, therefore, anxiously insists on both Elizabeth's Protestantism and her virginity. At the same time, though, one of the central moments of the pageant comes when the figures of various classical gods and goddesses present her with "a ryding Wande of Whales fin curiously wrought," "a Purse curyously wrought," "a fayre payre of Knyves," "a great Artificiall Fishe, and in the belly thereof a noble Pike,"

"a Bowe and Arrowes nocked and headed with siluer," and, finally, "an Arrow of Golde."[44] This impressive collection of phallic symbols (alongside the scrotal purse), in the context of a pageant meant to subtly express displeasure with Elizabeth's prospective marriage, is suggestive: much like England, as schoolmaster Stephen Limbert points out in his oration at Norwich, is "another worlde, which I thinke may bee most true in this our age," so too is Elizabeth self-contained, complete in herself like the primeval androgynous humans of Plato's *Symposium*, and the proposed marriage to Anjou therefore a violation of that completeness.[45] In a broader sense, too, the rhetoric of the Norwich pageants emphasizes the queerness of the royal body: Elizabeth's femaleness, juxtaposed with the masculinity of her body politic, complicates the gender dynamics of the connection between king and realm. Both the monarch and the nation are, therefore, imagined as doubly gendered. It is in this context, then, that *Richard II* examines both kingship and queenship. Just as Stephen Limbert describes Elizabeth's England as "another worlde," Richard II's England is a multiply gendered "little world"—a phrase used to refer both to England itself (2.1.45) and to Richard as he attempts to encourage the reproduction of his brain and soul (5.5.6–11).[46] The androgynous qualities of monarchy itself allow Richard's kingship in the play to reflect Elizabeth's status as simultaneously king and queen, even as the actual queen within the play is pushed out of her own story to tell the lamentable tale of her deposed husband.

"A Woman's Voice May Do Some Good": Absent Queenship in the Henriad

In the rest of the second tetralogy—comprising the two parts of *Henry IV* and *Henry V*—the status of monarchy is automatically complicated by the masculine anxiety occasioned by Richard II's "deviant" behavior. Queenship is almost a nonissue in the *Henry IV* plays, as Henry IV has no queen; indeed, there are no women associated with the court at all. Not only is this historically inaccurate—Henry IV married Joan of Navarre in 1403, though they both had children from earlier marriages—it underscores the near-paranoid fixation on martial masculinity at the heart of Lancastrian kingship. The play even begins with elliptically phrased news about dead English soldiers being castrated by Welsh women ("such misuse, / Such beastly shameless transformation, / […] as may not be / Without much shame retold or spoken of"), a motif that recurs later in the play in the character of Edmund Mortimer.[47] Despite the rebellion being mounted in his name, Mortimer is more interested in seducing his new wife, rendering him similarly "transformed" in the eyes of both his enemies and his allies. Of those allies, Harry "Hotspur" Percy represents the Lancastrians' longed-for masculine ideal—Henry IV himself refers to him as "the very straightest plant, / Who is sweet fortune's minion and her pride," drawing an

unfavorable comparison to his own son, the dissolute Prince Hal (*1H4* 1.1.81–2). Later in the play, Henry explicitly draws parallels between Hal and the deposed Richard II, offering a visceral metaphor to illustrate the dangers of a king who

> enfeoffed himself to popularity,
> That, being daily swallowed by men's eyes,
> They surfeited with honey and began
> To loathe the taste of sweetness, whereof a little
> More than a little is by much too much. (*1H4* 3.2.69–73)

It is difficult for a modern critic not to read Laura Mulvey's cinematic male gaze into the metaphor of someone being "daily swallowed by men's eyes," but even in the sixteenth century, this was an appropriate concept for a monarch, particularly one operating under the circumstances in which Elizabeth I found herself.[48] But Henry rejects this idea, shutting himself away from the larger population, "ne'er seen but wondered at; and so my state, / Seldom but sumptuous, showed like a feast / And won by rareness such solemnity" (*1H4* 3.2.57–9). One might argue that, as a man and a king, he can afford such isolation—this was, after all, a repeated refrain during the reign of James I, when a number of texts evoke nostalgia for the ceremony and splendor of the Elizabethan court. The play does not engage much further with these points of comparison, but the shadow of Richard's ambiguously gendered kingship haunts especially *Henry IV, Part 1*, and, to a lesser extent, *Part 2*.

There are women associated with the rebellious lords in both parts of *Henry IV*, most notably Hotspur's wife, who, like the queen in *Richard II*, has an affectionate relationship with her husband but is unable to exert a strong influence on his actions. While Lady Mortimer, the daughter of the Welshman Owen Glendower, could potentially exert a great deal of influence over her transfixed husband, she speaks only Welsh and Mortimer cannot understand a word she says. It may well be that Lady Mortimer and her father influence Mortimer to abandon his allies, leading to Hotspur's death at the battle of Shrewsbury, but if that is the case it is never made explicit. Made explicit instead is the cowardice of Hotspur's father, the Earl of Northumberland, who abandons his son—ostensibly from his sickbed—and, in *Henry IV, Part 2*, fails to turn up for a second rebellion in a row after his wife and daughter-in-law (Kate Percy, Hotspur's widow) urge him to stay: "O never, do [Hotspur's] ghost the wrong / To hold your honour more precise and nice / With others than with him!"[49] Their words sway Northumberland, and the second rebellion founders even faster than the first.

The other two women who appear in the two parts of *Henry IV* are Mistress Quickly and Doll Tearsheet, both denizens of the Boar's Head Tavern in Eastcheap, and therefore occupying a distinctly separate temporal and generic space from the rest of the play. In the Boar's Head, news of fifteenth-century wars mingles with quotations from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, and Falstaff, not

Henry IV, is Prince Hal's larger-than-life, and equally disappointing, father figure. Hal is the only character in the play who successfully navigates both these spaces—the tavern and the court—but by the end of *Henry IV, Part 2*, he has vowed

> To mock the expectation of the world,
> To frustrate prophecies, and to raze out
> Rotten opinion, who hath writ me down
> After my seeming. (*2H4* 5.2.125–8)

Falstaff's attempt, at the end of the play, to follow Hal into his new life as King Henry V fails miserably. In the previous scene, Mistress Quickly and Doll Tearsheet are both thrown in prison, though at least Mistress Quickly survives—although more quean than queen, she shares one notable trait in common with Margaret of Anjou. She too appears in four of Shakespeare's plays: the two parts of *Henry IV*, *Henry V*, and, in a miraculous twist made possible by generic intervention, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*.

The final play in the second tetralogy, *Henry V*, has a complicated textual history that impacts its depiction of queenship in unexpected ways.[50] There are two royal women who appear in the Folio text of *Henry V*: Queen Isabel of France and her daughter Princess Katherine, who marries Henry V. Queen Isabel only appears in the final scene, alongside the unnamed French king (historically Charles VI). While the two kings exchange conventional greetings, Queen Isabel makes a short and pointed speech that "refuses to ignore—as the men have done in their greetings—the violent history that led them there."[51]

> So happy be the issue, brother England,
> Of this good day and of this gracious meeting,
> As we are now glad to behold your eyes,
> Your eyes which hitherto have borne in them
> Against the French that met them in their bent
> The fatal balls of murdering basilisks.
> The venom of such looks we fairly hope
> Have lost their quality, and that this day
> Shall change all griefs and quarrels into love.[52]

It is not until after Henry agrees with her that she greets the rest of the embassy: "You English princes all, I do salute you" (*H5* 5.2.22). Nor is it coincidence that the duke of Burgundy has a speech of forty-five lines immediately afterward that is a striking meditation on the horrors of war, all of which, in the case of the Hundred Years' War, had been visited on France and Burgundy. In addition to that war, beginning in 1392, King Charles VI suffered from periods of mental incapacity lasting from several weeks to several months at a time. The power vacuum occasioned by Charles' illness led to a civil war between two cadet branches of the royal family—the dukes of Burgundy, cousins to the king with a wealthy power base to the north-east of France, and the Orléanists, who

initially followed King Charles' brother Louis of Orléans, and later his son. Isabeau of Bavaria ruled as regent when the king was incapacitated and was a controversial figure during her life and after her death. While she did her best to mediate between the two sides in the civil war, when that failed she played them against one another to best benefit herself and her children, and it is only in recent years that historians have begun to reassess the vast array of rumors about her, long assumed to be true.[53]

Comparatively little of this turmoil is apparent from Queen Isabel's brief appearance in Act 5, scene 2. While she expresses her joy that the meeting between the two kings is taking place, she also reminds the other characters and, by extension the audience, of the bloodshed that occasioned it. The emphasis on eyes is especially striking as she likens Henry's gaze to "the fatal balls of murdering basilisks," a not unreasonable conclusion in the wake of the catastrophic French defeat at Agincourt.[54] By reminding the audience of the stakes of the treaty, Queen Isabel is fulfilling her duty to intercede not just between a king and his subjects but also between kings of different nations. This is made explicit later in the scene as she follows those lords who intend to hammer out the finer points of the treaty, observing that "a woman's voice may do some good / When articles too nicely urged be stood on" (*H5* 5.2.93–4). The play makes no reference to King Charles VI's mental state, nor to the queen's status as regent; instead, these contexts are hinted at in her fleeting command of the scene before she disappears altogether, ceding the stage to her daughter Princess Katherine.[55]

William Robison observes in Chap. 25 of this volume that modern adaptations of *Henry V* struggle with the incongruity of the scenes involving Princess Katherine and her lady-in-waiting Alice, as they are thematically and rhetorically distinct from the rest of the play, and sometimes fit uncomfortably within their context. While Queen Isabel only appears in the play's final scene, Princess Katherine is introduced in Act 3, scene 4, on the heels of Henry's thunderous threats to the governor of Harfleur that include not just rape and murder, but "naked infants spitted upon pikes" (*H5* 3.3.38). The governor, unsurprisingly, surrenders, and the scene abruptly changes to Katherine practicing English words with her lady-in-waiting. The juxtaposition with Harfleur, Katherine Eggert argues, is not by accident: "as [Katherine] learns English, her own speech absorbs the English military and sexual might that is being brought to bear on her country."[56] Indeed, her absorption of these qualities is reflected in the following scene, in which the French nobles lament their failure to subdue the English, who are merely "Norman bastards" (*H5* 3.5.10). The imagery they use is both literally and figuratively seminal:

> *O Dieu vivant!* Shall a few sprays of us,
> The emptying of our fathers' luxury,
> Our scions, put in wild and savage stock,
> Spirt up so suddenly into the clouds,
> And overlook their grafters? (*H5* 3.5.5–9)

The unmistakably ejaculatory connotations of words such as "sprays" and "spirt," and phrases such as "the emptying of our fathers' luxury," stand in marked contrast to the French lords' own lack of virility, which has apparently not gone unnoticed by the women of France:

> Our madams mock at us, and plainly say
> Our mettle is bred out, and they will give
> Their bodies to the lust of English youth,
> To new-store France with bastard warriors. (*H5* 3.5.31)

The scene in effect serves to legitimize Henry as a claimant to the French throne by emphasizing the ancestral connections of English and French, and to dilute the horror of Henry's rape threats at the gates of Harfleur by suggesting a more consensual union of English men and French women. The location of these two scenes as bookends to the introduction of Katherine—a lighthearted and bawdy respite from the push of siege and warfare that makes up most of the rest of the play—reminds us that that union will be realized more or less peacefully through the marriage of Henry and Katherine, and suggests that that marriage will produce a truer heir to the French throne than the current incumbent, who proclaims alarmingly that "my horse is my mistress" (*H5* 3.7.44).

Katherine does not reappear until the final scene, when she enters alongside her parents and stands in silence until Henry has dismissed everyone except for Alice. Having already heard herself referred to as "our capital demand, comprised / Within the fore-rank of our articles," though how much she comprehends of that is unclear, Katherine questions Henry's rhetorical shift into the lover's mode.

> HENRY: And what sayst thou then to my love? Speak, my fair, and fairly, I pray thee.
> KATHERINE: Is it possible dat I sould love de enemy of France? (*H5* 5.2.167–70)

This line is clearly inspired by two exchanges in the anonymous Queen's Men play *The Famous Victories of Henry the fifth* (printed 1598):

> *Hen. 5.* But tell me, canst thou loue the king of England?
> *Kate.* How should I loue him that hath dealt so hardly
> With my father.
> *Hen. 5.* But ile deale as easily with thee,
> As thy heart can imagine, or tongue can require.[57]

Two scenes later, Henry asks for confirmation—"How saist thou *Kate*, canst thou loue the king of England?"—to which Katherine replies once more "How should I loue thee, which is my fathers enemy?"[58] Henry's "Tut stand

not vpon these points, / 'Tis you must make us friends" may be read as either cajoling or impatient, with the same sense of dismissal.[59] Shakespeare's Henry, conversely, resorts to wordplay.

> No, it is not possible you should love the enemy of France, Kate: but in loving me you should love the friend of France; for I love France so well that I will not part with a village of it; I will have it all mine: and Kate, when France is mine, and I am yours, then yours is France, and you are mine. (*H5* 5.2.171–6)

In the grand scheme of things, Katherine's desires matter not one bit; her marriage to Henry is intended to merge the two competing claims to the French throne, and whatever misgivings she has are irrelevant. Shakespeare's Henry is certainly subtler—at least in the Folio text—than his counterpart in *The Famous Victories*, but the subtext of linguistic conquest nonetheless persists. This is compounded after the other characters return to the stage and Henry and Burgundy (and, disturbingly, King Charles) begin an extended bawdy discussion of wholly hypothetical French maidens and their wholly hypothetical maidenheads (*H5* 5.2.279–323) while Katherine stands silently, either uncomprehending or, perhaps comprehending all too well.

Queen Isabel returns with one more enigmatic speech before the end of the play, ostensibly a prayer for Henry and his future bride.

> God, the best maker of all marriages,
> Combine your hearts in one, your realms in one!
> As man and wife, being two, are one in love,
> So be there 'twixt your kingdoms such a spousal
> That never may ill office or fell jealousy,
> Which troubles oft the bed of blessed marriage,
> Thrust in between the paction of these kingdoms
> To make divorce of their incorporate league;
> That English may as French, French Englishmen,
> Receive each other. God speak this amen. (*H5* 5.2.353–62)

As is the case in Queen Isabel's speech at the beginning of this scene, the first two lines consist of a conventional blessing before veering off in a startlingly negative direction, perhaps even obliquely referencing the rumors aimed at Isabeau of Bavaria while also alluding proleptically—as the Epilogue does explicitly—to the civil wars that will follow in England. While we cannot assume that Shakespeare was directly familiar with French and Burgundian historical traditions, both Edward Hall's *Union* (1548) and Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577, 1587) incorporated Continental source material, much of which was hostile to Isabeau. She was accused of adultery with her brother-in-law Louis duke of Orléans, among others, and the paternity of several of her children, most notably the future Charles VII, was questioned. As Henderson observes,

> [Katherine's] mother Isabel's story similarly illustrates the systemic way in which queenship confounded national purity. Looking at the historical record reveals just how much artistic craft and ideological reshaping was required for Shakespeare to make *Henry V* end peacefully. What he leaves out suggests the extent of her threat to his form of gendered resolution, which requires what one might call her "domestication" or "pacification"; at the same time, his decision to include her at all creates a more consistent, less jingoistic play, one attentive throughout to the problematic necessity of claiming through the female and collaborating with the foreign.[60]

Shakespeare does not explicitly include the disinheriting of the Dauphin Charles, although he comes within a hairsbreadth of doing so. The French king does agree, after brief protest, to refer to Henry as "*Notre très cher fils Henri, roi d'Angleterre, héritier de France*," which implies just such an act (*H5* 5.2.333–4).[61] One of the acts for which the historical Isabeau is most reviled in French sources is her participation in the negotiations that led to the treaty of Troyes and the disinheriting of her own son, the Dauphin Charles. Shakespeare had in fact dramatized another such disinheritance in *Henry VI, Part 3*, when King Henry VI agrees to adopt Richard of York as his heir in a desperate attempt to stop the civil wars. When Queen Margaret learns of this, she "divorce[s] myself / Both from thy table, Henry, and thy bed," and devotes all of her considerable energies to supporting her son Prince Edward.[62] Members of the audience familiar with Shakespeare's earlier tetralogy would already have known that the wars between England and France did not end in 1420, and that Henry's son would not in fact conquer Constantinople, but instead lose his throne, his family, and his life. While the Epilogue makes this explicit, the first tetralogy weighs especially heavily on this scene—in spite of the fact that Katherine neither appears nor is mentioned even once in those four plays. Lastly, the play makes no mention of Katherine's elder sister, named Isabel after her mother, who had once been married to Richard II (although her name is never spoken in Shakespeare's play)—"like Margaret of Anjou in the *Henry VI* plays, all these Isabels are liminal figures in international politics, would-be suturers who fail."[63]

It is worth noting that Katherine's scenes are considerably diminished and that Queen Isabel does not appear at all in the three extant quarto texts of *Henry V*—Q1 in 1600, Q2 in 1602, and Q3 in 1619 (albeit with an incorrect date of 1608 on the title page). Closer examination reveals that the 1602 and 1619 printings are, to a large extent, reprints of Q1 with minor alterations, but scholars remain divided on whether Q1 represents a memorial reconstruction, a severely cut version of the play intended for touring companies, or an early version later revised by Shakespeare himself. T.W. Craik, who edited the third Arden edition, argues that it may be a combination of those things. Both of Princess Katherine's scenes, for instance, appear somewhat garbled in the quarto texts, which at least suggests the possibility of memorial reconstruction. Stage directions for the final scene in Q2 and Q3 also include a "Queen," but the title appears beside Katherine's name, which suggests an error rather than the introduction of a new

nonspeaking character. Richard Dutton makes an interesting argument for the addition of Queen Isabel only after the failed Spanish invasion of Kinsale, Ireland in September 1601, since that "put paid to the Infanta Isabella's chances of claiming the English throne."[64] If we assume—as seems reasonable—that Q2 and Q3 are, for the most part, reprints of Q1 rather than revised editions based on a different text, Shakespeare's own revisions, whether or not they appeared on stage, would not have appeared in print until the First Folio.

Conclusion

In Shakespeare's two main sources for the first and second history tetralogies—Edward Hall's *Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (1548) and the two editions of *Holinshed's Chronicles* (1577 and 1587)—queens only tend to appear prominently in moments of crisis or when they are the mothers of disputed claimants. This manifests visually in the title page to the 1550 edition of Hall's *Union*, which features a family tree "beginning with John of Gaunt and Edmund of York in the bottom corners and culminating at the top of the page, with Henry VIII."[65] The only images in the family tree are of men, with three exceptions: "Elianor dovghter to the erle of March" (lower right); Margaret Beaufort, Countess of Richmond (top left); and Elizabeth of York, daughter of King Edward IV (top centre, just below her son).[66] All three of these women are primarily significant in that they transferred a claim to the throne between men: "Elianor" (actually Anne) Mortimer united the claims of the Mortimer line (from Edward III's second son) and the York line (his sixth son) when she married Richard, Earl of Cambridge; Margaret Beaufort united the Beaufort line (from Edward III's third son) with the Tudor line (from Catherine of Valois' second marriage) when she married Edmund Tudor; and Elizabeth of York, whose union with King Henry VII is celebrated in the book's title. The women of the second tetralogy lack the rhetorical forcefulness of a Margaret of Anjou or the stichomythic wit of an Elizabeth Woodville, but they nonetheless offer moments of reflection and critique that are often lacking among the male characters surrounding them. Richard II's queen and Lady Percy both try and fail to save the husbands they clearly care for; Queen Isabel and Princess Katherine push—albeit gently—against the assumption that defeat and conquest can be papered over with sweet words and an attempt to change genres. These women do not curse their enemies, but the stories they tell—those "sad stories of the death of kings"—haunt the succeeding generations all the same.

Notes

1. The play usually known as *Thomas of Woodstock* is untitled in the sole surviving manuscript (British Library, Egerton MS 1994, fols. 161–85). It is occasionally referred to by the alternative title of *Richard II, Part One*, which suggests a connection to Shakespeare's play that has yet to be convincingly demonstrated. The date of the play is also uncertain; this chapter proceeds on the assumption that

Thomas of Woodstock was likely written during the 1590s, when the vogue for English history plays was at its height. Older scholarship tends to assume that it predates Shakespeare's *Richard II*; more recent work by Macdonald P. Jackson and others argues that the play, like its manuscript, is Jacobean. See Jackson, "Shakespeare's *Richard II* and the Anonymous *Thomas of Woodstock*," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 14 (2001): 17–65. The play's exact date, and whether it was composed before or after *Richard II*, has little effect on our treatment of it here.

2. *Thomas of Woodstock*, eds. Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 1.3.58–63.
3. John Stowe, *The Annales of England, faithfully collected out of the most autenticall Authors, Records, and other Monu-ments of Antiquitie, from the furst inhabitacion vntill this present yeere 1592* (London: Ralfe Newbery, 1592), 461. The play's interrogation of politics through the lens of fashion is discussed in Karen Newman, "Satirical Economies and Suitable Style: The Anonymous *Woodstock* and Shakespeare's *Richard II*," in *Essaying Shakespeare* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), 123–35 and in Lea Luecking Frost, "The Historiography of Texts and Textiles in *Thomas of Woodstock*," *English Literary Renaissance* 45.1 (2015): 120–45.
4. Frost, "Texts and Textiles," 141.
5. Paul Strohm, *Hochon's Arrow: The Social Imagination of Fourteenth-Century Texts* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1992), 105.
6. Strohm, *Hochon*, 111.
7. *Woodstock*, 1.1.184–87.
8. *Woodstock*, 2.3.43–45.
9. *Woodstock*, 4.2.58, 61–2.
10. The Duchess of Gloucester also offers good advice that her husband ignores; indeed, much of the play's conflict might have been avoided had men simply listened to their wives.
11. *Woodstock*, 3.1.64–65.
12. *Woodstock*, 3.1.94–97.
13. *Woodstock*, 4.1.110ff.
14. *Woodstock*, 1.3.37–48.
15. Frost, "Texts and Textiles," 142.
16. *Woodstock*, 4.3.151–51.
17. *Woodstock*, 4.3.175.
18. Paul Strohm writes about Joan's role at court and in Lancastrian imagemaking in *England's Empty Throne: Usurpation and the Language of Legitimation, 1399–1422* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), chapter 6. Henry IV's first wife and Henry V's mother, Mary de Bohun, died in 1394.
19. Phyllis Rackin and Jean Howard, *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Account of Shakespeare's English Histories* (New York: Routledge, 1997), 137.
20. James Scott-Warren discusses the textual history of this claim in "Was Elizabeth I Richard II? The Authenticity of Lambard's 'Conversation,'" *Review of English Studies* 64.264 (2013): 208–230.
21. Steven Mullaney, "'Do you see this?' The Politics of Attention in Shakespearean Tragedy," in *The Oxford Handbook of Shakespearean Tragedy*, eds. Michael Neill and David Schalkwyk (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 161.

22. On Queen Margaret's use of feminine qualities to enact kingship, see Kathryn Schwarz, *Tough Love: Amazon Encounters in the English Renaissance* (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 2000), chapter 2.
23. Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 106.
24. William Shakespeare, *Richard II*, ed. Charles Forker, Arden 3rd Series (London: Thomson, 2002), 3.1.11–15.
25. Rackin and Howard, *Engendering a Nation*, 158.
26. Jonathan Goldberg, *Sodometries: Renaissance Texts, Modern Sexualities* (Stanford, CA: Stanford UP, 1992), 19. The passages that follow treat femininity and queerness as qualities that are in some way symbolically equivalent. This is not, of course, an unproblematic gesture; however, both are defined as outside the (masculine, heterosexual) norm. See Lea Luecking Frost, "'A Kyng That Ruled All By Lust': Richard II in Elizabethan Literature," *Literature Compass* 9/2 (2012): 184–85 for more discussion of Richard II's status as "rhetorical transvestite." Many modern productions of the play have emphasized this quality by presenting androgynous or feminized Richards, or even by cross-casting the role. Notable recent examples of androgynous Richards include the 2007 and 2013 Royal Shakespeare Company productions, the former directed by Michael Boyd and starring Jonathan Slinger, and the latter directed by Gregory Doran and starring David Tennant; productions that used cross-casting include the 1995 National Theatre production, directed by Deborah Warner and starring Fiona Shaw, and the 2009 Sydney Theatre Company *Wars of the Roses*, directed by Benedict Andrews, in which Cate Blanchett played Richard II.
27. Meredith Skura, "Marlowe's *Edward II*: Penetrating Language in Shakespeare's *Richard II*," *Shakespeare Studies* 50 (1997): 41–55. Skura argues that "Shakespeare's Richard seems to leave behind the erotic violence in Edward's love for Gaveston or Edward's death, but he may have simply sublimated it instead" (55).
28. It is common in performance for the Queen to appear alongside Richard in Act 1, scene 3 and sometimes Act 1, scene 1, but the stage directions in the early printed texts do not mention her in either scene. In Q1, after Lord Marshal's exchange with Aumerle (1.3.1–6), "*the King enters* w*ith his nobles*," while F calls for Richard to enter with "*Gaunt, Bushy, Bagot, Greene, & others*"—which could include the Queen, but given her rank, it seems likely that the directions would specify.
29. Will Fisher concisely outlines the sodomitical dimension of sterile breeding in "Queer Money," *English Literary History* 66.1 (Spring 1999): 1–23.
30. This spelling, used in Forker's Arden edition, follows both the 1597 Q1 and the text of the First Folio, although many editors render the phrase "at some thing it grieves," to make the sense (and the stresses) clearer. While none of the play's editors thus far have remarked on this, it also makes more explicit the availability of sexual innuendo.
31. See Eric Partridge, *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (New York: Routledge Classics, 2001), 259, and Frankie Rubenstein, *A Dictionary of Shakespeare's Sexual Puns and Their Significance* (London: Macmillan, 1984). The best-known example is probably the exchange between Hamlet and Ophelia before the play-within-a-play (*Ham.* 3.2.116–21).
32. Frost, "A Kyng," 187.

33. Mario DiGangi, *The Homoerotics of Early Modern Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 119.
34. Goldberg, *Sodometries*, 19. Rackin and Howard (142) have commented on the fact that the Lancastrian faction, both in this play and the rest of the tetralogy, is devoid of any female presence.
35. Forker, 275 (2.2.12n).
36. At 3.2.145ff. ("Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs…"), 3.3.153–69 ("And my large kingdom for a little grave"), and 4.1.219 ("And soon lie Richard in an earthy pit").
37. It is worth noting that Richard's counterpart in the 1595 edition of Samuel Daniel's *Civil Wars* (Book III, stanzas 64–69 [sig. P4r-v]), in a passage that seems to have suggested this speech, imagines the narrative of his life as a kind of *de casibus* story, thus placing it within a more politically oriented genre. Richard's charging the Queen with telling his story is Shakespeare's invention; Daniel's version muses on his literary afterlife while alone in prison.
38. Harry Berger, Jr., *Harrying: Skills of Offense in Shakespeare's Henriad* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 27.
39. Lisa Hopkins, "The King's Melting Body: *Richard II*," in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works: The Histories*, eds. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Oxford: Blackwell, 2006), 396.
40. See Frost, "A Kyng," 185–88. Rackin and Howard (147) discuss at some length the ways Richard is feminized in the text of the play, although they reach different conclusions.
41. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, eds. Leah Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 326. For Elizabeth's self-representation, particularly in the visual arts, see Montrose and Anna Riehl, *The Face of Queenship: Early Modern Representations of Elizabeth I* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). More generally, see Carole Levin, *The Heart and Stomach of a King: Elizabeth I and the Politics of Sex and Power*, 2nd ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), and Ilona Bell, *Elizabeth I: The Voice of a Monarch* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
42. Quoted in Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth*, 193.
43. Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth*, 206.
44. *The ioyfull receyuing of the Queenes most excellent Maiestie into hir Highnesse Citie of Norwich* (London, 1578), sigs. E2-E3v.
45. The authors are indebted to Elizabeth Human for her help in developing this reading of the Norwich pageants.
46. See Frost, "A Kyng," 188.
47. William Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part I*, ed. David Scott Kastan, Arden 3rd Series (London: Thomson, 2002). 1.1.43–46. While language strikingly similar to this—"the vilanie vsed by the Welsh women towards the dead carcasses was such as honest eares would be ashamed to heare"—appears on p. 1118 in the 1577 edition of Holinshed's *Chronicle* and at the same chronological point in the 1587 edition (p. 520), one of the later edition's compilers, Abraham Fleming, goes into more lurid detail about another battle eight pages later (p. 528), specifying that the bodies were indeed castrated.
48. For the male gaze, see Laura Mulvey, "Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema," in *Film Theory and Criticism: Introductory Readings*, eds. Leo Braudy and Marshall Cohen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), 833–44. In *R2*

5.2.14–15, York describes Henry's victorious entrance into London in similar terms, with subjects who "darted their desiring eyes / Upon his visage." See also Frost, "A Kyng," 186–87.

49. William Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part 2*, ed. James C. Bulman, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 2.3.39–41.
50. For a useful overview of the divergences between the extant texts of *Henry V*, see T.W. Craik's introduction to the Arden 3rd edition, 11–32.
51. Diana Henderson, *Collaborations with the Past: Reshaping Shakespeare Across Time and Media* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2006), 217. The 2015–16 Royal Shakespeare Company production (dir. Gregory Doran) added emphasis to Queen Isabel's role as mediator by conflating her role with Burgundy's and casting a well-known actress (Jane Lapotaire) in the part. The 2008–9 cycle directed by Michael Boyd did not reassign any lines, but gave Queen Isabel's role to Katy Stephens, who later played both Joan of Arc and Margaret of Anjou, thus linking the three women by implication.
52. William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. T.W. Craik, Arden 3rd Series (London: Routledge, 1995), 5.2.12–20.
53. For Isabeau's reputation, see Rachel C. Gibbons, "Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France: The Creation of an Historical Villainess," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, vol. 6 (London: Royal Historical Society, 1996): 51–73; Tracy Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010), xiii–xxvi.
54. It is difficult not to notice the profusion of balls in *Henry V*, given the play's focus on masculinity and manhood; indeed, it may seem inversely proportional to the number of women in the play. See Rebecca Ann Bach, "Tennis Balls: *Henry V* and Testicular Masculinity, or, According to the *OED*, Shakespeare Doesn't Have Any Balls," *Renaissance Drama* 30 (2001): 3–23. Henderson also points out a pun in "basilisk," which in the sixteenth century, doubled as a slang term for a large cannon—a weapon Henry uses to great effect throughout the play.
55. According to Holinshed, "The sayde Ladie Katherine was brought by the Queene hir mother, onelye to the intent that the King of Englande beholding hir excellent beautie, shoulde beee so enflamed and rapt in hir loue, that hee to obteyne hir to his wife, shoulde the sooner agree to a gentle peace and louing concorde" (1199).
56. Katherine Eggert, *Showing Like a Queen: Female Authority and Literary Experiment in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 88.
57. Anon., *The Famous Victories of Henry the fifth: Containing the Honourable Battell of Agin-court: As it was plaide by the Queenes Maiesties Players* (London: Thomas Creede, 1598), sig. F4r. [For line numbers, see *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, ed. Geoffrey Bullough, vol. 4, *Later English History Plays* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), 337–43, ll. 1384–88.]
58. *Famous Victories*, sig. G2r [Bullough, ll. 1536–37].
59. *Famous Victories*, sig. G2r [Bullough, ll. 1538–39].
60. Henderson, *Collaborations*, 231.
61. It is possible that Shakespeare avoided making this explicit because the Dauphin in *Henry V* is unnamed and possibly a composite character: the future Charles

VII (who appears in *Henry VI, Part 1*) did not inherit the title until 1417. His brother Louis of Guyenne was the Dauphin in 1415, though he was not present at Agincourt and died in December of that year. Craik (336, 5.0.35–42n.) discusses the omission as it pertains to the Act 5 Prologue, and the absence of the Dauphin in the stage directions for Act 5, scene 2, at some length (although some productions have him onstage silently, or have him killed during the battle).

62. William Shakespeare, *Henry VI, Part 3*, eds. John D. Cox and Eric Rasmussen (London: Thomson, 2001), 1.1.247–48.
63. Henderson, *Collaborations*, 236, n. 73.
64. Richard Dutton, "'Methinks the Truth Should Live From Age to Age': The Dating and Contexts of 'Henry V'," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 68.1/2 (2005): 198.
65. Kavita Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts: Gender, Genre, and Historiography 1440–1627* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 102.
66. Edward Hall, *The vnion of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre & Yorke* (London: Richard Grafton, 1550), t.p. The frontispiece to the 1592 edition of John Stowe's *Annales of England* (London: Ralfe Newbery, 1592) uses a similar, if less visually arresting design, although Stowe's text is far less important as a potential Shakespeare source. The only women included are Margaret Beaufort; Anne Mortimer (erroneously shown as Richard of York's wife, rather than his mother); Blanche of Lancaster, the mother of Henry IV; and Philippa, countess of Ulster, whose status as granddaughter of Edward III makes her the source of the Mortimers' claim to the throne. Once again, women become visible only through association with contested claims.

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CHAPTER 14

The Queen's Two Bodies in *The Winter's Tale*

Maggie Ellen Ray

B.J. Sokol writes that "the live dangers of human misapprehension" constitute the central theme of William Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*.[1] Indeed, the play traffics in the tension among the multiple narratives each character peddles, and whatever resolution the play offers comes not from discerning the truth value of one narrative over others but rather in the fantastical, performative privileging—the "live danger"—of two particular narratives in Act 5: those of Paulina and Hermione while the queen is reanimated. The question of Hermione's return has sparked heated debate, though Hermione's link to goddess of the underworld Proserpina invites the audience to embrace the ambiguity between potential resurrection and spectacle, settling, as many critics do, on the notion that the play purposefully but irresolvably interrogates the line between art and nature.[2] These "dangers of human misapprehension" are of concern not just to the characters in the play but to the audience as well: what happens if the audience misapprehend as severely as Leontes has misapprehended? One crucial but critically overlooked moment of such narrative and performative tension occurs between Paulina's account of Hermione's reanimation and Hermione's own account of the same. In explaining this fantastical moment, Paulina indicates that "the stone is [hers]," fashioned out of some desire to preserve her "peerless" form rather than out of such dark elements as witchcraft or the magic of "old tale[s]."[3] Hermione, on the other hand, explains that she "preserv'd / [her]self" so that she might live to see Perdita's return (*WT* 5.3.127–8). Strictly interpreted, these two narratives are at odds—the notion of the Pygmalion-esque statue come to life at the hands of Paulina and

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the notion of the wronged wife secluding herself for sixteen years. While these two narratives complement those that began the play, namely Leontes' accusations of infidelity and Hermione's assertion of her faithfulness, the truth of the statue lies somewhere between the narratives: Paulina and Hermione, together, preserved the queen for this moment of redemption.

This narrative tension is best understood in light of the notion of the royal two bodies, as developed initially by Ernst Kantorowicz and revised and extended by Marie Axton and others.[4] I do not mean to apply the specific concerns of Kantorowicz's interest in political language and the commonwealth, but rather, as Bernard Jussen notes is often the case with references to *The King's Two Bodies*, I wish to draw inspiration from the "book's ostensible central image of the ruler's twin or double figure, nature, person, or body."[5] In *The Winter's Tale*, the "unsafe lunes" of the king threaten to disturb all of Bohemia, rendering the kingdom without succession, yet Hermione is constrained by her own position as embodied queen (and indeed, by her position as queen consort). In the face of a disastrous king and a circumscribed queen, then, the play proposes its own resolution through the combined power of Hermione and Paulina, the queen's two bodies. Hermione and Paulina can be read as characters whose functions represent, respectively, the material and discursive bodies of a queen. Their intertwined yet irreconcilable narratives at the end of the play thus signify its inquiry into such a notion of queenship, as neither the reticent, honor-bound voice of Hermione nor the independent, truth-speaking voice of Paulina can remake tragedy into comedy on its own. Only this doubled queenship enables a sad winter's tale to proceed to the rebirth of spring, and even that rebirth is limited in its own way. Ultimately, it is only when Perdita returns to take the place of Hermione's body natural that Hermione's queenship is restored, and it is Paulina and Hermione's shared queenship prior to Perdita's return that enables this final restoration.

Hermione's redemption requires re-embodying the heroine with the powers of both her body natural and body politic, and Shakespeare does this through the figure of Paulina, whose role in the play has sparked much investigation. As Patricia Gourlay notes, Paulina is not in Shakespeare's main source text, nor does she have a counterpart in "any other possible source for the play."[6] But her role in the play is incredibly significant: "she is subversive woman, truth-teller, and, finally, artist, whose miraculous truth challenges Leontes' masculine order."[7] Paulina thus requires close and careful attention, and her character invites readings that acknowledge her unique importance. Through literary moves that recall the concept of the king's two bodies, Shakespeare splits across two actual bodies—Hermione and Paulina—the queenly authority that exists in *The Winter's Tale*, making literal for Stuart audiences what was figurative for Elizabethan audiences: the queen's doubled self. In this formulation, Hermione possesses the attributes and the disadvantages of the body natural, while Paulina, childless, comes to represent the queen's body politic, especially the discursive powers of that role that Queen Elizabeth I so adeptly harnessed.[8] Reading the relationship between Paulina

and Hermione in light of medieval and early modern discourses about the royal body natural and body politic has several advantages. First, it provides a way to encounter the wildly spectacular reunion between Leontes and Hermione, and Hermione and Perdita, that both occur in Act 5. Second, it deepens our understanding of Paulina's role earlier in the play, transforming her from the individual "shrew" who confronts the king to the collective body politic that demands a listening audience (a demand that goes unheeded until it occurs in Hermione's presence in Act 5). Finally, this reading reveals that the play's restoration of both the kingdom and Hermione's queenship depends upon a grim recasting of the female body natural.

Double Bodies: Dividing the Queen

It is worth examining briefly how Kantorowicz's understanding of the king's doubled body remains, as Stephen Greenblatt argues, "remarkably vital, generous, and generative" even if there are reasons to remain "exceedingly wary of its method and its conclusions."[9] For my purposes, Kantorowicz's formulation of the king's two bodies—based on Edmund Plowden's *Reports*—relays a crucial distinction between the king as body and the king as not-body:

> For the King has in him two Bodies, viz., a Body natural, and a Body politic. His Body natural (if it be considered in itself) is a Body mortal, subject to all Infirmities that come by Nature or Accident, to the Imbecility of Infancy or old Age, and to the life Defects that happen to the natural Bodies of other People. But his Body politic is a Body that cannot be seen or handled, consisting of Policy and Government, and constituted for the Direction of the People, and the Management of the public weal, and this Body is utterly void of Infancy, and old Age, and other natural Defects and Imbecilities, which the Body natural is subject to, and for this Cause, what the King does in his Body politic cannot be invalidated or frustrated by any Disability in his natural Body.[10]

As Tracy Hargreaves explains, "[t]he Body politic protects and upholds the institutional and constitutional actions of Monarchy over the individual frailties of the mortal incumbents of its Divine office: the concept of the Body politic offers continuity through its emphasis on seamless succession, hence, the King is dead, long live the King."[11] Thus, the public, discursive functions of the monarch are especially indicative of and belonging to the body politic, rather than the body natural. When Marie Axton takes up this formulation for early modern queens, she makes key claims that are useful for seeing the divided queenly body in *The Winter's Tale*.[12] She notes that this particularly metaphorical understanding of the king or queen's body reads the body politic as a portion of the kingly/queenly identity "*contained within the natural body of the Queen*" (emphasis hers) such that it represents the portion of the queenly identity that exists across time *despite* the natural body's corporeal weaknesses.[13] Thus, this body politic is "a combination of faith, ingenuity and practical expediency" that is "held to be unerring and immortal."[14] The body politic is the

portion of the reigning monarch's identity that is *not* subject to the body natural. As Axton notes, this becomes clear when young King Edward VI's authority was upheld on the basis that "as king, Edward held within him the body politic; this body could never be under age," and thus his authority was not compromised *by* his age, as such authority was a function of his body politic.[15] For Queen Elizabeth especially, her body politic was carefully crafted and reinforced through her public speeches.[16] *The Winter's Tale*, I argue, drastically qualifies this theoretical approach by demonstrating the extent to which the body politic can be *significantly* compromised by the body natural, to the point that the play's resolution comes from dividing the body politic from the body natural and reuniting the queen's two bodies only when the threat of the body natural has diminished.

It becomes fruitful to read even the earliest moments of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* within the context of the monarch's two bodies precisely because the play's opening crisis and early attempts at mitigating that crisis involve "the symbolic or theatrical dimension of political power."[17] To begin with, the compromised "theatrical dimension" of Hermione's identity—her public performance as queen combined with her pregnant body—catalyzes the play's tragedy. When Leontes beseeches his wife to make Polixenes stay, he is requiring the public performance of her body politic as queen consort, but it is a public performance already informed by conventions of femininity: "tongue-tied our queen? Speak you" (*WT* 1.2.27). Leontes demands that her speaking voice prove her womanhood, which he implies is under question in his suggestion that the queen is "tongue-tied." Hermione seems to recognize Leontes' desire that she perform a public *and* feminine body politic, as she replies that they will "thwack [Polixenes] hence with distaffs" (*WT* 1.2.37). That she succeeds in pleasing Polixenes so much that he agrees to stay might seem to suggest the successful deployment of her body politic at the appropriate moment, were it not for the simultaneous presence of her pregnant body natural, and "Hermione's open assertion of and demonstration of the efficacy of a woman's speech are, for Leontes, evidence of sexual guilt."[18] Hermione's hospitable discourse then signals to Leontes not that she has the powers of queenship about her but that she traffics in the weaknesses of female flesh, which Hermione inadvertently confirms when she suggestively tells Leontes how much women love to be praised:

> Cram's with praise and make's
> As fat as tame things. One good deed, dying tongueless,
> Slaughters a thousand waiting upon that.
> Our praises are our wages. You may ride's
> With one soft kiss a thousand furlongs ere
> With spur we heat an acre. (*WT* 1.2.91–6)

Here, by mingling speech and sexuality even in jest, Hermione makes it possible for Leontes to view the successful discursive performance of her body politic as a symbol of her treasonous body natural, and indeed, this is the very leap

that Leontes makes as he begins to quietly rage about the "*tremor cordis*" (*WT* 1.2.110) that infuses his body.[19] From this suspicion, Leontes cannot help but then focus myopically on Hermione's physical, female body, "paddling palms and pinching fingers" (*WT* 1.2.115) with Polixenes. Leontes is unable to understand these physical gestures, along with the "practiced smiles" and sighs that he notes from a distance, as the hospitable courtesy of a noble queen, in full control of her double body. Instead, he reads them as inevitable signs of her compromised body natural and, in turn, her compromised queenship. Even as he accuses Hermione to Camillo, he remains stuck on the significations of Hermione's body:

> Is whispering nothing?
> Is leaning cheek to cheek? Is meeting noses?
> Kissing with inside lip? Stopping the career
> Of laughter with a sigh—a note infallible
> Of Breaking honesty? Horsing foot on foot? (*WT* 1.2.282–6)

Throughout his accusations, his interest is on his wife *as* his wife, while Camillo consistently resists Leontes' accusations in ways that point to Hermione as queen, calling her "sovereign mistress" (*WT* 1.2.278) and insisting that no such flaw is in his "dread mistress, / so sovereignly being honorable" (*WT* 1.2.320–1). He responds to Leontes' rage, beseeching him, "take again your queen as yours" (*WT* 1.2.334). The shifting diction between Leontes and Camillo mirrors the shifting perception of Hermione's queenship: she is merely an adulterously bodied woman to Leontes, but to Camillo she is a sovereign queen whose body has committed no fault. Even as Leontes shares his anger with members of his court, he continues to reveal that it is Hermione's body natural that has compromised the body politic by demanding that the men "look" and "mark her well," actions that draw attention to the physical body natural, which in its pregnant state constrains the performance of the body politic.

When Hermione tries to defend herself against Leontes' accusations, her body natural consistently compromises the strength of her vocal body politic. As A.E.B. Coldiron reminds readers, in this play the women's bodies become ambiguous sites of evidence that, at crucial but varying moments, either prove or resist the accusations made against women. Coldiron astutely argues that Hermione's "pregnant body, a piece of nonverbal evidence about which no verbal mention is made until Act II [...] is a silent witness to sexuality and generative power."[20] Much like Queen Elizabeth, Hermione calls attention to her external body and her inner qualities of character, but she does so in a way that attempts to disavow the feminine body natural in order to preserve the dignity of her body politic:

> Good my lords,
> I am not prone to weeping, as our sex
> Commonly are; the want of which vain dew

> Perchance shall dry your pities: but I have
> That honourable grief lodged here which burns
> Worse than tears drown: beseech you all, my lords,
> With thoughts so qualified as your charities
> Shall best instruct you, measure me; and so
> The king's will be perform'd! (*WT* 2.1.107–15)

When Hermione calls attention to her lack of tears even in the face of the burning "honourable grief" she has within, she is upholding her innocence by separating herself from the womanly tears that might distract from the gravity of Leontes' accusations. But, in just a few lines, Hermione will request women to attend her in prison, as her "plight requires it" (*WT* 2.1.118). Hermione cannot escape or negate the way in which her body natural speaks to confirm (for Leontes) the crisis at hand.

As the various men at court try to counter Leontes' accusations, their defense of Hermione emphasizes her symbolic body politic, which they take to be innocent and without equal in its grace. Antigonus argues vehemently for her innocence, but always with attention to the way in which Hermione is a proxy for women generally: "For every inch of woman in the world, / Ay, every dram of woman's flesh is false, If she be" (*WT* 2.1.137–8). He is so confident that Leontes' claims are wrong that he promises to effectively castrate his daughters if it turns out that Leontes is, indeed, right. Nor is it just his daughters that will suffer in a world that finds Hermione adulterous; honesty itself will be absent from the "whole dungy earth" (*WT* 2.1.157). The logic behind Antigonus' defense of Hermione is that Hermione is linked to the greater order of the kingdom—even the earth—so the scope of his apology centers not on disputing the visual evidence Leontes presents but on arguing for the spotlessness of Hermione's body politic. Yet this is precisely why Antigonus cannot persuade Leontes out of his insane anger. Antigonus can speak *of* Hermione's body politic, but he cannot speak *as* the body politic. That role, in this play, is reserved for Paulina once it finds no home in the body of Hermione.

Paulina attempts to mitigate the catastrophe by seizing the discursive role of the queen's body politic, and in doing so, reveals that the crisis of the play rests in "the rival claims of visual and verbal modes of representation."[21] Like Hermione does in her first words in the play, Paulina recognizes the specific advantage of her feminine speaking body, using commonplace views of women as shrews to authorize her confrontation with the unstable king:

> I dare be sworn.
> These dangerous unsafe lunes i'th' King, beshrew them.
> He must be told on't, and he shall. The office
> Becomes a woman best. I'll take't upon me.
> If I prove honey-mouthed, let my tongue blister
> And never to my red-looked anger be
> The trumpet any more. (*WT* 2.2.28–34)

The notion that the office "becomes a woman best" is challenging, and scholars have explained this passage in several ways. Perhaps it is simply the verboseness required by the crisis that "becomes a woman best," as women are more likely to be talkative shrews. Perhaps it is indicative of the forged friendship between Paulina and Hermione, or perhaps it is a comment informed by the notion that the king's "lunes" can only be corrected by the quasi-magical power of the feminine.[22] But I assert that Paulina's suitability for "beshrewing" the insanity of the king stems from Paulina taking on the role of the queen's body politic once Hermione can no longer advocate for herself. While a queen may, at various performative moments, manipulate the relationship between the body politic and the body natural (as Queen Elizabeth I so effectively demonstrated), it is still a theatrical division; thus, Hermione's imprisonment denies her the opportunity to plead her queenly case using the figurative authority of the body politic. Once again, her body natural trumps her body politic, creating space in the play for Paulina to seize the role of the queenly body politic and "advocate to the loud'st" for the imprisoned Hermione. Even Emilia accepts this proxy with hope, exclaiming that there is "no lady living" more appropriate to take on the role of advocate.

With the baby Perdita in hand—a visual reminder of Paulina's now queen-proxy status—Paulina makes her first efforts at speaking like a queen. Paulina's presence is immediately so noxious to the king that he demands Antigonus account for his wife's behavior. When Antigonus cannot, Leontes asks a question that figuratively reveals Paulina's new role as the queen's body politic: "What, canst not rule her?" (*WT* 2.3.45). Although the fact that Antigonus *cannot* rule her provides much of the gendered humor of the moment, it is emphatically not the point. The crucial implication is that Paulina cannot be ruled because she is no longer a "gossip" or one of Hermione's ladies in waiting; she is the performative queen herself. As Paulina opens her heart to Leontes, she supplicates herself before him while also stating her figurative authority. She has, she says, "come / from [his] good queen" (*WT* 2.3.56–7). Again, the literal implications of these lines is not insignificant, but it is the symbolic potential in them that reinforces Paulina's status as replacement queen consort—much like a princess or prince successor ready to take the throne, Paulina has "come" from the queen. When Leontes responds in mockery with "Good Queen!" (*WT* 2.3.57), he is inadvertently greeting Paulina with her new title as queen. The scene continues to overlap Hermione, Leontes, and Paulina in a way that figuratively allows Hermione and Paulina to be interchangeable entities. For example, as Paulina verbalizes the birth of Perdita, she presents the child to Leontes, literally "bringing forth" the baby as she explains that Hermione has done the same: "the good queen [...] hath brought you forth a daughter" (*WT* 2.3.63–4). When Leontes accuses Antigonus of fearing Paulina's threats of violence toward those who would interrupt her advocacy, Paulina insults Leontes by suggesting that *he* should fear *his* wife, and the implicit affirmation of Antigonus' fear in these lines makes parallel Hermione and Paulina, queens to be feared. Even Antigonus confirms the parallels, sug-

gesting that both he and Leontes are similarly positioned in relationship to Paulina, as neither one of them can manage to "stay her tongue" (*WT* 2.3.108).

While Paulina's forceful attempts to play the role of the queen's body politic serve to reveal the flimsy nature of Leontes' accusations, the attempts ultimately fail to procure exoneration for Hermione, and thus the real queen finds herself attempting one last time to be both body natural and body politic successfully.[23] This time, however, Hermione seems to realize that her pregnant body has compromised her body politic, as she explains to the listeners,

> Since what I am to say must be but that
> Which contradicts my accusation and
> The testimony on my part no other
> But what comes from myself, it shall scarce boot me
> To say 'not guilty:' mine integrity
> Being counted falsehood, shall, as I express it,
> Be so received. (*WT* 3.2.21–7)

Because her body natural still offers the visual evidence on which Leontes remains fixated (given that Leontes insists on interpreting "sensory evidence according to his own worst fantasies"), Hermione understands that even the performance of innocence through public testimony still "comes from [her] self" and is perceived as already a "falsehood."[24] Thus, Hermione's strategy shifts, as she begins marshaling the history of her body natural to defend herself. She begs the king to remember how "chaste" she has been, pointing out that she is both a "fellow of the royal bed," the daughter of a king, and the mother of a future king (*WT* 3.2.33, 37). In mingling remembrances of her body as wife, daughter, and mother, Hermione implies that the reputation of such a body should not compromise her queenly status, and instead should presently signify her innocence. When Leontes persists in his accusations, Hermione's strategy shifts again, this time emphasizing not her familial relations but her role as queen, second to King Leontes. She reminds him that her affection for Polixenes is only to the degree that "in honour he required," according to the expectations of "a lady like [her]" and under the command of Leontes himself (*WT* 3.2.62, 64). When she realizes how little influence her words are having on her jealous husband, she despairs in a dual register, that of both the body politic and the body natural:

> The crown and comfort of my life, your favour,
> I do give lost; for I do feel it gone,
> But know not how it went. My second joy
> And first-fruits of my body, from his presence
> I am barr'd, like one infectious. My third comfort
> Starr'd most unluckily, is from my breast,
> The innocent milk in its most innocent mouth,
> Haled out to murder: myself on every post
> Proclaimed a strumpet: with immodest hatred

> The child-bed privilege denied, which 'longs
> To women of all fashion; lastly, hurried
> Here to this place, i' the open air, before
> I have got strength of limit. (*WT* 3.2.92–104)

The queen suffers on two accounts here, her own "crown" compromised by falling out of Leontes' favor while her motherhood is compromised by separation from her children. Her queenly reputation is tarnished by the publishing on "every post" that she is a "strumpet" while her womanly body strains under the insistence that she be "hurried" into this public forum, "i' the open air, before / [she] [has] got strength of limit." When the oracle finally reveals the innocence of the queen, Hermione nonetheless succumbs to the limits of her physical body, creating again—as with her imprisonment—a void in the play that Paulina stands forth to fill for more than a decade.

Redemption and Resurrection: The Queen's New Body Natural

"A shepherd's daughter, / And what to her adheres, which follows after, / Is the argument of Time" (*WT* 4.1.27–9). These words, from the anthropomorphized character Time, begin the second half of the play, and this unique feature of Shakespeare's romance has garnered much attention.[25] As Time's role highlights the play's struggles with classical unities, so does "the concept of the 'king's two bodies' [camouflage] a problem of continuity."[26] Thus Paulina's persistence in the play as the body politic helps to mitigate the issues of succession—of time—in the play. What is crucial about this scene for this current investigation is the clarity with which Time establishes Perdita's centrality in the second half of the play: Perdita is indeed not only the "argument of Time" but also of the remainder of *The Winter's Tale*. Time tells the audience that sixteen years have passed—just enough time for Perdita to become a character with all the potential of a young woman on the brink of marriage and childbearing. Like Time himself, Perdita has made "swift passage" (*WT* 4.1.5) straight from infancy to courtship age, "grown in grace / Equal with wondering" (*WT* 4.1.24–5). Perdita's age, on the threshold of adulthood and even on the threshold of her own role as queen (foreshadowed by Florizel's declaration that she is "queen" of the sheep shearing), is what enables the play's final rebirth and the kingdom's restoration because it is now only Perdita's body—not Hermione's—that can be compromised by adultery. With Perdita in place as the new fertile body natural, Hermione will eventually regain her rightful place as queen, in possession of a nonthreatening womanly body and the heart and soul of a king.

As Perdita, Florizel, and company rush toward Sicily to ensure their wedded bliss, Leontes, Paulina, and men of the king's court reveal that their attentions have been on the future of the kingdom. Leontes has been busy performing a "saint-like sorrow," while Paulina continues to publicly discourse on Leontes'

murder of his wife (*WT* 5.1.2). The audience even learns a surprising and confusing bit of information—that Leontes has not taken a new wife (and thus potentially enabled the birth of a new heir) in part because of Paulina's obstruction of such a move.[27] When Cleomenes admonishes Paulina with, "You might have spoken a thousand things that would / Have done the time more benefit and graced / Your kindness better," she seems to immediately understand his meaning, suggesting this topic has been broached before (*WT* 5.1.21–3). She calls Cleomenes "one of those" who "would have him wed again" (*WT* 5.1.23–4), and Dion responds by listing the ways in which Paulina's prohibition of such a marriage has compromised the safety of the kingdom:

> If you would not so,
> You pity not the state, nor the remembrance
> Of his most sovereign name; consider little
> What dangers, by his highness' fail of issue,
> May drop upon his kingdom and devour
> Uncertain lookers on. What were more holy
> Than to rejoice the former queen is well?
> What holier than, for royalty's repair,
> For present comfort and for future good,
> To bless the bed of majesty again
> With a sweet fellow to't? (*WT* 5.1.24–34)

As when Hermione was living, the tensions of the kingdom are both caused by and can be remedied by the generative female body, but Dion mistakes *whose* body that will be. The question of "issue" that troubled the opening of the play now becomes the question that plagues the end, as well, but the question has shifted slightly; the crisis is no longer "what if the queen's issue is illegitimate" but rather "what if there is no queen to provide legitimate issue?" This concern itself signifies that it is not yet time for Hermione's return, because it will only call attention to her "imperfect" body natural all over again. Paulina chastises the men to let the "issue" rest, and Leontes reveals his still-thriving fixation on the body natural: had he listened to Paulina long ago, he says, he would still be able to look "upon [his] queen's full eyes" and take "treasure from her lips" (*WT* 5.1.53–4). The scene eventually makes official what has been implied all along, namely that Paulina is in control of King Leontes, who affirms that even his own kingly bodies are under her discretion: "My true Paulina, / We shall not marry till thou bid'st us" (*WT* 5.1.81–2). If Paulina is able to secure a wife for Leontes, a wife that in turn produces an heir, she again situates herself (as she did while chastising the king in his palace), as a proxy to the queen herself, reminding the audience that Paulina is still in full possession of her role as the queen's body politic.[28]

It is in this role that Paulina orchestrates the remaining restoration in the play, and these final moments leave themselves open to multiple interpretations. Many critics focus on the ekphrastic significance of the play's resolution,

and on the way this moment seems to interrogate the boundary and relationship between art and nature.[29] Scholars generally agree on the powerful role of Paulina in the "statue scene," and she is, according to Coldiron, the "one female character in this play granted from the start full powers of agency, mobility, and speech."[30] Thus, while these concluding events certainly demand an inquiry into the way this play mingles art and nature, they may also be read as the its ultimate exploration of how, when the reigning body is female, the body natural poses an inherent threat to the body political.[31] As the play catapults toward an admittedly limited redemption (given that Antigonus and Mamillius remain victims of Leontes' unsafe lunes), it also catapults toward a silencing of Paulina in the wake of Hermione's return.[32] This silencing is hinted at when one of the gentlemen of the court tells Paulina that, once she sees Perdita's beauty, Perdita "will have [her] tongue, too!" (*WT* 5.1.106). The gentleman literally means that Paulina will be speechless in the face of the peerless Perdita, but of course, Perdita's return enables Hermione's return, and Hermione's reclamation of her queenly body politic will finally relegate Paulina to the position of mere lady. These returns and reclamations happen because Perdita, in adding a third royal body to the equation, destabilizes the already delicate separation of powers between Hermione and Paulina. Her presence demands that these roles shift and, ultimately, resettle. Thus, these final moments in the play bear witness to both the climax of Paulina's role as body politic and her abdication of that same power to the resurrected Hermione.

Paulina's discursive power is at its greatest in this final scene, and the play presents this power within a context of artistic creation; such an alignment makes it possible to read Paulina's orchestration of the play's concluding pageant as a theatrical performance akin to that required by the body politic. First, she guards against the critical eyes of her public by offering a humble caveat: "What, sovereign sir, / I did not well I meant well" (*WT* 5.3.2–3). Then, she amplifies her audience's expectations in a way that suggests her humility is merely *topoi*, warning Leontes and company that they will see a "dead likeness [… that] / excels whatever yet [they] looked upon" (*WT* 5.3.15–16). As a queen before her retinue, she even demands their attention and speech, requiring Leontes to "behold, and say 'tis well" (*WT* 5.3.20). Of course, Leontes excels at attending to the visual spectacle of Hermione's stony body; this (mis) attention to the corporeal is precisely what encases him in tragedy to begin with, so it is no surprise that he remarks on Hermione's "posture" and wrinkled appearance. He even makes light of the verbal reticence that enabled Hermione's downfall and Paulina's necessary usurpation of the discursive role of queen politic:

> Chide me, dear stone, that I may say indeed
> Thou art Hermione; or rather, thou art she
> In thy not chiding, for she was as tender
> As infancy and grace. (*WT* 5.3.24–7)

As a cold, hard substance, Hermione's statue provides the mirror in which Leontes sees his own cold heart, and the moment of this recognition draws a clear parallel between the bodies of Hermione and Perdita. Leontes moans,

> O royal piece,
> There's magic in thy majesty, which has
> My evils conjured to remembrance and
> From thy admiring daughter took the spirits,
> Standing like stone with thee. (*WT* 5.3.38–42)

In rhetorically pairing Hermione's stony body with Perdita's astonished, statuesque body, the forced similarities belie a crucial difference: Hermione's body is aged and wrinkled, while Perdita's is young, warm, and generative. The visual effect of this moment is stunning: the two women could not be less alike, and yet both are frozen in this moment of stunned and stunted cognition. When Perdita kneels and calls her mother the "Dear queen, that ended when [Perdita] but began," her reference to Hermione's "death" near the moment of Perdita's birth unwittingly signals that the same moment is upon them again: Hermione's threatening body natural, threatening because it is capable of undermining the kingdom through adultery, ends precisely as Perdita's body natural begins (*WT* 5.3.45). In transferring the generative powers in the play from the only woman who previously held them to the only woman who can now hold them, the play disarms Hermione of her only weapon against the kingdom. In this moment, as daughter kneels to mother, whose emotions are so intense as to be inexpressibly stony, the queen stands before the future queen, bereft by Time of the tenuous capacities of her body natural.

The figurative transfer of generative power solidifies Hermione's return to the kingdom, and Paulina's orchestration of the scene symbolizes this moment, as well. When Paulina cautions Perdita against kissing the statue—saying that "The statue is but newly fix'd, the colour's / Not dry"—she, too, suggests the immediacy of the transfer I am describing (*WT* 5.3.46–7). The statue is newly "fix'd" in the same way that Hermione's return to the kingdom is newly established, and the wet color of the statue emphasizes the immediacy of the moment: it is all, quite literally, a work in progress, nearly finished. Thus, as Perdita kneels and Hermione's statue settles and dries into its aged body, a symbolic and highly theatrical transition of power occurs, and when Paulina claims "the stone is mine," she indicates her discursive and public role as orchestrator of this transfer even as she hands those powers back to Hermione (*WT* 5.3.58).[33] Thus, Paulina returns the discursive body politic to Hermione as Hermione passes to Perdita the generative powers of the body natural. This triangular transfer of power is possible precisely because Perdita returns to Sicily not just as a daughter but also as a soon-to-be wife and, presumably, mother: as others have noted, she is an enduring symbol of fertility in the second half of the play, especially as she is aligned with the figure of Proserpine. For example, Sharon A. Kelly describes how in the "sixteen years during which Perdita has grown

into a budding young woman," her "elders have lost the fertility of the childbearing and procreative years."[34] Indeed, the sheep-shearing festival scenes as well as Perdita's discussions with the disguised Polixenes frame her as symbolic of the generative powers in the play.[35] She is associated with life, nature, beauty, and even the imagination, and the "richly suggestive fertility symbolism surrounding Perdita has been discussed by many critics."[36] In reaching childbearing age, Perdita now possesses the fertile body natural, dissolving any and all of Leontes' capacity for newfound jealousy or madness.

The transfer I describe above is not immediate, but it is swift. Once Perdita takes her place as the generative woman in the play, Paulina is able to complete the transfer of her discursive powers back to Queen Hermione. As this process unfolds, Leontes remains fixed on the bodily qualities of the statues, while Paulina continues to orchestrate the power dynamics of the scene through her rhetorical prowess. When Leontes exclaims that there seems to be breath, blood, and motion in the statue, Paulina reinforces her status as still-reigning body politic by demonstrating her control over all of the bodies in the room when she utters, "I'll draw the curtain" (*WT* 5.3.68). Willingly subordinating himself to Paulina's control, the king pleads with her to do anything but take away the statue, which would in turn remove his current pleasing madness and sweet affliction (*WT* 5.3.70–80). Paulina even demonstrates her control over the bodily sanctity of the statue when she refuses to let Leontes kiss it, signaling that the transfer of body politic between the two elder women has not yet happened even if the transfer of body natural from Hermione to Perdita has. For the first, last, and only time in the play, Leontes will defend Paulina's benevolence and actions by demanding that not a soul shall move from the chapel while Paulina proceeds to awaken Hermione. In this moment, Leontes finally acknowledges the discursive authority that Paulina has held all along, and his demand that she continue in her art reinforces her role as that of the queenly body politic one last time. As Leontes confirms this power in her, Paulina then proceeds to the public theatrics that will eventually divest her of that power in order to return it to Hermione.

The resurrection of Hermione only momentarily involves Leontes, and the audience knows this only by the utterances of Polixenes and Camillo, who confirm that Hermione and Leontes embrace, however briefly. The spectacle almost immediately becomes one bounded by the three women in the room: Paulina, Hermione, and Perdita. As regards the formulation of the queen's two bodies, however, there are one too many queens in this moment. The progression of the scene seems to account for and resolve this: Paulina's attention to Hermione gives way to Hermione's attention to Perdita, and the mother-daughter pair is ushered out of the chapel ("go together, / you precious winners all") while Paulina promises to remain like some "old turtle" on a "wither'd bough" (*WT* 5.3.130–1, 132, 133). The visual triangle of the three women quickly transforms into the visual pair of queen and future queen, with a solitary, isolated, and even silent Paulina on the margins. Leontes' insistence that Paulina marry Camillo cements her return to courtly life and fully

signifies that she no longer possesses the voice of the queen's body politic. In this way, the final scene enacts not only the restoration of Hermione to the kingdom, but also Hermione's reclamation of her body politic from Paulina, a reclamation that can only occur in the absence of Hermione's threatening body natural. The queen's two bodies, in this play, at least, must indeed be two bodies, and the visual spectacle of mother and daughter exiting the play remind us of this fact.

When Paulina fashions Hermione's return, then, orchestrating the moment as if a conductor on stage, she demonstrates what Victoria Kahn sees as a significant contribution of Kantorowicz's work: his finding in literature of "an exemplary self-consciousness about […] the human capacity to make and unmake symbolic forms."[37] In unveiling the Hermione statue, Paulina simultaneously reveals herself again as the queenly body politic only to symbolically return that power to Hermione, whose body natural no longer threatens the unity of the "queen's two bodies." Thus, when Paulina resurrects Hermione from the vacuum in which she previously existed—whether it is through magic, art, or sheer cunning—she demonstrates the notion that "that body politic was imagined to have peculiarly visible needs."[38] While Paulina has possessed the voice of the body politic, she has never possessed the queenly body itself, and thus Hermione's rebodying is required to ensure the play's redemption. Even the timing of Hermione's revival can be read as part and parcel of a two-body queenship; her body, now almost a decade and a half older, is no longer the threatening body natural that it was in the opening of the play. Hermione has gone from fertile and generative to, at first literally, cold and stony. The reclamation of the natural-bodied queen at a point in her life cycle beyond the years of childbearing mitigates both the human misapprehensions that propel the tragedy in the first half of the play and the anxieties around the natural body itself: "If the Queen, like the King, has two bodies, hers is surely made to signify differently, for even if the body politic is somehow transcendently sexless, the body natural clearly is not."[39] With Perdita both married and of fertile childbearing age, Hermione's body natural is no longer a threat to the kingdom or to her body politic. The body natural is returned to the play, reunited with the body politic, but it is not the fertile and feminine body natural apparent in the opening Acts. On the grounds of this only partial restoration of the queen's body natural, I am inclined to agree with Coldiron's challenge of "older readings that view this scene as transcendent, restorative, or unreservedly positive."[40] Restoration and recovery are here, certainly, but only in compromised ways.

If Kantorowicz's use of *Richard II* in his study enables him to conclude that part of the play's effect is to show the fiction of the unity between the king's two bodies, it should come as no surprise that this later play, *The Winter's Tale*, again demonstrates the fiction of the unified royal body.[41] To be sure, the queen's two bodies are reunited at the end of Shakespeare's romance, but the restoration and reunification come with such artifice that their certainty and authenticity are far from established. As Marie Axton reminds us, "the king's two bodies will never, of course, 'explain' a play […] but the notion may often

elucidate themes, iconography and dramatic techniques not otherwise apparent to a [later] audience."[42] Here, as the play invites us to imagine the progress of Leontes' kingdom secured through the body of the newfound Perdita and her husband Florizel, both the old and the modern audience can only hope that this new generation escapes the "unsafe lunes" that divide the body politic from the body natural.

Notes

1. BJ Sokol, *Art and Illusion in The Winter's Tale* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 7. Readers interested in familiarizing themselves with some of the central criticism of this play would do well to start with *The Winter's Tale: Critical Essays*, ed. Maurice Hunt (New York: Garland, 1995).
2. This tradition evolves largely from Edward W. Tayler's essay "Nature and Art in Renaissance Literature: Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*" in Hunt. See also Mary L. Livingston, "The Natural Art of *The Winter's Tale*," *Modern Language Quarterly* 30 (1969): 340–55.
3. William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. John Pitcher, Arden 3rd Series (London: A&C Black, 2010), 5.3.58; 117.
4. See Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957); Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977). While Axton's study focuses on England, Sarah Hanley shows that the formulation applies also to French monarchs in "Configuring the Authority of Queens in the French Monarch, 1600s–1840s," *Historical Reflections* 32.2 (2006): 453–464.
5. Bernhard Jussen, "*The King's Two Bodies* Today," *Representations* 106 (2009): 104.
6. Gourlay, "Most Sacred Lady," 382.
7. Gourlay, "Most Sacred Lady," 382.
8. For some discussions of the way this play presents issues of gendered speech, see Lynn Enterline, "'You Speak a Language that I Understand Not': The Rhetoric of Animation in *The Winter's Tale*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48 (1997): 17–44; Howard Felperin, "'Tongue-Tied Our Queen?' The Deconstruction of Presence in *The Winter's Tale*'" in *Shakespeare and the Question of Theory*, eds. Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (New York: Methuen, 1985), 3–18; Kathleen Kalpin, "Framing Wifely Advice in Thomas Heywood's *A Curtaine Lecture* and Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 48.1 (2008): 131–46; Eve Horwitz addresses the gendering of silence in the play in "The Truth of Your Own Seeming: Women and Language in *The Winter's Tale*," *Unisa English Studies* 26.2 (1988): 7–14. For broader discussions of speech in the play, see A.F. Bellette, "Truth and Utterance in *The Winter's Tale*," *Shakespeare Survey* 31 (1978): 65–75; David Bergeron, "Reading and Writing in *The Winter's Tale*," *Criticism* 33 (1991): 91–113; Carol Thomas Neely, "*The Winter's Tale*: The Triumph of Speech," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 15 (1975): 321–38. My interest in seeing Paulina as the discursive power of the body politic extends Neely's claim that "life and speech are inseparable in *The Winter's Tale*, and speech is most pertinent to the life of the play" (321).

9. Stephen Greenblatt, "Introduction: Fifty Years of *The King's Two Bodies*," *Representations* 106 (2009): 63. For an examination of some concerns stemming from Kantorowicz's study, see Jussen; also Victoria Kahn's essay in the same journal issue, 77–101.
10. Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 7. Edmund Plowden, *Commentaries or Reports* (London, 1816), 212a.
11. Tracy Hargreaves, "Redressing the Queen's Two Bodies in Kate Atkinson's Behind the Scenes at the Museum," *Literature & History* 18.2 (2009): 38.
12. For a review of Axton that especially succinctly indicates her interest in Kantorowicz's work, see Wilson F. Engel, "Review: *The Queen's Two Bodies*," *Renaissance Quarterly* 32.3 (1979): 248–250.
13. Axton, *Queen's Two Bodies*, 12.
14. Axton, *Queen's Two Bodies*, 12.
15. Axton, *Queen's Two Bodies*, 17.
16. Axton, *Queen's Two Bodies*, 38–40.
17. Kahn, *Queen's Two Bodies*, 77.
18. A.E.B. Coldiron, "'Tis Rigor and Not Law': Trials of Women as Trials of Patriarchy in *The Winter's Tale*," *Renaissance Papers* (2004): 38.
19. Kathleen Kalpin points out that Hermione's speech falls within the tradition of the curtain lecture, which would almost certainly encourage the audience to see such speech as indicative of sexual transgressions (132).
20. Coldiron, "Rigor and Not Law," 33; see also pages 29–49, especially.
21. Richard Meek, "Ekphrasis in 'The Rape of Lucrece' and 'The Winter's Tale,'" *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900*, 46.2 (2006): 395. Meek is interested, ultimately, in the way in which the tension of the play occurs between the narrative and the drama, between that which the audience sees and does not see (and thus learns only verbally).
22. Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: Figures of Friendship in Shakespearean Contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 210–212; Jessica Murphy, *Virtuous Necessity: Conduct Literature and the Making of the Virtuous Woman* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2015), 72–74.
23. This last attempt, of course, is unsuccessful, and Matthew Kendrick points out that this trial "stages the erasure of Hermione's voice"; see Kendrick, "Imagetext in *The Winter's Tale*," *Textual Practice* 29.4 (2015): 704–05. Thus, the originality of my argument here is not about the silencing of Hermione but about the way in which Paulina's forceful discourse happens in light of that silencing precisely because they are characters figuratively linked.
24. Coldiron, "Rigor and Not Law," 42.
25. For a useful starting place in considering Shakespeare's Time, particularly as it relates to Fortune in Greene's *Pandosto*, see Ros King, *The Shakespeare Handbooks: The Winter's Tale* (New York: Palgrave, 2009), 98–102.
26. Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 273.
27. That Leontes, to use a phrase from Kendrick, finds "his voice […] now greatly influenced by Paulina" for perhaps much of the sixteen years the play glosses over is further indication, I believe, that Paulina has been operating in the discursive role of the queenly body politic in Hermione's absence (710).
28. Without realizing how much this sounds like the duties of a wife, Coldiron describes Paulina as the "gatekeeper or guardian of Leontes's sexuality," thus hinting at what I am arguing explicitly here (64).

29. See Sokol. Also Kendrick, who reads the statue scene as the play's presentation of a "kind of speaking image that confounds male authority" in the play (698). For other considerations of the play's interest in the visual nature of this scene, see also Chloe Porter, "Idolatry, Iconoclasm, and Agency: Visual Experience in Works by Lyly and Shakespeare" *Literature and History* 18.1 (2009): 1–15; Marion O'Connor, "'Imagine Me, Gentle Spectators': Iconomachy and *The Winter's Tale*" in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works Volume IV: The Poems, Comedies, and Late Plays*, eds. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Oxford: Blackwell, 2003), 365–88; Eric Langley considers the "statue scene" in careful light of the Pygmalion myth in "Postured Like a Whore? Misreading Hermione's Statue," *Renaissance Studies* 27.3 (2012): 318–340; for a consideration of the audience's investment in the final scene, see William R. Morse's "Metacriticism and Materiality: The Case of Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*," *English Literary History* 58.2 (1991): 283–304.
30. Coldiron, "Tis Rigor and Not Law," 62.
31. Coldiron pays special attention to the way in which Paulina, throughout the play but especially at the end, "openly accuses, openly represents herself as operating outside of [role-based] norms, and openly disrupts the patriarchal *telos*" (62). For an examination of the as the site of a battle between art and nature, see Jean Hagstrum, *The Sister Arts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1958); see also Meek, "Ekphrasis," 402–06.
32. For a reading of their deaths that frames them as "enabling sacrifices" (333) see Maurice Hunt, "'Bearing Hence': Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*" *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 44.2 (2004): 333.
33. Meek notes that the language of this moment is suggestive of the powerful combination of narrative and drama (of, in the terms I offer here, discursive body politic and physical body natural) because "Paulina states that speech will act as confirmation that Hermione lives, suggesting that appearances can be unreliable without words" (405).
34. Sharon A. Kelley, "Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*." *The Explicator* 2010, 64.3: 142–43.
35. Neil Heims views Perdita's discussion about flowers with Polixenes as an "ironic reverberation" of Leontes' earlier worries about bastardization. See his "Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*," *The Explicator* (Summer 1988) 46.4: 6–7.
36. Gourlay, "Most Sacred Lady," 387.
37. Kahn, "Political Theology," 81.
38. Greenblatt, "Introduction," 65.
39. Hargreaves, "Redressing," 38.
40. Coldiron, "Tis Rigor and Not Law," 30.
41. For an examination of the way in which this play is indeed an indictment of kingship specifically, see Coldiron.
42. Axton, *Queen's Two Bodies*, x.

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CHAPTER 15

The Political Aesthetics of Anne Boleyn's Queenship in *Henry VIII*

Rebecca M. Quoss-Moore

When William Shakespeare and John Fletcher wrote *Henry VIII, or, All is True*, they were responding to and codifying a political mythology developed within the preceding century. Of particular relevance to Shakespeare and Fletcher's work was the political performance in which Henry engaged during the courtship and marriage of his second queen. Both in history and in the play, Anne Boleyn/Anne Bullen becomes a locus for the shifts caused by Henrician reform in both church and state. Because those changes created threatening instabilities in the social order—particularly in women's roles—Anne's containment becomes a central concern of the play. She is particularly suited to this concentration because of the established mutability of her mythology: she is noble and common, foreign and domestic, mother to Gloriana and notorious whore. To some extent, Anne remains an opaque character with unclear motivations. However, in *All Is True*, Anne is made subject to the audience as well as to Henry. Shakespeare and Fletcher's depiction of Henry's reign takes the major social changes that resulted from that reign, concentrates them in the body of this particular queen, and contains her power by making her motivations subject to the audience's interpretations.

In the prologue, Shakespeare and Fletcher emphasize the playhouse as a space where hearers experience a shared mythology, but one with many interpretive possibilities:

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> Those that can pity here
> May, if they think it well, let fall a tear:
> The subject will deserve it. Such as give
> Their money out of hope they may believe
> May here find truth, too. Those that come to see
> Only a show or two and so agree
> The play may pass, if they be still and willing
> I'll undertake may see away their shilling
> Richly in two short hours. Only they
> That come to hear a merry, bawdy play,
> […]
> Will be deceived.[1]

The first lines name four different potential audiences as spectators of the play. Moreover, the discernment of the audience is a key concern for the prologue, whose speaker calls their audience "[t]he first and happiest hearers of the town" (*H8* Prologue 24). From the opening lines, the play both acknowledges the existence of multiple interpretive lenses and foregrounds a concern with the individual's understanding. Only those who approach the subject matter frivolously are condemned; all other approaches are equally valid, thus the audience's ability to judge is explicitly endorsed.

Emphasizing this sense of multiplied interpretation, the play's structure layers interpretations of events and characters. In the first scene, discussion of the Field of the Cloth of Gold moves rapidly from valedictory panegyric to acknowledgement of the entire event as unproductive charade. Fewer than a hundred lines separate Norfolk's claim that he is "ever since a fresh admirer / Of what I saw there" (*H8* 1.1.3–4) and his acknowledgement that, already, "France hath flawed the league" (*H8* 1.1.95). Matthew Woodcock characterizes the "evocation of the Field of the Cloth of Gold" as highlighting "the capacity of political spectacle to conceal and distract […,] paradigmatic of the culture of obfuscation and concealment represented in the play."[2] However, this political theatre is as much about presentation and performance as obfuscation and concealment. Isabel Karremann fleshes out the relationship between the two, arguing that

> if nostalgic spectacle is what induces a passion for the past in the audience […] then the theatre surely is a privileged site of nation building through nostalgia. At the same time […] the open display of such passion, both on and off the stage, may threaten that very effect precisely when this passion becomes obvious as spectacle. This is what happens during metatheatrical moments which, by drawing attention to the nostalgic spectacle the audience is emotionally caught up in, create an ironic distance. Opening up a space between nostalgic spectacle and affective identification, these scenes reveal, if only for a moment, the memory politics of nostalgia as well as its policy of affect.[3]

The opening discussion of the Field of the Cloth of Gold, then, is not only a cue to the audience to interrogate some objective "reality" underlying the presented spectacle. Rather, the discussion prepares the audience to consider their own participation in the making of historical "realities." By encouraging the audience to understand their own roles in making history, the playwrights offer them power to overwrite the instabilities the play reveals.

The audiences of Shakespeare and Fletcher's play would have been primed for this conversation not only through their familiarity with the playwrights' other works, but also by their knowledge of the multiple narratives available to explain England's recent history. On the edge of living memory were the rapid shifts in narrative necessitated by the accessions of Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I, in 1547, 1553, and 1559, respectively. Anne Boleyn was a key figure in these monarchical mythologies, both as a bellwether of the Catholic/Protestant divide, and insofar as her characterization could be used to define her daughter. Thus, Edward Hall, writing during Henry's reign, confidently asserts Anne's gentility and Henry's honesty, recording that

> there was a gentle woman in the Court, called Anne Bulleyne daughter to sir Thomas Bulleyne, Viscount Rocheforde, whome the kyng much fauored in all honestie, and surely none otherwise, as all the world well knew after. For this cause the Quenes ladies, gentlewomen, and seruauntes, largely spake & said that she so entised the kyng, and brought him in such amours, that only for her sake and occasion, he would be diuorsed from his Quene, this was the foolishe communicacion of people, contrary to the truth.[4]

While Hall treats Anne's later trial carefully, his early references to her are largely valedictory. Above all, Hall is careful to preserve the king's dignity; his narrative validates the king's choice of bride, but offers no commentary on the charges later brought against her. In Hall's narrative, Henry responds honorably to the inevitable end of his first marriage and, quite separately, courts an appropriate new queen, honestly and openly.

In direct contrast to this narrative are histories constructed by Catholic polemicists such as Nicolas Sander. In Sander's history, Henry's choice of Anne is horrifying and corrupt from the start. Sander introduces Anne as "the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn's wife; I say of his wife, because she could not have been the daughter of Sir Thomas," before constructing a narrative that makes Anne Henry's daughter.[5] Sander was working during Elizabeth's reign, in exile and in direct opposition to the Protestant queen. His account was popular for its salacity, but popularity should not be taken as an indication of acceptance. Shakespeare and Fletcher's audience—like the playwrights themselves—would have been able to read any number of Annes in any number of sources. They might choose the queen who best suited their own view of history, but they would have been aware of other available choices. Thus, Shakespeare and Fletcher construct this queen to emphasize her openness to audience interpretation.

Henry's Political Performance and Tudor-Stuart Mythologies

The play's title character is introduced in two key scenes in the first act, each framing Henry's relationship with one of his queens. In Act 1, scene 2, Katherine appears as a political force, interceding with Henry in the midst of court business. Henry says that she has "half our power" (*H8* 1.2.20), and she is an integral part of the scene, petitioning the king and offering insights that reflect her political engagement and knowledge. In Act 1, scene 4, Anne Bullen is introduced in the midst of a banquet. She has a sparse three lines, all in direct response to a minor character, and none that stand, metrically, alone. While Henry speaks to and about Anne, Anne never speaks to Henry—in this scene or any other. To Hilberdink-Sakamoto, "[t]he most striking feature of this scene is a lack of women's speech despite frequent references to their presence, or frequent references to women's presence despite a lack of their speech."[6] By establishing Anne's character largely in terms of response or acquiescence to men, Shakespeare and Fletcher emphasize the character as subject to those around her, and particularly subject to the workings of political theatre.[7]

The playwrights' choices demonstrate familiarity with Henry's own tools of political myth-making. In January 1510, Henry VIII surprised his first queen and her ladies, "appearing unannounced in her Chamber at Westminster with ten of his companions dressed as Robin Hood's men."[8] Detailing the innovations of the surprise performance, Streitberger notes the "elements of breaching ordinary decorum, concealed identity, and surprise."[9] Henry's increasingly personal participation in the masque reflected the larger influence of his personality on all elements of court life—and on England. Henry was changing the particular investment of interest reflected in the masque; as Streitberger argues, speaking specifically about the revels of 1510, "the interests of prestige diplomacy were being served, but the manner of their presentation, emphasizing participation by the king and his friends, personalized diplomacy *in a manner calculated to overwhelm*."[10] In these early masques, Henry set the tone of his new administration—one of spontaneity, youth, and ostensible accessibility—through the performances that would come to be seen as an essential characteristic of Tudor monarchy. The character of his household expresses the character of the state, and Henry's choice of queen becomes crucial to interpreting his understanding of his own position and the ideals he sought to impose. Through this lens, the king's control of the masque, like his choice of partner, underscores his aims to expand his control more generally.

The changes that Henry VIII wrought to masque entertainments reflect the tension of law and social code that characterized the Henrician era. Henry established and adapted political performances throughout his reign to abet the series of changes he wished to enact, and his queens were always a critical element in these performances. In Katherine, he chose a partner and a peer; Shakespeare and Fletcher's Katherine is similarly vocal and participatory. When, after twenty years of marriage, Henry chose a new queen, he instead selected a

subject, signaling his willingness to share power and counsel. Shakespeare and Fletcher use the banquet masque to foreshadow a similar shift; as Henry moves from partner-wife to subject-wife, he also moves from dependence on counselors to a more masterful manipulation and control of those around him. Writing a scarce century after Henry's coronation, the playwrights pulled from countless threads of thought about the monarch. While discontent did characterize the latter half of Henry's reign, his position as a humanist, proto-Protestant, and dynastic lynchpin had all been exacerbated and exploited by his successors. The structure of *All is True* mirrors important shifts in Henry's own ruling style and, like Henry himself, uses his queens as reflections of those shifts. In the first scenes, Henry's dependence on Wolsey, as dramatized by his first entrance in Act 1, scene 2, and the control exerted over the young men of the court, shown in the proclamation against the "Frenchified" behavior of the courtiers in Act 1, scene 3, mirror the limited circumstances of Henry's control in the first years of his reign. While these scenes do extend the more major limitations on Henry's power into later in his reign than was historically true, the play's telescoped approach to time allows for an even stronger correlation between Henry's mode of rule and his choice of queen.

Returning to the masque as a site of practiced power, both in Henry's historical court and in the play, a relevant addition is Howard's analysis of dancing and festivity in the Henrician court as "a privileged site for the production of hierarchy and gender difference,"[11] placed "at the center of the constellation of nonverbal practices that consolidated political power in the sovereign by performing the work of social stratification."[12] Howard, though, approaches this technique from the perspective of the courtiers upon whom it is imposed, rather than interrogating the motivations of the imposing sovereign. Henry was shifting the social code to privilege his own power, and "behaviour became a new heraldry by which the courtier created his nobility and signaled his allegiance."[13] Lockey emphasizes this point, acknowledging that "traditional blood links were replaced by a new chivalric code of virtuous service to the sovereign and kingdom."[14] Under this new system, Henry's choice of queen emphasizes his sense of his own primacy as a source of position and power for others.

Henry VIII's own early lyrics reveal similar aims to his early revisions to the masque. Like the bridges of preserved practice Henry used in his masques, these poems "directly respond to the anxieties caused by the crowning of a new king whose policies and personality differ radically from the previous monarch's"[15]; they served as an outlet, "establishing his independence from Henry VII's policies [… and] articulating as forcefully as possible that he, and only he, rules the land."[16] Through his verse and performance—and verse as performance—Henry used enough tradition to establish his reign's continuity within a larger historical arc, while introducing innovations and manipulations "for depicting the hierarchy of the court and for both defending and reinforcing the power of his monarchy."[17] From early in his reign, Henry used every element of royal performance at his disposal to respond to limitations upon his power and to manipulate social and legal codes in his favor.

Whether or not Shakespeare and Fletcher had access to many of the king's original poetic compositions, they would have been familiar with his reputation as a poet and with the general tenor of courtly poetry during his reign, particularly as preserved in *Tottel's Miscellany*.[18] At a minimum, they were likely familiar with the long-popular "Pastyme with Good Company," which highlights the tone of youthful indulgence and kingly prerogative that Henry used to shore up his early efforts at expanding his power. A combination of the various facets that Henry saw as central to his identity, including the emphasis on youthful force and energy, can be seen in "Thow that men do call it dotage," where Henry writes "Love maynteynyth all noble courage / Who love dysdaynyth ys all of the village."[19] As Peter Herman points out, this privileges love by implying that "the person who disdains love […] has lost his place in the aristocracy; his disdain marks him as a peasant."[20] The poem echoes the importance of the lover's faithfulness apparent in other lyrics, notably "Green grows the holly." In "Thow that men," the poem closes "For whoso lovith shuld love butt oone. / Chaunge who so wyll, I wyll be none."[21] The placement of this couplet at the end of the verse, combined with the repeated motif of devoted love in Henry's poem, stresses the importance of Katherine of Aragon to Henry's court.

In Henry's chivalric court, the noble man defined himself partially by his service and fidelity to an equally noble woman. For the first several years of Henry's reign, Katherine was his courtly lady, and only after almost twenty years of marriage was there any threat to her supremacy. In the scandal and romance that surrounds Anne Boleyn, the longevity of Henry's first romance is often forgotten, but that very longevity suggests the importance, to a younger Henry, of stability, chivalry, and an enactment of the kind of love about which romances were written as elements of his court and of his kingship, even after the elusive, if not illusive, nature of all of these things must have become clear to him. Unlike many dramatists and historians, Fletcher and Shakespeare emphasize the long tenure of Katherine's reign. Norfolk's description of Katherine as "a jewel has hung twenty years / About his neck yet never lost her lustre" (*H8* 2.2.30–1) is later echoed by Anne Bullen herself, in her less precise "So many courses of the sun enthroned" (*H8* 2.3.6). In this emphasis on the tenure of his first relationship, the playwrights strengthen the link between Henry's styles of kingship and the queens by his side.

In the tournaments he reveled in, "King Henry as Sir Loyal Heart or Coeur Vaillant jousted under the colours of his lady, and his Queen."[22] In court entertainments, Henry assumed the roles of heroic, masculine figures like Hercules and Robin Hood, assaulting or protecting "feminine" virtues and vices.[23] These images reveal the edge that underlines the king's chivalric poetry: each privileged love and gave greater privilege to masculine prerogative. Describing the *Chateau Vert* pageant, during which Anne Boleyn made her first official appearance at the English court, and which has since been (over)dramatized as the moment at which she might have caught the king's eye, Herman observes "the reassertion of male dominance at the 'battle's' conclusion emblematizes

the reassertion of the king's dominance over the (literally feminized) enemies who dared to defy him; the king's sexual potency, in other words, symbolizes his political potency, and vice versa."[24] What is most telling about this performance is the privileging of masculine position, not the tempting but anachronistic focus on Anne and Henry's joint performance.

When Shakespeare and Fletcher introduce Anne through the banquet, then, they choose a particularly hierarchal and gendered early modern space, one that draws together the political theater of the stage, of monarchy, and of history. Chalmers argues that one effect of the repeated ceremonies of the play is the exposure of "the manipulation of courtly ceremony as a tool of royal and ecclesiastical power-broking" and "the manipulation of over-lavish courtly performance [...] as an expression of a dangerously extreme form of absolutism."[25] Given the larger thrust of Chalmers' argument, she must, correctly, mean manipulation not as an indication of an inappropriate use of such ceremony, but rather as the inherent purpose of the thing. The layered meanings of the Field of the Cloth of Gold with which the play opens prime the audience to consider each following scene of political theater as containing multiple meanings, as well. As such, the banquet scene offers multiple readings of Henry and Anne's first encounter—and multiple readings of Anne Bullen.

Though Anne Boleyn may have been, as she is often presented, challenging on a personal level, nothing about her could challenge Henry's immediate political power as king; despite her ostensibly more aggressive personality, she was, for a king, a more comfortable choice than Katherine. Herman argues convincingly that the last poem Henry wrote, several years after his other verses, was a tribute to Anne. The opening lines establish the conceit: "The eagle's force subdues eache byrd that flyes; / What metal can resyst the flaminge fyre?"[26] The poem is essentially a series of metaphors, each building on the relationship of an inescapable power and the medium on which that power works, before concluding on the ambiguous line, "The wysest are, with Princes, made but fools."[27] While Peter Herman interprets this line to suggest "that love can transform the monarchic speaker into a fool," it could also imply that, in the presence of Princes, all others are made fools; other people are the medium on which the inescapable force of Henry's royalty works.[28] He also points out that

> Henry pursued Anne Boleyn in very different terms than he had Katherine [...] he no longer invokes chivalric figures or adopts a subservient position toward his beloved [...] those images [... have] been replaced by images that unconditionally project the monarch's authority.[29]

Certainly, this is true; the voice in "The eagle's force subdues" does not even make any attempt to sound as though the speaker lacks control in the situation. Doubtless, also, the king's definition of his own masculinity has changed, but the kind of femininity he is conceptualizing as the target of his pursuit is equally central in understanding this shift. Further, the actual action in which Henry is

participating needs to be clarified, for, at least in the extant verse, it is difficult to pin down any poem in which Henry can be said to be *pursuing* Katherine, as he seems to have already assumed the throne when he pens his first verses. Instead, the shift is not only one of authority of voice, but also one that outlines the differences between paying homage to a queen and equal and pursuing a subject—an individual who can never claim the kind of basic authority that Henry believed to be his birthright. Katherine is a partner-queen with her own authority and voice, and their love is the subject of Henry's early court poetry, while Anne is instead the subject of both poetry and king.

While many intervening mythologies developed between Anne's death in 1536 and the writing of *All is True*, those mythologies begin with Henry's own conceptions of political performances and with the various receptions thereof by his people. Those diverse receptions are further splintered by the effects of the Reformation—and the reigns of Henry's three children—on religious, social, economic, and gender norms. While many of Henry's wives would be vilified or sanctified at different times, Anne became a particular focus: first, because of her role in Henry's first divorce; second, because of the role of that divorce in the Reformation, and her own oft-contested religious leanings; third, because it was her child who ruled longest and most effectively.

Under Elizabeth's reign raged a narrative battle between those opposed to the queen, like Sander, who vilified Anne beyond the bounds of historical reason, and those eager to curry Elizabeth's favor or to promote the reformed church. John Foxe, for instance, cast Anne as a veritable Protestant saint in *Acts and Monuments* (1570):

> Godly I call her, for sondry respectes… Fyrst her last wordes spoken at her death, declared no lesse her sincere fayth and trust in Christ, then dyd her quiet modestie utter forth the goodnes of the cause and matter, whatsoeuer it was. Besides that, to such as wisely can iudge upon cases occurrent, this also may seme to geue a greate clearyng unto her, that the kyng the thyrde day after, was maryed in his whites unto an other. Certein this was, that for the rare and singular gyftes of her mynde so well instructed, & geuen toward God, with such a feruent desire unto the truth, and settyng forth of sincere religion, ioyned wyth like gentlenes, modesty, and pytie toward all men, there hath not many such Queenes before her borne the crowne of England. Principally this one commendation she left behynd her, that duryng her lyfe, the religion of Christ most happely floryshed, and had a ryght prosperous course.[30]

Far past the simple endorsement of Anne as a reasonable choice of bride that Hall offers, Foxe moves into explicit exoneration of her and, by correlation, condemnation of Henry. Certainly, this panegyric emphasizes the virtuous Anne as a key figure of the Reformation in England.

Given Anne's frequent treatment by religious polemicists, in particular, the audience of *All is True* would already understand her character as an interpretable one. Even those inclined to sympathize with Foxe or Sander would be aware of other narratives. Indeed, an author's version of Anne might itself be a

key to defining the particular lens he had adopted; virtually no Catholic author would legitimize Elizabeth's reign by valorizing Anne, and many Protestants treated the reclamation of her narrative as a key moment in the history of the Reformation. Fletcher and Shakespeare, then, use Anne-as-subject to emphasize the subjective understandings of history they wish to explore—and, ultimately, to satisfy the audience's desire to contain the threatening instabilities of their history.

Shifting Orders, Shifting Roles, Shifting Queens

The court's instability during and following the annulment of Henry's marriage with Katherine of Aragon and his affair with Anne Boleyn provided an atmosphere for women that was, if not unique, certainly unusual in Renaissance England. Anne's rise made evident that embodying the perfectly feminine could lead to the crown, but one misstep and the very fact that a woman had risen high could cost her head. The court saw major changes surrounding concepts of gender and power during the approximately ten years of Anne's influence, three and a half of which she spent as queen. Such changes particularly highlight the shift away from Henry's original conceptions of a chivalric court, as feminine power began to be perceived as ever more dangerous. This atmosphere of intrigue and competition partially accounts for the appeal of the reign to dramatists, pamphleteers, and other contemporary writers, despite the inherent complications of addressing the tumultuous history of their monarchs' near predecessors. That appeal created a widespread culture of apocrypha and mythology that took root while Henry himself still sat on the throne.

Hall, Sander, and Foxe all provide examples of this culture's many manifestations. For Hall, a key concern is legitimizing Henry's choices. In an effort, perhaps, to maintain an equivocal endorsement of Anne without condemning Henry too harshly, Hall assays one minor critique: that "many wise menne saied, that the kyng was not well counsailed, to mary the lady Anne Bulleyne, before the diuorse were adiudged, for by mariyng before the first mariage was dissolued, they said, that the second mariage might be brought in question, and verely they saied true."[31] In Hall's narrative, Henry is poorly counseled; Hall avoids entirely a judgment on Anne's guilt or innocence. Sander creates an Anne "full of pride, ambition, envy, and impurity."[32] Foxe counters that the charge against Anne was "so contrary to all nature that no naturall man will beleue it"[33]; the Anne of Foxe's narratives is one of "manifold vertues, and … quyet moderation of … mylde nature."[34] Such a range only samples the hundreds of Annes Shakespeare and Fletcher could choose: she could be found as a spirit bemoaning her sins in George Cavendish's *Metrical Visions*,[35] as a virtuous mother in John Alymer's *An Harbowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes*,[36] as an eloquent prisoner in Charles Wriothesley's *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors*.[37]

An example of one of the more romantic myths associated with Anne at the time Shakespeare and Fletcher were writing was recorded by George Wyatt in

his *Life of Anne Boleigne*, though he gives as his source a maid to Anne Boleyn named Anne Gainsford.[38] Wyatt relates an incident between the King and Thomas Wyatt. The latter takes a small jewel from Anne, apparently dangling by a thread or lace, determined "either to have it with her favour, or as an occasion to have talke with her."[39] Henry, on the other hand, gets from Anne a ring, which he wears on his little finger. A few days later, while "sportinge … at bowles," Henry claims as his own a cast that was made by someone else and, pointing with the little finger on which he wears Anne's ring, says, "'Wiat, I tel thee it is mine'."[40] Wyatt responds, "'An if it may like your Majesty to give me leave to measure it, I hope it will be mine'" and measures the cast with the bit of lace on which Anne's jewel dangles. The King's final retort before ending the game is "'It may be so, but then I am deceived'."[41] The story ends with Anne satisfying Henry's jealousy (for the moment) with her innocuous explanation for Wyatt's possession of the jewel.[42] While George Wyatt's account was not commercially published until the nineteenth century, the story belonged to the larger apocrypha and mythology surrounding Anne Boleyn—and indeed, the opacity and difficulty of Anne's characterization in the story is nicely analogous to the oft-remarked ambiguity of Anne Bullen in Shakespeare and Fletcher's play.

Few of Anne's own actions are described in the anecdote, but that is itself a reflection on her role. She is primarily acted upon: Bates characterizes her as "quarry" and "an object of homosocial desire."[43] However, her role is not by any means an entirely passive one. Anne is still one of the players in this game, active in influencing how she will be observed by the men.[44] Mirabella complicates this idea, pointing out that women were put "on display for those in power" and at the same time were "under constant surveillance […] controlled and restrained."[45] However, Mirabella adds that the near-paranoia surrounding the use of proper forms implied that men were not certain of their control and were, on some level, aware of their own need for women to fill the idealized role these men had created for them: "In watching women dance, men hoped to see their idealized selves reflected back to them."[46] As discussed above, the *Chateau Vert* masque itself provides plenty of commentary on this particular performance of gender roles in Henry's court, as the feminized virtues are claimed by the men through an assault on less receptive feminine qualities—those traits that might lead a lady to reject a true lover. In an interesting bit of gender play, the unattractive, demonized feminine qualities guarding the castle were represented by boys dressed as women; specifically, as Indian women. Anne Boleyn's apparent first appearance at court, at least as mythologized, is one in which she, along with other important women of the court, was a focus of attention, a focus of male gazes, and a player of a structured gendered role created for her.

Whether or not Shakespeare and Fletcher were thinking of the *Chateau Vert* pageant when they crafted the banquet of Act 1, scene 4, Anne Bullen occupies a quite similar space to her historical analogue. McMullan notes that the banquet is taken from Holinshed's description of a 1527 banquet at York Place, but

that Anne's presence was not noted in the historical account.[47] While Shakespeare and Fletcher do not present a formal masque as categorized by the Jacobean court, the scene nonetheless presents those elements of masque that Streitberger identifies as part of Henry's definitions and courtly performance. Anne's movements are determined by the men around her, in stark contrast, as Chalmers and Micheli have pointed out, to Katherine's quietly defiant, self-determined movement. Micheli first outlines the parallels between the introductions of the two queens:

> As in the case of Katherine [in Act 1, scene 2], Anne's entrance is associated with an invitation to be seated in a place, if not of honor, then of courteous welcome. The due placement of guests at a banquet reflects social harmony as much as the order of seating in the Council, but the Chamberlain's seating plan is determined by gender and a desire for lively flirtation rather than by merit or degree. The ensuing conversation reveals the extent to which the decorum of the banquet hall is a holiday from that of the council chamber.[48]

However, even given the license of these "holiday manners," Micheli argues that "Anne is relatively self-effacing [,…] she moves only in response to the invitations and instructions of others."[49] Anne's three spoken lines are ambiguous—possibly, but not inherently, flirtatious. Her interaction with the king is accessed only through Henry's and Wolsey's perspectives, emphasizing her position as subject to the controlling gazes around her.

Those perspectives, though, foreground a fissure in the relationship of the two men. When Wolsey sees the king's attention to Anne, he suggests that the party move to the next room as "Your grace, / I fear, with dancing is a little heated" (*H8* 1.4.99–100). Implicitly, Wolsey seeks to separate his sovereign from Anne, controlling the king's interest and investment. Henry acknowledges his interest—"I fear too much" (*H8* 1.4.101) and apparently acquiesces to the movement. However, as he moves from the dance to the banquet, he does not comply with Wolsey's unspoken request that he move on from the lady, as well.[50] Instead, he leads Anne in with "Sweet partner, / I must not yet forsake you" (*H8* 1.4.103–4), establishing his place by her for at least the banquet and, perhaps, for the ensuing final dance he requests. Henry's order for the end of the evening, "let's dream / Who's best in favour" (*H8* 1.4.107–8), activates speculation through multiple meanings. Henry has already positioned Anne as foremost in "favour" as beauty; this final exchange both invites onlookers to determine which lady is best in Henry's favor and, perhaps, to determine whether Wolsey or Anne is best in favor, as well. As Henry moves away from the control of his primary counselor, he may move into controlling Anne, his queen-to-be. Henry the character changes the narrative of who controls whom, just as Henry the king did when he chose his second queen. However, as the space of the playhouse itself would have emphasized, the actions of Henry, Anne, and Wolsey on the stage are all controlled by playwrights—authors who now control the narrative of history with the help of their audience.

Anne's own performance, as preserved in the stories of her life, often draws on similar subject positions. While characterized in many anecdotes as too flirtatious, too proud, a coquette, many of Anne's decisions seem to indicate that, if not genuinely virtuous, she was at least wise enough to appear to align herself with the more subdued feminine values. Ives recounts Anne's response to Henry's erotic demands prior to his annulment from Katherine: she falls to her knees and accuses Henry of testing her, since surely the noble king would not think of "wickedness which would justly procure the hatred of God and of your good queen against us."[51] Whether real or false modesty, this is the proper response from a noble woman asked to become a king's mistress or to replace a queen. Anne similarly exploits feminine values when she writes, in a book of hours that she and Henry passed between them in morning mass, "By daily proof you shall me find / To be to you both loving and kind."[52] The words themselves are perhaps uninspired; their context, placed beneath an illustration of the Annunciation, is calculated genius from a woman trying to attract a man as desperate for an heir as Henry was by this time. These moments mythologize a character who is able to use positions of submission to gain power, but these are also moments open to many interpretive lenses, which may validate her responses as genuine and virtuous, or as calculated and empty.

The ambiguous Anne Boleyn of history becomes the opaque Anne Bullen of the play. The play is less interested in fleshing out a particular version of Anne Boleyn and more interested in creating an Anne Bullen that is interpretable. As Loughnane summarizes, Fletcher and Shakespeare's

> uneven portrayal of Anne mirrors the historically ambivalent place that Anne occupied in the late Tudor and Stuart mindset […] Anne's character denies straightforward interpretation [… I]t would have been either fawning or foolhardy, and entirely anti-dramatic, if the playwrights portrayed her at either extension of this impossible binary.[53]

The audience has brought their own expectations, just like the gentlemen outside of the court who will comment on Anne's coronation, but what they are acting on is the same: the image of Anne crafted for a given moment by multiple authors—Anne herself, Henry, and Shakespeare and Fletcher. There is an opacity to the Anne of history that invites this kind of reflectivity, but the play is focused on performance, not "reality." Creating an Anne that the audience can interpret comes near to creating an Anne that the audience can control—and in their control of the difficult character, the audience may feel some cathartic control over the dangerous shifts of their histories.

Anne is a particularly excellent exemplar of the shifts of the Henrician reign because of her ambiguous positions in essentially every social category. Her performances of class, gender, religion, and even nationality are all preserved in inconsistent and contrasting narratives. McMullan speaks to the question of Anne's complicated identity in a footnote on her supposed French influences, saying that her foreign education and presumed Protestantism

> would still have been part of what was known of her a century later, and would doubtless have been equivocally viewed (the anti-Catholicism she picked up in France would have been approved but the cultural and sexual influence of the French suspected).[54]

Anne contains and performs a foreignness that is not really foreignness. She is, of course, more "English" than Katherine—but she is also filtered through another culture which is both suspect and, in its influence for the Reformation, beneficial. Her position in the midst of England's growing nationalism is equivocal. To some extent, her rejection by some of the audience may be predicated on this mix of the domestic and the foreign. Anne is too much of too many other things, focusing English anxiety about contamination by foreignness, even if she presents an alternative to a foreign queen and, ultimately, gives birth to the quintessential English monarch.

Shakespeare and Fletcher preserve some of the ambiguities of Anne's composition, while the play's dialogues seem to settle other questions. To Wolsey, at least, Anne Bullen is both overly common, as "[a] knight's daughter" (*H8* 3.2.94), and quite definitely a "spleeny Lutheran" (*H8* 3.2.99). While a tradition already existed of understanding Anne as the threateningly inconstant or temperamental female, the courtiers of the play constantly comment on her virtues; no overt indication of temper or willfulness emerges. However, the audience would bring to the play their own understandings of the historical figure, as well, whether that background came from Sander, Foxe, Alymer, or any of a number of other sources. As Wolsey's condemnation makes clear, Anne Bullen could be read as noble or as common, at the same time that shifting class expectations made such categorization increasingly difficult. That class categorization, then, could be manipulated to feed particular narratives: Anne Bullen as noble mother to Gloriana, or as common woman raised high to benefit her people; Anne Bullen as corrupt courtier, or as hopped-up merchant's daughter. The narrative the audience brings will change how they understand Anne Bullen and Wolsey's invectives against her, beyond just acceptance or rejection.

This ambiguity of interpretation and position is the lynchpin not only to the interaction of Anne Bullen and the Old Lady in Act 2, scene 3, but also to nearly every critical analysis of that scene. Hilberdink-Sakamoto focuses on the oft-used adjective "ambiguous," asking whether Anne is ambiguous "due to the complexity of her inner self or simply because of the insufficiency of the material which would lead us to definitive answers."[55] Merriam's answer to that ambiguity is the character of the Old Lady, whose reliability he calls "[t]he interpretative crux of Act 2, Scene 3."[56] To Merriam, the Old Lady is "the voice of the playwright Shakespeare subverting the play's celebration of the Tudor (and Stuart) monarchies."[57] The Old Lady may, however, also be read as one of several minor courtiers who offer interpretive lenses that the audience may appropriate to understand Anne Bullen, and while each of those lenses *may* be subversive, each also offers other readings. The "insufficiency of material," then, is a strategy inviting the audience to fill in the blanks with their own narratives.

Echoing the responsive, truncated nature of the half-lines of her speech in Act 1, Anne's first line in Act 2 responds to something unheard: "Not for that neither" (*H8* 2.3.1). McMullan's footnote in the Arden edition points out the multiple interpretations immediately available; Anne is ostensibly responding to the Old Lady, but "Anne's negative can [also] sound like a direct rejection of Henry's hypocrisy about his conscience."[58] The audience is invited to interpret her opening line in several modes, among them virtuous rejection of the Old Lady's talk of ambition, hypocritical "rejection" of the same, or savvy insight into Henry's thought processes.

Anne's speech continues to layer the appropriately pious with the more suspect possibility of political knowledge:

> O, now, after
> So many courses of the sun enthroned,
> Still growing in a majesty and pomp the which
> To leave a thousandfold more bitter than
> 'Tis sweet at first t'acquire—after this process,
> To give her the avaunt, it is a pity
> Would move a monster. (*H8* 2.3.5–11)

As Hilberdink-Sakamoto points out, Anne here reimagines Katherine's loss as one of power and position rather than of marital affection, "giving an alternative account of Katherine's position in the court, which undermines the male noble's attempt to trivialise the first queen's power as exemplified in Norfolk's speech."[59] These lines also evoke Katherine's repeated domestic losses—the losses that have ultimately led to her fall from power. Katherine's body is no longer able to "grow […] in majesty" through carrying a royal child; repeatedly, she has experienced the bitter loss of a promised "majesty." The "process" Anne evokes here is partly that which would have sustained Katherine's position: the process of bearing future majesties. Anne's lines offer both her perspective on Katherine's losses and a more impersonal, political view; both additions are simultaneously available to the audience.

Most of Anne's lines in the scene are taken up with her rejection of the Old Lady's assertion that she is ambitious for greater position; almost every critic and editor who has addressed the scene has also considered the potential for irony or hypocrisy in Anne's delivery of these words. At a minimum, the audience is aware that Anne cannot maintain her stance when she claims "I swear again, I would not be a queen / For all the world" (*H8* 2.3.45–6); her ultimate abdication of this sworn position is, from a historical viewpoint, inevitable. That sense of inevitability adds to the subjective interpretive possibilities of the character; to some extent, Anne Bullen as a character in the play cannot be judged by her actions, as her actions are always already proscribed for her. Further, to a striking degree, those actions and decisions take place out of sight of the audience; the audience knows what she is doing by report and through their own knowledge of history. Anne Bullen as a character imposes no single narrative on the rationale or emotions of Anne Boleyn as historical figure.

Shakespeare and Fletcher's Anne is, in fact, largely characterized by negation and inaction; insofar as she makes choices, they are to give in to the decisions imposed on her. In the banquet scene, this simply means acquiescence to Henry's invitations, but her inaction is emphasized by her silence in the king's presence. In this fuller scene with the Old Lady, Anne does oppose the Old Lady's claims; however, when the Lord Chamberlain enters, she returns to her stance of obedient submission. When offered the exact kind of vaulting leap in position that she has just foresworn in her conversation with the Old Lady, her response to the Lord Chamberlain is, if not positive, certainly accepting:

> I do not know
> What kind of obedience I should tender.
> More than my all is nothing; nor my prayers
> Are not words duly hallowed, nor my wishes
> More worth than empty vanities; yet prayers and wishes
> Are all I can return. Beseech your lordship,
> Vouchsafe to speak my thanks and my obedience,
> As from a blushing handmaid, to his highness,
> Whose health and royalty I pray for. (*H8* 2.3.65–73)

These lines might reveal Anne's hypocrisy in her earlier disavowal of ambition, or they may be understood as further, appropriate submission to the king's will. As throughout the scene, her position is balanced and equivocal. She affirms her position as a "handmaid" even as she accepts a position in the upper nobility. As the Chamberlain leaves, Anne will express apparent concern for Katherine in another complex line, reminding the Old Lady that "The Queen is comfortless, and we forgetful" (*H8* 2.3.98)—but as much as this is a statement of concern, it may also be a statement of the fact that Katherine is beyond help, and the courtiers will quickly move on from her tragedy. In whatever way the audience understands the lines, though, Anne maintains much of the language of negation that characterizes her position on ambition earlier in the scene. Her "all is nothing," her prayers are insufficient, her wishes are "empty vanities." The language Anne uses to accept her new position emphasizes the cipher-space she occupies, one full of blanks that the audience is invited to fill in.

Containing the Subject

Shakespeare and Fletcher's work in creating an Anne Bullen open to many readings is ultimately an effort to contain the historical instabilities the character represents. Anne's instabilities echo those introduced into English culture and history by her royal husband's reign. The final two scenes that evoke that unstable presence, though, also reflect a drive to mitigate and contain this difficult character. Anne's silence at her own coronation and absence from her daughter's baptism compromise the position of the queen—now subject not only to the king's definitions, but also to the audience's.[60]

Woodcock points out that Anne's coronation scene provides "the most extended stage direction of all Shakespeare's works."[61] During this extended procession, Anne's is not the only silent part; "[t]he entire scene consists purely of commentary; the actual participants are seen and 'wondered at' though do not get to speak."[62] The movement of Anne's coronation offers a similar moment of access for multiple interpretations, taking the further step of mute presentation. The play offers no comment from Anne, no dialogue on her behalf to guide the audience's reaction; this moment is fully interpretable by the audience, with few constraints placed on their interpretation. Those constraints that are offered come in the form of the commentary of the observing gentlemen—the same who comment on Buckingham's fall. Woodcock summarizes the function of these gentlemen as a kind of key for the audience's understanding and interpretation:

> Fluency in reading and decoding the interactions and ceremonies of the court is presented as a vital skill in the play, and—rather helpfully for the audience—it is one evidently possessed by the unnamed gentleman observers in 2.1 and 4.1 who provide a choric commentary on Buckingham's arraignment and Anne Boleyn's coronation.[63]

The essential role of the gentlemen as "choric" is necessary both to understanding their function and to the creation of multiple readings for Anne. The classic chorus *may* guide the audience's understanding—but their function cannot ever be assumed to work as an absolute moral guide. Equally likely is a choral function as a stand-in for the audience—reflecting rather than guiding interpretation. Given the inconsistencies of the gentlemen's readings, they work both to reflect and implicitly endorse the multiple understandings of the play's multiple audiences.

The Second Gentleman's lines when he sees Anne condense the contradictions of the gentlemen's discussions of her coronation. First apostrophizing her from a distance, then turning to his companion, he declares:

> Thou has the sweetest face I ever looked on.
> Sir, as I have a soul, she is an angel.
> Our King has all the Indies in his arms,
> And more, and richer, when he strains that lady. (*H8* 4.1.43–6)

The first line focuses attention on the surface and on Anne's appearance as her most important quality. This appearance is sufficient for him to assign to her the virtues of "an angel"—but his next lines then delineate her worth in a much earthier way, bringing back the explicitly sexual overtones that characterize the Old Lady's responses to Anne and marking Anne's worth in material, rather than spiritual, terms. On the stage, Anne's pregnant body would emphasize these interpretive possibilities: virtuous, fertile mother of a new England or fallen woman whose compromised virtue is visible for all observers. Karremann argues that "the riches of India are evoked in order to describe a victory that

might have come at too great a price."[64] However, in addition to the simple interpretation of great (earthly) worth, the riches of the Indies may also refer to an imagined "blank slate," or an area that, while dangerously untamed/uncharted, also offers great potential for the future to the Jacobean audience. Equating Anne once again with empty spaces, the Second Gentleman's lines both offer multiple readings of the queen's character and emphasize the ability of the audience to colonize the space of her performance with their preferred narratives.

Anne's performance—or performances of Anne—always present certain inherent challenges for the generally fairly nationalistic audiences of early modern theater. Even a sympathetic audience (specifically, one who believes in her innocence) still must understand her as outside Henry's control, so threatening that she must be not only executed but erased. However, as the final scene of Shakespeare and Fletcher's play highlights, Anne does not submit to this erasure, instead giving England its most famous queen. Noling sees Anne Bullen's birthing of Elizabeth as a moment of that aimed-at erasure for Anne, saying of the baptismal scene in *All is True* that "the staging associates Anne in a startling way with Elizabeth, showing the mother's total replacement by her daughter."[65] Certainly, a strong current of early modern thought focused on parental fear of effacement by their progeny. However, for an audience who knows that Anne Boleyn will, in fact, be "effaced" in a less natural fashion, Anne Bullen's replacement by her daughter may instead add a sense of continuity. Those in the audience with a knowledge of court precedents, or with a familiarity with history, will be aware that Anne should not be present at her daughter's baptism; like the gentlemen at the coronation, they can share this "insider" knowledge with anyone ignorant of the custom. By removing Anne after her coronation, Shakespeare and Fletcher silence the character—but by foregrounding Elizabeth's birth and baptism, they mitigate that erasure. The larger aim of the play, then, may not be to erase Anne Bullen, but to contain her.

The scene that precedes Elizabeth's baptism unites the play's explicit appeals to the audience with the choral role of the gentlemen at Anne's coronation. While the Porter decries the press of commoners coming to see the new princess, Chalmers observes that

> the scene appears to balance a sense of the potentially chaotic nature of a large popular gathering with a more affectionate, even celebratory approach to the people who are joined, like so many of the play's audience, by their communal identity as citizens of London.[66]

As Chalmers also notes, "the account of the festivities for Anne Bullen's coronation also foregrounds the role of citizens as a body in staging pageants."[67] The two together, then, emphasize the sense of the audience as participants in the constructed history of the play. As the citizenry within the play become key witnesses to the major events of history, the staging activates the audience's role as analogous to those witnesses. By then staging multiple narratives

through the commentary and reactions of the witness characters, *All is True* acknowledges and validates the multiple narratives that the diverse audience will construct. While Anne Bullen is not the only character whose history is subject to these multiple narratives, her embodiment of certain instabilities from Henry's reign make her a particularly attractive target for the audience's efforts to construct contained, specific narratives.

The final scene of the play references "the Queen," specifically and explicitly, only twice. However, these evocations of Anne occur in the fourth and the fourth-to-last lines, effectively bookending the scene with her presence. While the multiple interpretations that have structured the play to this point may necessarily imply the existence of other possible understandings of the final scene, as well, the prophecy of Elizabeth's reign is essentially uncontested in the play. Only one perspective is given, with only the king's accepting response offered on the stage. The unstable narratives of Henry's reign, as dramatized up to this point, are subsumed in the single forecast of the glory of his daughter's rule. Whatever interpretations the audience has brought to the history presented in front of them, the play proffers that they have successfully constructed a narrative that, inevitably, results in the peaceful, unified, and stable England promised by the final scene.

Just as the prologue names four potential audiences for the play and calls upon three for their understanding, so the epilogue reifies this sense of multiple truths for multiple audiences. From the first line, the speaker of the epilogue acknowledges that "this play can never please / All that are here" (*H8* Epilogue 1–2). The epilogue then once more anatomizes the audience:

> Some come to take their ease,
> And sleep an act or two […]
> […] other to hear the city
> Abused extremely and to cry "That's witty!"
> […]
> All the expected good we're like to hear
> […] is only in
> The merciful construction of good women,
> For such a one we showed 'em. If they smile
> And say 'twill do, I know within a while
> All the best men are ours. (*H8* Epilogue 2–13)

McMullan makes the important point that "such a one" is "probably a deliberately ambivalent reference to one or all of Katherine, Anne, and Elizabeth, though generally taken to refer only to Katherine."[68] The intentional ambivalence of the line, then, reactivates the prologue's appeal to the audience's superior understanding, while reinforcing the sense of multiple audiences and multiple understandings. If the audience is merciful, they may construct a good woman in the character of Anne Bullen; in any case, they may choose from the many constructions of women in the play to craft the narrative that most agrees with them.

The political theater of *All is True* acknowledges the role of the English audience in preserving and constructing political mythologies and histories. Drawing on the political performance that Henry VIII crafted and the resulting popular mythologies, Shakespeare and Fletcher create Anne Bullen as a highly interpretable character whose inconsistencies mirror the instabilities of the Henrician reign. Insistently endorsing the audience's judgment, the play foregrounds an awareness of multiple interpretations and multiple audiences while also supporting the coexistence of competing judgments. The construction of one particular Anne Bullen is not necessary; the audience is, instead, welcome to fill in the blanks of her character as needed to construct the version that best contains, for them, the threats opened by the inconsistencies of the national narrative. As the play's title suggests, the sense of general shared history and narrative is given precedence over the specificity of any single version of events.

Notes

1. William Shakespeare, *Henry VIII (All Is True)*, ed. Gordon McMullan, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), Prologue 5–17.
2. Matthew Woodcock, "'Their eyes more attentive to the show': Spectacle, Tragedy, and the Structure of *All is True (Henry VIII)*," *Shakespeare* 7, no. 1 (2011): 5.
3. Isabel Karreman, "Nostalgic Spectacle and the Politics of Memory in *Henry VIII*," *Shakespeare Survey* 67 (2014): 181.
4. Edward Hall, *The Vnion of the Two Noble and Illustrate Famelies of Lancastre & Yorke* (London: Richard Grafton, 1548), Fol II. C.lxxxiiij.
5. Nicolas Sander, *The Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*, trans. David Lewis (London: Burns and Oates, 1877), 23.
6. K. Hilberdink-Sakamoto, "'Oh God's Will, Much Better she Ne'er Had Known Pomp': The Making of Queen Anne in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*," *Shakespeare Studies* 37 (1999): 25.
7. Chalmers makes a more specific connection between the queens of the play and the audience's contemporary experiences of political theater, as well. Contrasting Anne and Katherine on the stage, Chalmers suggests that

   > [i]f the banquet scene, like the later account of [Anne's] silent and static opposing of her beauty to the crowd at her coronation (4.1.69–70), suggests the placement of noblewomen as more compliant participants in courtly spectacle, the impact of Katherine's absences or departures elsewhere is reminiscent of what McManus identifies as Queen Anna's strategic gestures of withdrawal or non-cooperation in relation to state ceremonies.

   The contrast between the Catholic, resistant Katherine and the Protestant, passive Anne, then, may also activate the audience's anxiety about their resistant queen. If the audience feels threatened by their contemporary Queen Anne's suspected Catholicism or her insistence on exerting political power, a more tractable, "replacement" Queen Anne may be attractive.

   Hero Chalmers, "'Break up the court': Power, Female Performance and Courtly Ceremony in *Henry VIII*," *Shakespeare* 7, no. 3 (2011): 261.

8. Hall, *Vnion*, Fol II. vij; W.R. Streitberger, *Court Revels, 1485–1559* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 67.
9. Streitberger, *Court*, 69.
10. Streitberger, *Court*, 69. Emphasis mine.
11. Skiles Howard, "'Ascending the Riche Mount': Performing Hierarchy and Gender in the Henrician Masque," in *Rethinking the Henrician Era: Essays on Early Tudor Texts and Contexts*, ed. Peter C. Herman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 17.
12. Howard, "'Ascending the Riche Mount'," 17.
13. Howard, "'Ascending the Riche Mount'," 19.
14. Brian Lockey, *Law and Empire in English Renaissance Literature* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 34.
15. Peter C. Herman and Ray G. Siemens, "Reading Monarchs Writing: Introduction," in *Reading Monarchs Writing: The Poetry of Henry VIII, Mary Stuart, Elizabeth I, and James VI/I,* ed. Peter C. Herman (Tempe, AZ: MRTS, 2002), 6–7.
16. Herman and Siemens, "Reading Monarchs," 7.
17. Peter C. Herman and Ray G. Siemens, "Henry VIII and the Poetry of Politics," in *Reading Monarchs* ed. Herman, 15.
18. Richard Tottel, ed., *Songes and Sonnetes, Written by the Right Honorable Lorde Henry Haward Late Earle of Surrey, and Other* (London: Tottel, 1557).
19. Henry VIII, "Thow That Men Do Call it Dotage," Lines 13–14, British Library, Add. MS 31922, fols. 55v–56; Ray Siemens, ed. *The Lyrics of the Henry VIII Manuscript* (Grand Rapids, MI: English Renaissance Text Society, 2013), 44.
20. Herman, *Poetrie*, 29.
21. Henry VIII, "Thow That Men Do Call it Dotage," Lines 19–20, British Library, Add. MS 31922, fols. 55v–56; Ray Siemens, ed. *The Lyrics of the Henry VIII Manuscript* (Grand Rapids, MI: English Renaissance Text Society, 2013), 44.
22. Antonia Fraser, *The Wives of Henry VIII* (New York: Knopf, 1993), 57.
23. Sydney Anglo, *Spectacle, Pageantry, and Early Tudor Policy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), 119, 158.
24. Herman, *Poetrie*, 28.
25. Chalmers, "'Break up the court'," 258–9.
26. Ed. Herman, *Poetrie*, 45; Sir John Harington, *Nugae Antiquae,* vol. 2, (London: Henry Harington, 1775), 246–49.
27. Ed. Herman, *Poetrie*, 45; Harington, *Nugae Antiquae,* vol. 2, 246–49.
28. Herman, *Poetrie*, 50.
29. Herman, *Poetrie*, 49.
30. John Foxe, *The First Volume of the Ecclesiasticall History Contaynyng the Actes and Monumentes of Thynges Passed in Euery Kynges Tyme in this Realme, Especially in the Church of England Principally to be Noted* (London: John Day, 1570), 1233.
31. Hall, *Vnion*, Fol II. CC. xi.
32. Sander, *Schism*, 25.
33. Foxe, *Actes*, 1233.
34. Foxe, *Actes*, 1233.
35. George Cavendish, *Metrical Visions*, ed. A.S.G. Edwards (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1980), 49–54; British Library, MS. Egerton 2402, ff.106r–108v.

36. John Alymer, *An Harbowe for Faithfull and Trewe Subjectes* (Strasborowe: John Daye, 1559).
37. Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England During the Reigns of the Tudors*, ed. William Douglas Hamilton (Westminster: J.B. Nichols and Sons, 1975).
38. Many works on Anne, Thomas Wyatt, and Henry himself record this story; most give Kenneth Muir's *The Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt* as their source, due to the difficulty of accessing the original. Muir transcribes large sections of George Wyatt's manuscript work.Kenneth Muir, *Life and Letters of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1963), 15–19; George Wyatt, *Extracts from the Life of the Virtuous Christian and Renowned Queen Anne Boleigne*, (Isle of Thanet: Rev. John Lewis, 1817), 5 ff.
39. Muir, *Wyatt*, 18.
40. Muir, *Wyatt*, 18.
41. Muir, *Wyatt*, 18.
42. Muir, *Wyatt*, 19.
43. Catherine Bates, "Wyatt, Surrey, and the Henrican Court," in *Early Modern British Poetry: A Critical Companion*, eds. Patrick Cheney, Andrew Hadfield, and Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 38.
44. Bates, "Wyatt," 38.
45. M. Bella Mirabella, "Mute Rhetorics: Women, the Gaze, and Dance in Renaissance England," *Genre* 28, no. 4 (1995): 415.
46. Mirabella, "Mute Rhetorics," 415.
47. Gordon McMullan, ed. *King Henry VIII (All Is True)* by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare (New York: Bloomsbury, 2016), 256.
48. Linda McJ Micheli, "'Sit By Us': Visual Imagery and the Two Queens in *Henry VIII*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38, no. 4 (1987): 456; Chalmers, "'Break up the court'," 261.
49. Micheli, "'Sit By Us'," 457.
50. McMullan offers a similar reading in his note for lines 99–102 of this scene:

    > a knowing, coded exchange between Wolsey and Henry; Wolsey hints that Henry might best move on from Anne, and Henry acknowledges that he has been a little carried away. Henry follows Wolsey's advice up to a point by announcing the move to the banquet in the next room […] but then ensures that he does not forfeit Anne's company.

    McMullan, *Henry VIII,* 265.
51. Eric Ives, *The Life and Death of Anne Boleyn* (Malden, Maine: Blackwell, 2004), 85.
52. Ives, *Anne Boleyn*, 7; British Library, King's MS 9, ff. 66v, 231.
53. Rory Loughnane, "'I Myself Would for Caernarfonshire': The Old Lady in *King Henry VIII*," in *Celtic Shakespeare: The Bard and the Borderers*, eds. Rory Loughnane and Willy Maley (New York: Routledge, 2013), 202.
54. McMullan, *Henry VIII*, 249.
55. Hilberdink-Sakamoto, "'Oh God's Will'," 24.
56. Thomas Merriam, "The Old Lady, or All is Not True," *Shakespeare Survey* 54 (2001): 237.
57. Merriam, "Old Lady," 243.
58. McMullan, *Henry VIII*, 289.
59. Hilberdink-Sakamoto, "'Oh God's Will'," 33.

60. An important historical point that has, occasionally, been overlooked in criticism is that Anne Boleyn should not have been at Elizabeth's baptism, as a matter of historical fact and royal precedent; Kim Noling is among the writers who do correctly note this fact. However, in placing Henry at the baptism, Shakespeare and Fletcher override both of those considerations, making Anne's absence notable.
    Kim Noling, "Grubbing up the Stock: Dramatizing Queens in *Henry VIII*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39, no. 3 (1988): 303.
61. Woodcock, "'Their eyes more attentive to the show'," 10.
62. Woodcock, "'Their eyes more attentive to the show'," 10.
63. Woodcock, "'Their eyes more attentive to the show'," 6.
64. Karreman, "Nostalgic Spectacle," 189.
65. Noling, "Grubbing up the Stock," 304.
66. Chalmers, "'Break up the court'," 266.
67. Chalmers, "'Break up the court'," 266.
68. McMullan, *Henry VIII*, 434.

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CHAPTER 16

The Fortification and Containment of Elizabeth I's Rhetoric and Performance in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII*

Nicole L. Lamont

Part of Queen Elizabeth I's fervent idolization throughout the late twentieth and twenty-first centuries lies in perceptions of her negotiation of sexuality and power as a successful female "prince." Since the turn of the millennium particularly, there have been countless monographs and articles published on Elizabeth's use of feminine and masculine discourse—and her *body natural* and *body politic*—in relation to the power she maintained. This chapter builds on previous studies that emphasize Elizabeth's dynamic and thorough disruption of early modern gender and power roles. Marie Axton's study of Elizabeth's two royal bodies in early modern drama emphasizes how Elizabeth's female body was inextricably caught up with questions of succession.[1] Leah Marcus reads Elizabeth's construction of herself as an androgynous "prince."[2] Louis Montrose highlights the many ways Elizabeth exploited the paradox of a female ruler in early modern England.[3] Susan Doran highlights how Elizabeth did not construct herself as the "Virgin Queen" until the 1580s.[4] And Ilona Bell investigates how Elizabeth portrayed herself both publicly and privately during the first half of her reign, while she simultaneously established political authority.[5] The analysis in this chapter uses these studies, among others, to explore Elizabeth's careful construction of her two royal bodies, and investigate how William Shakespeare's and John Fletcher's *Henry VIII* (1613) mimics and contains the queen's own calculated discourse surrounding gender, sexuality, and rule.

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The world of *Henry VIII* bursts with implicit references to the king's (and queen's) two bodies through its linguistic doubleness and the duality of its staging, particularly surrounding the figure of the infant princess Elizabeth. Especially important in this regard is Cranmer's prophecy in the play's final scene. This chapter shows how the rhetoric of both Cranmer and King Henry VIII in the concluding scene reinforces the carefully constructed language Elizabeth herself used to formulate and perform her two ruling bodies: the *body politic* and the *body natural*.[6] Such discourse reveres the queen for her "masculine" ability to rule peacefully and deter threats to the English nation through her body politic, while simultaneously exalting Elizabeth for her "feminine" ability to protect the nation as wife and mother through her body natural. The playwrights' application of Elizabeth's rhetoric seems to call attention to her ability to fortify the notion of a strong and stable queen and English nation through Henry and Cranmer's invigorating imagery of power, control, and wealth. I argue, however, that Shakespeare and Fletcher's calculated use of language and their staging of Elizabeth (especially in relation to other female characters) also contains Elizabeth's rhetorically constructed identity, pointing to an erasure of the infant princess within the play as well as her subsequent inability as queen, because of her female body, to renew England with the grandeur that Cranmer so adamantly prophesies.

Elizabeth's Two Bodies

As a female monarch, Elizabeth was expected to marry and produce an heir; instead, she consciously chose to maintain sole power of her court, exhibiting the medieval theoretical concept of the king's two bodies. Ernst Kantorowicz claims that the "legal fiction of the King's Two Bodies was a distinctive feature of English political thought in the age of Elizabeth and the early Stuarts."[7] The notion of the king's two bodies identifies the Christian king with the "*chrisomimētēs* […] the 'actor' or 'impersonator' of Christ […] present[ing] the living image of the two-natured God, even with regard to the two unconfused natures."[8] Like the double-natured God, the king himself was double natured: both man and *chrisomimētēs*—human and divine.

Discourse surrounding the king's two bodies was introduced into legal theory during the late medieval and early modern periods, as English lawyers worked through "theological concepts and vocabulary to describe the powers of the king and country."[9] From a legal perspective, the body natural referred to the king's natural body, subject to infancy, miscalculation, illness, death, and decay.[10] The mortality of the body natural contrasted with the body politic: an all-powerful body, like Christ's, in charge of his subjects, and "impervious to the powers of time and change."[11] As Kantorowicz notes, Edmund Plowden's *Reports* highlight that the king and his successor were thought to be one shared "body," because the king's body politic was unerring and never died.[12] The notion of the

king's two bodies, then, enabled the nation to consistently maintain a ruling "body," no matter whose body natural physically filled the position of king.

The idea of the body natural took on a more enigmatic meaning when Elizabeth I became Queen of England in 1558. By 1561, lawyers found it critical to endow Elizabeth with the two political bodies of the body natural and the body politic.[13] Adapting the discourse surrounding the king's two bodies, the lawyers asserted that the queen's body politic was

> supposed to be *contained within the natural body of the Queen*. When lawyers spoke of this body politic they referred to a specific quality: the essence of *corporate perpetuity*. The Queen's natural body was subject to infancy, infirmity, error and old age; her body politic, created out of a combination of ingenuity and practical expediency, was held to be unerring and immortal (emphasis in original).[14]

Any prince's body natural was subject to illness, error, or death; however, the queen's specifically female body further opened up the dangerous opportunity that through marriage Elizabeth—and England—might be ruled by a "more powerful" male, potentially foreign, force.

Using these notions of her God-given body natural and body politic, Elizabeth consciously engineered and presented an image of herself as queen in the midst of patriarchal early modern society. Expanding on Marie Axton's discussion in *The Queen's Two Bodies*, Leah Marcus argues that Elizabeth portrayed her own femininity, or body natural, as the body of a "frail woman." At the same time, through her right to rule, Elizabeth employed an immortal masculine authority, the body politic—her internal body of a king—to transmit strength and masculine spirit to her nation.[15] Elizabeth used these two bodies—fleeting and feminine, and immortal and masculine—together to create and perform her own political identity and intricately gendered construction.

Although Elizabeth fell into the role of queen, she bolstered her power as a *female king* through what Judith Butler calls a calculated "ritualized production" of gender.[16] This iterated ritualization garnered her more "power in its persistence and instability" than merely performing as a powerful queen would have done.[17] Butler's discourse surrounding notions of performativity can be usefully applied to this early modern context to assert that Elizabeth used a ritualized performance of gender "reiterated under and through [the] constraint(s)" of early modern perceptions.[18] The queen's representation of herself and her ability to manipulate and weave between masculine strength and vulnerable femininity allowed her to generate an image through which her self-representation became her identity. Instead of performing vulnerable femininity or, conversely, when occasion permitted, a strong (but unbelievable) masculinity, Elizabeth internalized a specific performativity of gender that became—at the very least—her public identity. Such gender performativity saturated all aspects of her queenship, including Elizabeth's own speeches, letters, and poems.

The queen's public speech at Tilbury is most often associated with her performed body politic, proclaiming strength, support, and safety to her nation,

despite her (female) body natural that enabled "an identification of the English body politic with the female body of its monarch."[19] This celebrated speech evokes both bodies when she states, "I have the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart and stomach of a king, and a king of England too […] I myself will take up arms, I myself will be your general, judge, and rewarder of every one of your virtues in the field."[20] Elizabeth's speech thus reminds her people of her rightful succession and distinct descent from Henry VIII, who had consistently presented himself as a warrior-king, and evokes the power and control she holds over England and her people. Elizabeth consistently reinforced and supported a masculine body politic through rhetoric that also referenced the femininity of her body natural—femininity widely thought of as weak and inferior.

Elizabeth used her female body natural to inform and anchor her body politic through the ritualizations of gender she constructed. She employed the perceived weakness of her female body to create a stronger body politic in ways that were not accessible to the male bodies of kings. Ilona Bell argues that "Elizabeth used the rhetoric of courtship so deftly that it looks almost like a calculated political strategy."[21] Indeed, Elizabeth began her rule through establishing her political power in opposition to the desire of parliament. She wished, according to Bell, "to decide for herself whether or not she would marry […] to choose the man she would marry, if she decided to marry […and] to rule the country herself, whether or not she chose to marry"; these were radical demands that were perceived to jeopardize the good of the nation.[22] So, the queen strategically remained unmarried and therefore did not reproduce[23]; instead, throughout her reign, she used her constructed public persona to pick up on the discourse of previous male monarchs who had called themselves "husband[s] of the realm."[24] In doing so, Elizabeth underscored a deep connection to her nation as her spouse, and her people as her children. From the very beginning of her reign, Elizabeth "began to build her political base by expressing her love for her subjects and thanking them for their answering love, and she continues to invoke this loving exchange between monarch and people throughout her reign."[25] Alongside the language of love and the connection she worked to build and maintain with her subjects, Elizabeth "relied on metaphor" to avoid marriage and childbirth, dangerous activities for the nation and Elizabeth's natural body.[26] The queen's performance of gender grew even more powerful in its instability, as she masterfully utilized manipulative language and actions to stall other political actors, employing the rhetoric and strategy of the body natural to play games of courtship that created and maintained political ties with other nations. Elizabeth repeatedly courted (but never married) men in and outside her court. These strategies, made possible by both her natural female body and the construction of her body natural, both deployed and hid the female body that early modern patriarchal frameworks constructed as weak, and ultimately helped Elizabeth to procure greater power as she maintained direct rule over England.[27] In this way, Elizabeth performed

calculated and controlled female sexuality through public speech as a way to further protect her nation.

Cranmer's Allusion to the Queen's Two Bodies

The doubly constructed nature of the queen's performance of gender recurs throughout *Henry VIII*. This is especially evident with Cranmer's prophecy during Elizabeth's christening in Act 5, scene 4. Cranmer employs Elizabeth's own rhetoric of doubled political bodies throughout his prophecy; although such discourse would typically be present in discussion of a king or future "king," Cranmer's words specifically invoke the tension between Elizabeth's constructed political bodies and the rhetoric of the king's two bodies. Through its emphasis on love and fear, Cranmer's lines "She shall be loved and feared. Her own shall bless her; / Her foes shake like a field of beaten corn, / And hang their heads with sorrow"[28] employ the language of the queen's two bodies in a similar way to Elizabeth's dual-bodied rhetoric in her Tilbury speech. The Tilbury speech acknowledged the "fear of treachery" that makes so risky—and so courageous—Elizabeth's decision to "come among" her "faithful and loving people," ready to "lay down for [her] God and [her] kingdom and [her] people," certain that England will "have a famous victory over these enemies of my God and of my kingdom."[29] Elizabeth's construction of her body natural emphasizes a deep love and familial connection with the English people and her nation, while her construction of her body politic invokes fear both because of her position as ruler and because of her more masculine role as protector of the nation. Cranmer's choice of words therefore displays the pertinence of Elizabeth's gender performativity in signifying how union between the queen's two opposing bodies produces a successful (female) ruler.

This dichotomy between "love" and "fear" is later raised again in Cranmer's prophecy when he declares that "Peace, plenty, love, truth, terror, / That were the servants to this chosen infant, / Shall then be his [James']" (*H8* 5.4.47–9). These words highlight another duality present within the text: at the same time that they promote Elizabeth's formulated gendered performativity, they also draw attention to the ease with which James, as a male monarch, will later inherit the very qualities Elizabeth worked to claim for herself through more complex constructions of her two bodies. Cranmer's language tacitly positions James as Elizabeth's heir through the placement of the word "infant" at the end of line 48. The word acts as a bridge connecting the infant Princess Elizabeth to James, the cradle king, arranging him as the heir she "births." Not only will he inherit her crown, but James will also inherit the servants Elizabeth worked so hard to forge. These lines emphasize the dual nature of the two royal bodies, as the servants of peace, plenty, love, truth, and terror will serve one "prince" and then another through the body politic.

The text not only displays how Elizabeth's own doubly gendered language reasserts her strength as ruler, but also stresses the ability of her feminine body natural to protect the nation from other rulers. She is "a pattern to all living

princes living with her / And all that shall succeed" (*H8* 5.4.22–3), a "maiden phoenix" whose "ashes new create another heir / As great in admiration as herself" (*H8* 5.4.40–2). The rejuvenating image of the phoenix and its ability to arise from the ashes is crucial—it is a new kind of birth. Cranmer's use of the phrase "maiden phoenix" stresses Elizabeth's virginity, femininity, and body natural; the play thus gives Elizabeth a means to "birth" a son without *giving birth* to a son. With this statement, the play makes evident that Elizabeth does not have to marry and subsequently relinquish her rule over England. The myth of the phoenix is critical to Elizabeth's discourse: the inherent relationship between the phoenix and death emphasizes the naturality of the mythical bird, and accentuates the significance of Elizabeth's own body natural. Strength and rebirth come only from the phoenix's "natural" existence and the necessity of its own death. The "phoenix Elizabeth" protects England—her "children" and "spouse"—by not marrying, and thus not reproducing; yet, the myth of the phoenix allows her to participate in the "natural" reproduction that she has biologically refused.

The phoenix myth suggests regality, pride, and immortality, and in this way neatly ties in with the idea of the immortal body politic; however, the image of the phoenix in *Henry VIII* indicates, again, the play's obsession with duality and doubling, particularly when linked to the queen herself. The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites the "phoenix" as "burning itself to ashes on a funeral pyre ignited by the *sun* and fanned by its own wings" (emphasis mine).[30] The homophonic words "sun" and "son" draw attention to the innate failure of the Elizabeth phoenix figure because of the ever-impending sun/son—in this case, James I. In this reading, the "sun" is destructive to the phoenix. The "son"—or, a yearning for the restoration of Henry's patriarchal trajectory—destroys the previous female reign (Mary, Elizabeth's half-sister) even as it reinforces the significant connection between "mother" and "child." Gordon McMullen argues that Cranmer's oracle surrounding the phoenix is "seen as a type of Christ's resurrection," which provides "a 'natural' Christian framework within which to read James's succession"; it is "James, as Elizabeth's heir (in mythic terms, if not familial), [who] is … presented as the monarch for whom Protestant England has been waiting, in a direct line from Henry VIII."[31] McMullen's argument points out that this "resurrection" helped early modern audiences of the play to maintain a hopeful outlook for James' reign in 1613.[32] Through the image of the phoenix, the play appears to uphold the idea that Elizabeth as "mother" produces the goodly James, and rights the reproductive failings of her father who was unable to raise a son to assume kingship. The notion of the sun/son destroying the phoenix is, however, a subtle indication of the undermining of Elizabeth's own power: Elizabeth's strength is thus merely thought to be the "reproductive" female body she holds, rather than her power as Queen of England. This discourse of English history that the play is so embedded in thus diminishes Elizabeth's successful reign and her significance as monarch, as she becomes a mere link between Henry and James, a means to an end in the promotion of the male Tudor line.

Even as Cranmer reveres the queen's body natural for "birthing" an heir to the throne of England, thus protecting her nation and imbuing Britain with hope and a sense of security, the prophecy also problematically highlights Elizabeth's body natural. Cranmer brings attention to Elizabeth as an "aged princess" who "must die: / She must, the saints must have her" (*H8* 5.4.57, 59–60). The fervent repetition of the word "must" stresses that it is Elizabeth's *duty* to die, both as human and as ruler—doing so makes way for James to rule. Early modern audiences were familiar with the notion of the king's two bodies, and were thus accustomed to the idea that the body natural perishes while the body politic moves on within the frame of a different mortal body. Cranmer's reference to the phoenix relays that Elizabeth passes "Peace, plenty, love, truth, [and] terror" (*H8* 5.4.51) onto James, reinforcing such thinking. It is through Elizabeth's strictly female body natural, however, that Cranmer stresses the weakness of one's body on Earth, with the emphasis on "her" and "she," that is, not through the masculine bodies of Henry or James. This dual and rather somber rhetoric within the prophecy—eulogizing Elizabeth during her christening—contrasts with the optimism and images of strength with which Cranmer relays his notion of James. In this way, these elements of the prophecy contain Elizabeth's future power, omitting her life and rule before it has really begun. Cranmer's language, mirroring Elizabeth's own carefully assembled rhetoric in relation to her two bodies, shows how easy it was to manipulate Elizabeth's discourse to suit the needs of the royal male line.

Containing the Queen's Rhetoric?

The physical placement of Princess Elizabeth also highlights the duality of the queen's two bodies in *Henry VIII*, because Elizabeth appears exclusively within the final scene of the play. Her prominent position here would have resonated with audiences, persuading early modern theatergoers to reflect on the Golden Age of Elizabeth, as well as ideas of Englishness as a whole. Shakespeare and Fletcher's choice to station Elizabeth at the end of their play mirrors her own complex rhetoric, subtly reminding her people of the power she holds. At the same time, however, the play limits her presence to just this one scene. In fact, several productions of *Henry VIII* completely cut the final scene to direct greater attention to Henry's power and control as king.[33] Moreover, the way that Elizabeth is presented on stage in this final scene, when productions do opt to keep it, nullifies the agency she constructed as ruling queen: Elizabeth is not granted the opportunity to use carefully constructed rhetoric to control and preserve her reign in the play because of her silence and subjective vacancy as a newborn. Would a newborn child even have to be present on stage? Or would the actors use a pile of cloth? The play's events end during Elizabeth's infancy, while Anne Boleyn is still in favor at court. Anne's favor with the king, paired with Cranmer's prophecy, appears to amplify the strength and significance of Elizabeth's future rule, legitimizing her position as queen and James' later role as king. Yet it is curious that a play entitled *Henry VIII*—implying a focus on Henry and his life—chooses to stop

at such a moment. Why, then, include Elizabeth at all? Displaying Anne's fall from grace and her resulting beheading works to damage Elizabeth: if Anne has been unfaithful then Elizabeth's legitimacy is questioned. Because Elizabeth was only perceived as a legitimate princess until she was three years old, having her appear as a baby promotes her royal lineage. Focusing on her birth and christening also validates Henry's decision to marry Anne and separate from Rome, further legitimizing Elizabeth. This decision promotes the queen (and, by extension, James) as the "rightful" heir to Henry, particularly through the powerful rhetoric of Cranmer's prophecy.

The playwrights' positioning of Elizabeth highlights the duality of her own rhetoric surrounding the two royal bodies in describing the infant Princess Elizabeth as both baby and future queen. Yet the play's portrayal of Elizabeth as a silent (and desexualized) infant *also* undermines the queen's own carefully assembled rhetoric surrounding the body natural and the body politic. Elizabeth's use of her female *body natural* helped to fortify her power as queen; although woman was thought to be the weaker sex, Elizabeth used the sexual allure associated with her femininity to help strengthen her reign. The staged image of Elizabeth as infant, however, surreptitiously eliminates the sexuality that helped her gain and maintain power, removing such authority and autonomy. Elizabeth's structured dual-bodied rhetoric is again dismantled through Cranmer's description of Elizabeth as "a virgin, / A most unspotted lily" (*H8* 5.4.60–1). Elizabeth's virginity, evident in her title as Virgin Queen, was one of the most ubiquitous political metaphors associated with her reign. Cranmer's emphasis of the infant Elizabeth's virginity paired with the inclusion of the myth of the "maiden phoenix"—a mother who is a virgin—however, also removes sexuality from Elizabeth, restricting a critical part of her constructed royal bodies and containing the queen's rhetoric and selfhood.

This precarity is reflected in the play in that Elizabeth's role as infant allows Cranmer and Henry to adopt and reframe her dual discourse, leaving a portrayal of the queen that seems to tacitly undermine Elizabeth's construction of her rhetoric and performance. Equally undermined is Cranmer's prediction that Elizabeth (and her rule) will bring a significantly better future. Cranmer promises that the infant will be the key to a more peaceful and truth-filled future, who "Though in her cradle, yet now promises / Upon this land a thousand thousand blessings, / Which time shall bring to ripeness" (*H8* 5.4.18–20). All audiences would be aware of Elizabeth's successful reign, but no one could predict as much at her birth, particularly because—as a female infant—she was not expected to rule England, despite the fictional Cranmer's implications. At the time of Elizabeth's birth in 1533, Henry (and the English nation) still had hopes that he would produce a male heir to the Tudor line. Projecting the real Elizabeth's rule onto this agentless infant works to further undermine the successful political strategies Elizabeth carefully constructed with the formation of her two bodies. She placed great care in the way she interacted with others even before she became queen, because she was all too familiar with how precarious courtly life could be. Cranmer omits the hardships Elizabeth faced as a young woman—illegitimacy and imprisonment, among other instances of turmoil.

Elizabeth learned much from the turbulence of her youth that helped her to be a thoughtful and cautious ruler. Cranmer's prophecy ignores these details, implying that Elizabeth was inherently born to rule England; in doing so, Cranmer not only erases Elizabeth's past, but also her selfhood.

The Cyclical Replacement and Containment of the Female Body

Henry VIII contains and replaces other female bodies in the same way it contains Elizabeth's rhetoric by staging her as an infant. Kim Noling notes that the play avoids dramatizing Henry's first daughter (and eventual queen) Mary.[34] Henry tells Cranmer in Act 5, scene 4, "O lord Archbishop / Thou hast made me now a man; never before / This happy child did I get anything" (*H8* 5.4.63–5). This is a curious claim, because the play makes Katherine and Henry's marriage a focal point; although their sons did not survive past infancy, the focus on their marriage (alongside historical fact) implies their daughter Mary's existence. Both Henry and—more significantly—Shakespeare and Fletcher, however, choose to omit Mary from the play almost entirely. Throughout the text, Katherine and Henry each mention Mary only once. Henry quickly acknowledges his daughter by Katherine in Act 2, scene 4, in the context of marrying her off to the Duke of Orléans (*H8* 2.4.169–78), while Katherine claims Mary to be

> The model of our chaste loves, his young daughter—
> The dews of heaven fall thick in blessings on her!—
> Beseeching him to give her virtuous breeding—
> She is young and of a noble, modest nature;
> I hope she will deserve well—and a little
> To love her for her mother's sake that loved him. (*H8* 4.2.132–7)

Unseen on stage and only momentarily alluded to, Mary seems insignificant to everyone but Katherine, both as child and later as queen.[35] Mary's absence would not have been lost on the audience: she was the monarch who uprooted England during her rather short rule, a princess who—like Elizabeth—had been considered illegitimate by her father, only to be installed on the throne following his death. While Noling suggests that Mary's virtual absence in the play is underscored by Henry's dismissal of her, I view the shared historical cycle of illegitimacy and queenship between Mary and Elizabeth, paired with Mary's scarcity in the text, as alluding to Elizabeth as a merely momentary agent. Elizabeth may thus, like her sister, be written out of history within the world of the play, particularly after her mother's fall from favor. Furthermore, Henry's brief discussion of Mary's marriage views her as only an object of political transaction to obtain further monarchal power and reach. Mary is traded for good relations with the French, where Elizabeth is exchanged (or acts as a placeholder) for James, the male heir Henry so fervently desires.

An even stronger way of containing Elizabeth's agency involves the play's treatment of her mother, Anne Bullen. Critics note Anne's submissive, almost nonexistent role.[36] Anne speaks rarely, a deep contrast with Katherine's long, intricate, and powerful speeches. Noling suggests that Shakespeare's shallow characterization of Anne works to emphasize Elizabeth as *Henry's* daughter rather than Anne's; this disassociation of Elizabeth from Anne is primarily stressed by Anne's conspicuous absence at Elizabeth's christening.[37] Noling points out that Elizabeth's christening procession, with its long and detailed stage directions, echoes elements of Anne's coronation in Act 4, scene 1. Elizabeth, "richly habited in a mantle" (*H8* 5.4.6 SD), has taken the place previously occupied by her mother, "richly adorned with pearl; crowned" (*H8* 4.1.17–18 SD).[38] In each of these spectacular processions, both female figures are mute, silenced by the male voices that define their futures. Although Anne's fate is not explicitly depicted within the constraints of the play, the audience would have been aware of the eventual charges of incest and adultery—among others—Henry placed upon her, as well as her eventual beheading. The imagery of infidelity explicitly tied to Anne's physical female body is therefore connected even to the seemingly desexualized female body of the infant Elizabeth, because of the staged repetition of mother and daughter in the play. If Anne's female body is hyper-sexualized and threatening to the stabilization of male monarchy, then Elizabeth's is also, because Shakespeare and Fletcher make Elizabeth tacitly mirror her mother's staging. This perceived threat of the natural female body is precisely what Elizabeth's constructed royal body worked to conceal; instead, Elizabeth used her sexual female body—as part of her body natural—to fortify her single rule, to create a stable and successful kingdom.

The threat of the natural female body continues to loom over Cranmer's final lines. He declares Elizabeth "a most unspotted lily, shall she pass / To th'ground, and all the world shall mourn her" (*H8* 5.5.61–2). As Barbara Hodgdon points out, these words "absorb [… Elizabeth's] threatening composite gender into nostalgic, evocative praise that figure […] her, like Katherine, with attributes of female chastity."[39] When the text is read in this way, Elizabeth (and the danger her natural body yields) is thus safely buried, unthreatening to the male Tudor line. At the same time, however, Henry stresses that when "in heaven I shall desire / To see what this child does, and praise my Maker" (*H8* 5.4.66–7). Hodgdon suggests that these words mirror Henry's looking down on the churchmen's council in Act 5, scenes 2 and 3, and are an "image of perfect invisibility and centrality, of seeing without being seen, that figures kingship with godlike power."[40] Henry's language invokes the omnipresent power of God, but, I suggest, also alludes to the king's two bodies and the immortal life within the body politic. Henry's words mimic the duality present throughout the text and Elizabeth's own rhetoric; they are indicative of both a loving F/father, and a visual policing of Elizabeth's future actions. In the earlier scenes of Act 5, Henry's omnipresent gaze as king allowed him to manipulate the outcome of Cranmer's political situation in a godlike fashion. There is a sense that Henry's words here, then, stress the ghostly power he will

maintain over Elizabeth even in death, both because of his omnipresence in Elizabeth's life as her father, but also because of his body politic—quite literally the same body politic Elizabeth later becomes a part of—as previous ruler of England. If Cranmer's rhetorical absorption of Elizabeth's feminine threat does not act strongly enough to "write her out" of the text, then Henry's ever-looming presence acts as reinforcement to ensure Elizabeth's natural female body will be policed and contained throughout her rule.

Cranmer's speech alludes to the erasure of Elizabeth in another way, as he begins with a positive prophecy of the infant Elizabeth's life that evolves into a speech about her successor's rule: "Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine, / His honour and the greatness of his name / Shall be, and make new nations. He shall flourish, / And like a mountain cedar reach his branches / To all the plains about him; our children's children / Shall see this, and bless heaven" (*H8* 5.5.50–5). Although Cranmer describes Elizabeth as "a pattern to all princes living with her" (*H8* 5.5.22), one who "good grows with" (*H8* 5.5.32), it is James who is compared to the mountain cedar—tall, strong, and literally rooted in the English soil, despite his Scottish heritage. Shakespeare and Fletcher use socio-political rhetoric to relieve anxieties about James as a foreign threat, inferring that James "comes from" Elizabeth's grand rule. Yet, as the prophecy emphasizes, it is James—as the mountain cedar—who is enveloped as and within the nation; it is James' power and strength that the English people will remember—*not* Elizabeth's. Additionally, Cranmer's phallic image of the tall mountain cedar growing out of the same English soil in which Elizabeth's body as the "unspotted lily" is absorbed, reinforces how James—as a male ruler—restores Henry's patriarchal trajectory, and England's own masculine stability, something that could not be achieved by Elizabeth herself by virtue of her body natural.

Conclusion

Through the performativity of her two constructed bodies, Elizabeth—while alive—actively opposed attempts to undermine or "write her out" of early modern society. To effectively rule England, it was essential for Elizabeth to instead rhetorically and physically write herself into a legacy of masculine history and strong rule that preceded her; this is partially why the use of her body politic was so critical to her success as ruler. In *The Subject of Elizabeth*, Louis Montrose discusses several accounts of Elizabeth writing herself into her father's discourse, as she "explicitly employ[ed] rhetorical strategies of identification with her father, prefaced with wording of 'womanhood,'" particularly because Henry's image was known to be innately masculine.[41] Additionally, Montrose asserts, "a number of recent scholars state that Elizabeth liked to pose/stage herself before the imposing image of her father in the Privy Chamber at Whitehall."[42] If these accounts are true—Montrose admits there is a lack of physical evidence—Elizabeth's own strategic positioning visually strengthened her connection to the past kings of England (specifically her

father's rule), literally "rooting" herself in England through the Tudor family "tree."[43] These actions worked to solidify Elizabeth's relationship with and body within the monarchal masculine history, and reinforced her strong and active rule. Elizabeth thus created her own performance and set her own stage, not unlike the plays written and performed by male playwrights and actors.

In several ways, Shakespeare and Fletcher employ the queen's own carefully constructed discourse surrounding her two bodies to emphasize the more "masculine" power she maintained during her rule. Henry and Cranmer's optimistic and galvanizing words, alongside images of power, control, and wealth, appear to position the queen as one who is, was, and continues to be an invigorating force for her people and her nation due, in part, to the construction of her two political bodies. Yet, the language of Shakespeare and Fletcher's play, its choice to present Elizabeth as an infant, and its staging of this infant in relation to other female characters simultaneously fortify and weaken the image of the queen. Elizabeth's female body cannot sustain male reign itself and must therefore be contained as a means to the "bright sun of heaven," the glorious "mountain cedar" (*H8* 5.4.50, 53). It is Elizabeth whom the "world may mourn," but it is James, according to the godlike voice of Cranmer, whom "our children's children" will remember and bless for generations to come (*H8* 5.4.54).

Notes

1. Marie Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies: Drama and the Elizabethan Succession* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1977).
2. Leah Marcus, "Shakespeare's Comic Heroines, Elizabeth I, and the Political Uses of Androgyny," in *Women in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Literary and Historical Perspectives* (Syracuse: Syracuse UP, 1986).
3. Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender, and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006).
4. Susan Doran, *Monarchy and Matrimony* (New York: Routledge, 1996).
5. Ilona Bell, *Elizabeth I: The Voice of a Monarch* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010). See also Mary K. Nelson, "Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*: Stigmatizing the 'Disabled' Womb," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 29.4 (2009), np and Mary Beth Rose, "The Gendering of Authority in the Public Speeches of Elizabeth I," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 115.5 (2000): 1077–82.
6. Significantly, this play was part of the performances put on to celebrate the marriage of Princess Elizabeth and Frederick V of the Palatinate in 1613. The named connection between the Princess Elizabeth (James I's daughter) and Princess Elizabeth (Henry VIII's daughter in the play) emphasizes James' place as "rightful" king.
7. Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1957), 42.
8. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 47.
9. Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*, 12.
10. Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*, 12.

11. Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*, 14.
12. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies*, 12.
13. Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*, 12. Endowing Elizabeth with these two bodies in 1561 was critical because the *Duchy of Lancaster Case* was decided that year (although it was initiated during Mary Tudor's reign). The case was first printed in Plowden's *Reports* ten years later, in 1571. The case raised questions surrounding the king's two bodies, and confirmed in 1561 that the sovereign in his or her private capacity shall inherit the duchy estate, as opposed to the head of state.
14. Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*, 12.
15. Marcus, "Shakespeare's Comic Heroines," 138.
16. Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter* (New York: Routledge, 2011), 60.
17. Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, 171.
18. Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, 60. Significantly, Judith Richards highlights in "Examples and Admonitions: What Mary Demonstrated for Elizabeth" that Elizabeth employed and continued to craft and develop the ritualized performance of queenship her sister Mary Tudor created during her short rule. See also Sarah Duncan's *Mary I*.
19. Montrose, *Subject of Elizabeth*, 150. See also Susan Frye, "The Myth of Elizabeth at Tilbury," *SCJ* 23 (1992): 95–114, and Mary Beth Rose, "The Gendering of Authority in the Public Speeches of Elizabeth I," among many others.
20. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, eds. Leah S. Marcus, Janel Mueller, and Mary Beth Rose (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 325.
21. Bell, *Voice of a Monarch*, 5.
22. Bell, *Voice of a Monarch*, 45.
23. Bell emphasizes that William Camden "rewrote Elizabeth's first parliamentary speech to make it seem as if she was committed from day one to living and dying a virgin … Elizabeth's symbolic marriage to her country, with its implicit rejection of any *other* marriage, is conspicuously absent from Elizabethan versions of the speech, which explicitly declare that Elizabeth *will* consider the possibility of marriage 'whensoever it may please God to incline my heart to another kind of life'" (quotation taken from *Collected Works*, 57). *Voice*, 62.
24. Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*, 38.
25. Bell, *Voice of A Monarch*, 20.
26. Axton, *The Queen's Two Bodies*, 38. Having an heir meant marrying and losing her position as queen to an outsider. Similarly, Richard Schofield, in "Did the Mothers Really Die? Three Centuries of Maternal Mortality" in *The World We Have Lost*, estimates maternal mortality in early modern England to be 6–7% (taken from David Cressy's *Birth, Marriage, and Death*, 30).
27. Elizabeth's own writing also highlighted her strategies to disrupt traditional gender categories. See chapter two of Ilona Bell's *Elizabeth I: The Voice of a Monarch* for an in-depth analysis of how Elizabeth appropriated "the politics and poetry of love, which were both traditional masculine preserves […] calling attention to the fact that she was not only the object of male desire or the subject of male discourse but also the agent or speaker" (23).
28. William Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *King Henry VIII*, ed. Gordon McMullen, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), 5.4.30–2.
29. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works*, 326.
30. "phoenix, n.1." *The Oxford English Dictionary*.
31. Gordon McMullen, "Introduction" in *King Henry VIII*, 72.
32. McMullen, "Introduction," 72.

33. According to McMullen, Sir Herbert Beerbohn Tree omits this scene, along with all of Act 5 in the popular 1910–11 run of *Henry VIII* (427); Hodgdon asserts that "though later productions eliminated it, Charles Kean's 1855 production was the first to restore Elizabeth's christening" (293 n20), and it was not staged again until Ben Iden Payne's 1938 Shakespeare Memorial Theatre production, where Elizabeth's christening scene was generally omitted until 1855, and not again until 1938, when Princess Elizabeth Windsor proved a valid reason to "mark […] the passage of the theatrical iconography from one sovereign to another" (219).
34. Kim Noling, "Grubbing Up the Stock: Dramatizing Queens in Henry VIII," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39.3 (1988): 292.
35. The world of the play deems Mary's reign nonexistent (as it does Edward's, because his reign, like Mary's, does not lead to the "bright sun [son] of heaven," James [5.4.51]). Noling also remarks that "Mary is totally effaced by Henry in the last moments of the play when he says of Elizabeth, 'never before / This happy child, did I get any thing' (ll. 64–5). Daughters are threatening to Henry not because they are sexual temptations, but because they are signs of heavenly displeasure and dynastic fragility" ("Grubbing Up the Stock," 304).
36. See especially Noling, "Grubbing Up the Stock: Dramatizing Queens in Henry VIII" and Mary K. Nelson, "Shakespeare's Henry VIII: Stigmatizing the 'Disabled' Womb."
37. Noling, "Grubbing Up the Stock," 303.
38. Noling, "Grubbing Up the Stock," 303–4.
39. Barbara Hodgdon, *The End Crowns All: Closure and Contradiction in Shakespeare's History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton UP, 1991), 228.
40. Hodgdon, *The End Crowns All*, 229.
41. Montrose, *Subject of Elizabeth*, 20.
42. Montrose, *Subject of Elizabeth*, 20.
43. There is a significant parallel between this image of Elizabeth writing herself into the Tudor line and the staging that takes place in Act 5, scene 4. With only Cranmer and Henry present, the play makes it clear that Elizabeth is *Henry's* child. While Cranmer's speech emphasizes Elizabeth's specifically female body, using female pronouns twenty-eight times within forty-eight lines, when Henry speaks after Cranmer's prophecy he does not once refer to Elizabeth as female. She is referred to as "This happy child" (64), "this child" (67), or "this little one" (75). The staging, paired with Henry's ambiguous pronoun usage does underscore Elizabeth as a part of the Tudor myth—but only insofar as her infant female body acts as a stepping stone to a male "Tudor" heir.

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PART VI

Staging Queens and Contemporary Politics

CHAPTER 17

The Princess' Political Mission in *Love's Labour's Lost*: The Embassy to Get Aquitaine and "All that Is" Navarre's

Carolyn E. Brown

Love's Labour's Lost looks like a typical romantic comedy: young couples meet and find each other attractive, a wooing period transpires, and the men propose to their respective ladies. The only difference lies in the prospect of marriage: in romantic comedies, the couples either marry during the play, customarily near the end, or prepare for imminent marriages at the play's denouement; but in this play the ladies defer the nuptials for at least a year. Although it can be assumed that the characters will solemnize their love in a projected sixth act, Shakespeare makes the prospect of the marriages far from certain. The title in itself prepares the audience for an unromantic play: rather than labeling the wooing a joyous enterprise, he calls it a "labour," denoting work, usually painful and toilsome; and he announces, furthermore, the troublesome task of wooing will be "lost," a word suggesting futility and defeat.[1] The title tells the audience the outcome before the play even begins: the wooing will be in vain, and the couples will not marry—not at the play's end and not even in the distant future. The play, then, is about more than just the love exchanges, which, although occupying a large part of the play and the audience's attention, will ultimately amount to nothing. I contend the play is more about the women's political maneuvering, "labours" that they ultimately win. The Princess, after all, comes to Navarre on a mission concerning a debt and the possession of Aquitaine. While this mission is the focus of Act 2, scene 1, Shakespeare seems

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to ignore it for much of the rest of the play, just as the Princess allows the King of Navarre to get distracted and forget about it. The Princess, however, does not forget—she will outwit the less astute men and achieve her ends. The women may look like amorous maidens, but they are actually political strategists more appropriate to a history play, who Shakespeare has dropped into a comedy. They go to Navarre with a purpose and resort to subterfuge, craft, and sexual charms to accomplish it. This explains why the women succeed but the play fails as a comedy, since they are not interested in the usual comedic themes of love and marital unions.

Although the Princess and her ladies are often seen in romantic terms, a few scholars read them less festively, especially the Princess, and see parallels between her and contemporary political figures—especially Queen Elizabeth I, Catherine de' Medici, and her daughter, Marguerite.[2] She seems a conglomeration of all of these influential women, not a direct representation of any one in particular. That Shakespeare incorporates some of his own queen's qualities into his protagonist seems obvious: like Elizabeth I, the Princess discourages her ladies from entertaining thoughts of marriage and, instead, instructs them on warding off male attention; Shakespeare's Princess, likewise, knows the art of using the wooing process as a diplomatic ploy, gaining advantage by dangling promises of marriage before her suitors yet never quite honoring them; and she, like Elizabeth, values her own autonomy and does not marry. By associating the Princess with the French throne and having her negotiate with the King of Navarre, the play also alludes to Catherine de' Medici, who virtually ruled France for nearly thirty years through her three sons. At Catherine's instigation, her daughter, Marguerite, and the King of Navarre, the future King of France, married, a political union she hoped would allow the continuance of her dynasty in France upon the death of her last royal son. Scholars note similarities between the Princess and her ladies, and Catherine, Marguerite, and their flying squadron, as they were called—a group of seductive women who assisted the queens in their political agendas by enlisting their feminine wiles to wield erotic influence over powerful men. Hugh M. Richmond refers to them as a "team of sexual Machiavels" and contends that Shakespeare's Princess and her ladies' "manipulative view of sexual psychology" is "an approximately historical recreation of Marguerite's impact on the puritan court at Nérac."[3] The association of the Princess with some of the most powerful women of the period highlights a political, rather than romantic, tenor to her character, and the resonances of the shrewd Catherine in his princess allow for some Machiavellian qualities.

Consequently, Shakespeare presents his women, especially the Princess, as deeply attuned to the worldly demands of a public life of statecraft. While the King of Navarre disengages, she actively serves as an ambassador for her father; while he delights in arcane philosophical debates, she negotiates unresolved political contracts. Her leaving her father's sick bed to attend to governmental issues indicates her dedication to worldly affairs over those of the heart and her preparation for her future as queen, since Shakespeare gives no indication of a male heir.[4] Indeed, Berowne describes her as "a maid of grace and complete

majesty," attesting to her reputation as both a charming and attractive lady and a commanding stately figure of sovereignty, a double threat as a woman with allure and diplomatic skills.[5] Shakespeare's King of Navarre, on the other hand, is a political neophyte, showing little awareness of his duties as head of a rich and powerful domain, a position entailing engagement in worldly duties, such as receiving ambassadors and negotiating contracts with neighboring rulers. The King's dedication to medieval concepts in a burgeoning new age of secular values will prove a "barren task," rendering him a gullible victim of proponents of a new worldview, such as the Princess, dedicated not to lofty intellectualism but strategic maneuvering (*LLL* 1.1.47).

Although knowing all about the proclamation against women coming near his court when she first appears in Act 2, scene 1, the Princess intends to "enter his forbidden gates," refusing to let his prohibitions deter her assignment (*LLL* 2.1.26). Hoping to negotiate a contract favorable to her side, she chooses an opportune moment when the King is preoccupied with loftier thoughts than settling political debts—a situation that will allow her to capitalize on his distraction. She learns Navarre intends to honor at least the spirit of his oath by refusing her admittance to his court and "lodg[ing] [her] in the field" instead—a symbolic reflection of her outsider status in the world of male politics and the male "academe" of book learning (*LLL* 2.1.85). As he tries to explain the reason for his strange reception of her, she presents herself as a threat, claiming he needs "our Lady['s] help" or "he'll be forsworn": "Why, will shall break it [his oath]; will, and nothing else" (*LLL* 2.1.98, 100). Punning on the word "will" as carnal desire, she plays on her physical attractiveness to intensify his uncertainty in his ability to maintain his oath in her alluring presence.[6] She channels all of her first words into making the King feel so uncomfortable with her presence that he will want her to leave as soon as possible. She even says it herself: "You will the sooner that I were away, / For you'll prove perjured if you make me stay" (*LLL* 2.1.112–13). This constitutes her strategy of ensuring the King will "vouchsafe to read the purpose of [her] coming / And suddenly resolve [her] in [her] suit" (*LLL* 2.1.109–10). The words "vouchsafe" and "suddenly" urge him to act hastily and make him feel rushed, while "resolve" encourages his amenability to her "suit."[7] She means to predispose him to grant her anything she requests just to rid himself of the danger she poses to his vow of sexual continence.

After the Princess' personal assault, the King attempts to summarize the letter she has delivered, a communication Shakespeare does not have read to his audience:

> Madam, your father here doth intimate
> The payment of a hundred thousand crowns,
> Being but the one half of an entire sum
> Disbursed by my father in his wars.
> But say that he, or we—as neither have—
> Received that sum, yet there remains unpaid

> A hundred thousand more, in surety of the which
> One part of Aquitaine is bound to us,
> Although not valued to the money's worth.
> If then the King your father will restore
> But that one half of which is unsatisfied,
> We will give up our right in Aquitaine
> And hold fair friendship with his majesty.
> But that, it seems, he little purposeth:
> For here he doth demand to have repaid
> A hundred thousand crowns, and not demands,
> On payment of a hundred thousand crowns,
> To have his title live in Aquitaine,
> Which we much rather had depart withal,
> And have the money by our father lent,
> Than Aquitaine, so gelded as it is. (*LLL* 2.1.128–48)

Scholars are puzzled by the significance of this passage, with Ralph Berry acknowledging that at first sight it seems "something of an irrelevance."[8] But it would be unwise to underestimate its importance to the play and the Princess, for I contend that it constitutes her main concern throughout the play. The lengthiness and convoluted, intricately detailed language about loans, money, and property call attention to themselves and emphasize the passage's importance by being so different from the King's lyric poetry about lofty dreams. It shatters the dreamlike world that the King's language has created. Louis Montrose explains the negotiations "would have engaged the active interest of Elizabethan audiences, who were acutely attuned to affairs of war, finance, and diplomacy, and to the intricacies of continental politics that could exert a profound influence on the welfare of England."[9] If Shakespeare's audience would have paid attention to this passage, so should a modern audience. Kristian Smidt contends that Shakespeare has made the negotiation over loans and Aquitaine "almost unintelligible to an audience in the theatre," not unlike the equally lengthy (if perhaps less surprising) explanation of Salic Law in the roughly contemporary *Henry V*.[10] I believe he has done so deliberately to indicate that the French are trying to confuse the already flighty and disoriented King, so he will be predisposed to accept the demands. Alexander Leggatt claims "it is as though a passage from one of the history plays has been inserted," and, indeed, it highlights the political, pragmatic dimension of the Princess.[11]

Once the King reveals the details of the letter, the Princess' motivations become clearer. What we can gather is that the King of France owes Navarre 200,000 crowns to reimburse him for funds Navarre's father contributed to France's wars. Although Navarre holds Aquitaine "in surety," the French do not propose to honor this loan, pay their debt, and receive back the title of Aquitaine. Rather, they "demand" payment of 100,000 crowns, which they claim to have already paid Navarre. No matter how one looks at it, the demand is "so far / From reason's yielding," as Navarre himself proclaims, and so untrue to the original agreement that he does not feel he can possibly honor it

(*LLL* 2.1.149–50). Both Boyet and Berowne know the primary purpose for the Princess' visit centers on the "surrender up of Aquitaine" or "the plea of no less weight / Than Aquitaine," which Navarre holds as collateral (*LLL* 1.1.135; 2.1.7–8). But Navarre's summation of the letter does not emphasize the return of Aquitaine but, rather, the payment of a large sum of money, an incongruity suggesting the Princess' employment of cunning stratagems to distract the King from her real agenda. Navarre admits the land means nothing to him and he would rather have the money owed his father. The land, however, means a great deal to the French: it gives them full control of a valuable province in their country and prevents Navarre from having a foothold in their empire. The Princess' mission hinges on getting back Aquitaine without paying any of the large sum of money owed Navarre, and the letter tries to maneuver him into making that concession. She does not want him to give the proposition much thought, lest he realize that she is trying to bamboozle him with some shifty maneuvering, a motivation that explains why she tries to pressure him into an agreement.

The letter seems to "intimate" that the King of France paid Navarre 100,000 crowns and wants that money paid back to him, changing all of the conditions of the original debt and implying the King of France loaned Navarre's father money rather than the other way around. The King of Navarre, however, knows about the details of the transaction, realizing even if France paid 100,000 crowns, he still owes 100,000 more. His new academy may have taken center stage in his thoughts, but it has not erased his memory of debts. The French claim of having paid such a large sum influences him, nonetheless, to erase that part of the debt and to renegotiate the contract: "If then the King your father will restore / But that one half of which is unsatisfied, / We will give up our right in Aquitaine." While knowing of the original deal, he shows little skill in conducting business transactions and easily erases one half of the French debt by honoring their word rather than challenging their business ethics. The outrageous demand to have the 100,000 crowns repaid maneuvers him even closer to the Princess' secret agenda: upon further thought, he proposes if she can prove her father paid that amount, he will "repay it back / Or yield up Aquitaine" (*LLL* 2.1.157–8). Knowing money means more to Navarre than the land in France, as he himself admits, she can be assured he will return Aquitaine, the purpose of her visit, rather than pay the money. All of the circumlocution and confusion about who has paid what and the extravagant demands distract him from the original agreement and make him eager to surrender Aquitaine, which means nothing to him, rather than acquiesce to outrageous financial demands. Of course, she wants the land more than the cash, but in acting as if she will demand the money, she forces him to look for an alternative. He takes the bait, willing to give Aquitaine up in lieu of paying a huge amount of money.

Gullible and easily swayed, Navarre shows himself unskilled at basic arithmetic and unequipped to "parley" with a strategist of the Princess' caliber (*LLL* 2.1.5). But to his credit, he retains his "reason" and does not prove as tractable

and naïve as she would like. She hopes to make him feel distracted, intimidated, confused, and eager to be rid of a threat to his new asceticism, a strategy that will make him "surrender up" Aquitaine without question, so that she can make a "quick dispatch" (*LLL* 2.1.31). Not a complete fool or pawn, however, he demands proof of the King of France's payment, of which he has neither a "receipt" nor any of the monies supposedly paid (*LLL* 2.1.155). He holds his ground and "protest[s] [he] never heard of it" (*LLL* 2.1.157). Shakespeare lends credence to the King's claims of not having been paid by making him a forthright man, who ingenuously asseverates twice that neither he nor his father received the monies. Because he shows no signs of duplicity, Shakespeare gives him a credible voice. Moreover, the Princess does not "produce aquittances / For such a sum from special officers / Of Charles, his father," although one would have expected such an able diplomat to carry such documentation with her if it existed (*LLL* 2.1.160–1). Although Boyet informs her the packet containing that document should arrive the next day, there are no further references to it in the play. All of this suggests that it may not exist because the King of France never paid the monies, and that the Princess hopes to bluff Navarre into merely accepting her word.

While the Princess moves closer to achieving her mission of repossessing Aquitaine without repaying the debt, Navarre's caution forces her to stay a few days longer and modify her tactics slightly. Her leave-taking of Navarre betrays her new approach—"Sweet health and fair desires consort your grace"—one filled with sexual subtext and allurement: "consort" can refer to intercourse, and "desires" can denote sensual appetite or lust (*LLL* 2.1.177).[12] She is willing to seduce him into granting her mission, although this strategy will require more investment of her time and efforts.

Both Catherine de' Medici and her daughter Marguerite held meetings with Henri of Navarre over important bodies of land—even over Aquitaine itself. In 1578, during the reign of Henri III, they traveled along with the flying squadron to Nérac to negotiate Marguerite's unpaid dowry, against which Henri was holding a portion of Aquitaine. In 1586, Catherine met with Henri at Saint Bris to continue discussion over her daughter's dowry and Aquitaine, as well as to settle a dispute between Navarre and Henri III by acting on behalf of her son, who suffered from bad health, in much the same way as the Princess acts for her sick father. David Honneyman explains that "Catherine's financial situation deteriorated rapidly, partly because of Henry III"s extravagance," just as the Princess seems short on money and attempts to get Aquitaine at no cost.[13] Antony Colynet, a contemporary commentator, claims Catherine used "some Italian juggling" in her meetings with Henri.[14] Like the historical Catherine de' Medici, the Princess engages in unethical business transactions that resemble those articulated by the "Italian juggl[er]" Machiavelli.

The acute Boyet informs her that she has succeeded in attracting the King, who is "enchanted" with looking upon her: "His face's own margin did quote such amazes / That all eyes saw his eyes enchanted with gazes" (*LLL* 2.1.245–6). With Berowne calling himself and his friends Cupid's "corporal[s]"

and "affection's men-at-arms," the men enlist Petrarchan dedication to the love god and military imagery to describe their pursuit of the women:

> King: Saint Cupid, then! And, soldiers, to the field!
> Berowne: Advance your standards, and upon them, lords!
> Pell-mell, down with them! But be first advised
> In conflict that you get the sun of them. (*LLL* 3.1.182; 4.3.286, 340–3)

They portray their wooing of the ladies as a war, as they fight under Cupid's banner, "wear his colours," or dress as a member of his regiment, and give the battle cry of "Saint Cupid" (*LLL* 3.1.183).

Shakespeare continues the martial imagery when he turns to the women's response. Given their superior intellect and strategizing powers, they enlist the services of a "scout" (*LLL* 5.2.88). Boyet, their spy, infiltrates the enemy camp and forewarns the ladies of the men's imminent attack:

> Prepare, madam, prepare!
> Arm, wenches, arm! Encounters mounted are
> Against your peace: Love doth approach disguised,
> Armed in arguments: you'll be surprised.
> Muster your wits, stand in your own defence,
> Or hide your heads like cowards and fly hence. (*LLL* 5.2.82–6)

Advising them to "arm" or furnish themselves with weapons and armor in preparation for an "encounter" or battle, he informs them of the enemy's plan to launch a "surprise" assault in disguise, one they must repel by "muster[ing]" their troops and defending themselves in the attack or flee like cowards.[15] Boyet clarifies his metaphor: rather than an actual physical battle, the encounter will be one of wits. "Armed in arguments," the men will barrage the ladies with words and fill the air with such jabbering that their tranquility will cease.

As arch enemies to Cupid, the women strategize a counterattack. Allowing the men to become more enthralled with them and hopeful of them returning their affections, they tantalize the men by receiving their love poems and tokens, permitting them to approach and woo them as Muscovites, and graciously accepting their pageant of the Nine Worthies. Yet all the while they "cross" or thwart the male intentions through deception and cunning, keeping their gifts without returning their affections, masking themselves and wearing the wrong "favour" to trick them into wooing the wrong lady, and trapping the men into foreswearing themselves (*LLL* 5.2.138, 130). Berowne comes to realize they have been outwitted repeatedly and deduces the deception. Accusing Boyet of "forestall[ing] [their] sport," he recognizes they have been set up and trapped by an enemy, who laid in wait (*LLL* 5.2.473).[16] The women primarily work to achieve their agenda of repossessing Aquitaine at no cost to the French, so seducing, distracting, humiliating, and confounding the King that he will unthinkingly grant the Princess' suit and abandon his love quest in shame—"well mocked, depart away with shame" (*LLL* 5.2.156). However, he

and his men profess to be "shame-proof" and so foolish they persevere in their erotic efforts, forcing the Princess to rely on another tactic (*LLL* 5.2.510).

From the play's beginning, the Princess expresses impatience to leave, claiming she has come "on serious business craving quick dispatch," and, indeed, the women's stay in Navarre extends over only a few days (*LLL* 2.1.31). Yet despite her haste, she welcomes the mindless entertainment of the pageant of the Nine Worthies—even over the King's objections—"Nay, [her] good lord, let [her] o'errule [him] now" (*LLL* 5.2.513). She has allowed the tedious wooing and now the foolish pageant to continue as a way to bide her time, waiting for an opportune moment to consummate her mission. At the beginning of Act 4, scene 1, she confidently proclaims to her ladies, "today [they] shall have [their] dispatch; / On Saturday [they] will return to France" (5–6). She seems sure she will speedily settle her business that day and prepare to leave.[17] Perhaps she just indulges in positive thinking, but the certitude with which the Princess speaks suggests she has something planned. The word "dispatch" can refer to "an official communication relating to public affairs, usually conveyed by a special messenger," a meaning that suggests that in Act 5, scene 2 she lingers and endures the inane pageant because she awaits a "dispatch"—a messenger delivering important news.[18] The audience, too, has been waiting since Act 2, scene 1 for the arrival of the "packet" (163) with the proof of the French King's payment of 100,000 crowns which would settle her embassy. But since it never arrives, it most likely is a ruse. The Princess, then, refers to another "dispatch." That a messenger appears, whom she knows by name, suggests she has been anticipating his arrival and that he works for her. Shakespeare does not provide any corroboration for Marcade's announcement of the King's death other than Berowne's early reference to his failing health. But if Marcade does not tell the truth and prematurely reports an imminent death, or more likely delays reporting a death that occurred before the Princess left for Navarre, he could be providing her with a means to outsmart the King by delivering the news of her father's death when it can benefit her the most.

Her behavior suggests as much. She shows no surprise at Marcade's arrival. Certainly, Marcade gives an inkling of the import of his message by saying, "for the news I bring / Is heavy in my tongue," with the word "heavy" suggesting a serious, grave, important communication that he reluctantly reports (*LLL* 5.2.713).[19] But the word does not necessarily denote death; he could be reporting the gravity of the King's illness, which requires her swift return. That she cuts his message short and completes it herself—"Dead, for my life!"—may not be a case of female intuition but, rather, an indication of her foreknowledge of his message: her father may have died before she left, which explains why she seems to have no qualms about leaving his sick bed and why she engages in empire-building, as she attends to her first business as the new ruler (*LLL* 5.2.713). Shakespeare gives no indication his King of Navarre will ultimately become King of France, as did the historical figure. Marcade's "tale is told" because he follows her directives, and, thus, she knows beforehand what he will say and impatiently blurts it out—eager to leave (*LLL* 5.2.715).

Rather than being overcome with grief and postponing her business, she immediately seizes the opportunity it provides her to settle her embassage, actions that suggest the message constitutes part of the plot to outmaneuver the King. Although referring to her "new-sad soul," she is not so overcome with grief that she cannot turn her attention to the serious matter of her political mission (*LLL* 5.2.725). She expeditiously bids farewell to the King and engages in her boldest act yet of proclaiming the settlement of her suit:

> Farewell, worthy lord!
> A heavy heart bears not a humble tongue.
> Excuse me so, coming too short of thanks
> For my great suit so easily obtained. (*LLL* 5.2.730–3)

Putting him off guard with her conciliatory pose, she capitalizes on her grief, suggesting the urgency and sadness of her situation demand she handle the business affair swiftly, efficiently, and thanklessly. The issue of the "great suit [being] so easily obtained" poses a crucial problem because Shakespeare provides no indication any negotiations have transpired. In fact, this is the first reference to her embassy since its introduction. He has the King's response indicate she is being deceptive and negotiations have not taken place offstage:

> The extreme parts of time extremely forms
> All causes to the purpose of his speed
> And often at his very loose decides
> That which long process could not arbitrate. (*LLL* 5.2.734–7)

Navarre suggests the suit has not been "arbitrate[d]" or decided, despite her profession to the contrary, and the "extreme" situation of the sudden announcement of her father's death and her "speed[y]" leave-taking rushes him into making a decision at that very instant—"loose" being a term for the "moment that an arrow is discharged from a bow."[20] He acknowledges she pressures him into making a decision on the spot, a decision she proclaims has already been made—just as she tried to pressure him into giving her Aquitaine during her first meeting with him, when she delivered her own "dispatch."

By introducing the subject of the settlement of her suit upon the announcement of her father's death, the Princess places Navarre, should he contradict her, in the untenable position of looking particularly callous and insensitive to a woman who has just lost her father and with whom he hopes to establish a loving relationship. That she, moreover, acts as though he has already agreed to grant the suit predisposes him to acquiesce and avoid an indelicate situation. Just as she attempted earlier to distract him from the debt France owes Navarre by telling him he owes her 100,000 crowns, she has allowed him to get distracted with wooing her. This time the tactic pays off, since he "easily" grants her political objective, as she predicts, and quickly turns to a subject more important to him—the granting of his love suit: "Yet, since love's argument was

first on foot, / Let not the cloud of sorrow jostle it / From what it purposed" (*LLL* 5.2.741–3). The audience never learns the exact terms of the settlement, but her behavior in this scene suggests that the Princess may well have succeeded in her plan to seize Aquitaine by stealth and even to receive the 100,000 crowns that the French claim Navarre owes them. The news of her father's death, then, proves useful to her on several fronts, another indication it constitutes part of her strategy: it makes the King's amorous pursuit ill timed and inappropriate and forces him to abandon it once and for all; it helps her to force a favorable conclusion to her political negotiations over Aquitaine; and it gives her an excuse for a fast exit.

Despite the news of the Princess' father's death, the foolish King still pleads for the ladies to "grant [them their] loves," refusing to acknowledge her repeated denials (*LLL* 5.2.781). She introduces a "trial" he must undergo to win her love, giving him hope of her eventual capitulation (*LLL* 5.2.797). She assigns him a task similar to the one he prescribed for himself at the play's beginning—only much more severe: for a year, he must live the life of a hermit, cut off from the pleasures and comforts of his courtly life. Knowing the King has already failed at a milder version of this oath and broken it within a day, the Princess can rest assured he will fail with this more "austere" one (*LLL* 5.2.793). Likewise, Rosaline assigns her wooer a trial as difficult as that of the King:

> You shall this twelvemonth term from day to day
> Visit the speechless sick and still converse
> With groaning wretches; and your task shall be
> With all the fierce endeavour of your wit
> To enforce the pained impotent to smile. (*LLL* 5.2.838–42)

Smarter than the other lords, Berowne rightly protests, "it cannot be; it is impossible," detecting Rosaline intends to dupe him by assigning him a mission doomed to failure, one that will guarantee he, like the other men, will never "win" his beloved (*LLL* 5.2.844). Although Berowne is suspicious of the women's motives, he and his companions, nonetheless, fall yet again into another trap set for them by the women, who find a way to reject them without the men realizing they have been dumped.

But the Princess may have even more ambitious plans in mind than securing Aquitaine, which, as she boasts, was "so easily obtained." Certainly, her instructions to the King at the play's end to "go with speed / To some forlorn and naked hermitage, / Remote from all the pleasures of the world" place both him and his kingdom in a vulnerable position: his isolation renders him defenseless, and it leaves his kingdom without a leader to make important decisions that might be required during dangerous times (*LLL* 5.2.788–90). Rosaline assigns Berowne, the wisest of the lords and an astute advisor to Navarre, a similar trial, separating him from his king and keeping him preoccupied with a futile undertaking. The women isolate the King by disbanding the lords and thus denying him important counsel, a strategy that leaves him and his kingdom helpless and weak.

From the beginning, Shakespeare casts the Princess in adversarial terms: in refusing to let her enter his court, the King "lodge[s] [her] in the field, / Like one that comes here to besiege his court" (*LLL* 2.1.85–6). The words "lodge," "field," and "besiege" all have military connotations, suggesting the encampment of enemies preparing to wage a siege against a kingdom. Enlisting the spying skills of Boyet and staying long enough to stake out Navarre herself, she can prepare to wage an invasion on Navarre in the very near future. Navarre, a rich, strategically situated province between France and Spain, was perpetually fought over by both—and remains a contested region to this day. The pervasive martial connotations throughout the play establish a military ambiance: there are references to warfare between the men—Cupid's soldiers—and the women; to the men "war[ring] against [their] own affections"; and to the women as enlisting spies, perpetrating conspiracies, infiltrating the men's court, and lying in wait to entrap them (*LLL* 1.1.9). Such imagery sets the atmosphere for an actual attack, not a rhetorical or figurative one, at the play's end.

Shakespeare does not end with the women's actual besieging of Navarre, because the play does not end. Rather, as Patricia Parker claims, it "open[s] out rather than close[s] off or contain[s]" and places "more emphasis on what follows or comes *after*."[21] The playwright creates open-endedness, encouraging his audience to muse about the future of his characters and imagine the resolution he refuses to offer. In not providing a suitable ending of betrothals or weddings, he experiments with the genre of comedy, stretching it beyond its limits, and entertains subversive possibilities. Shakespeare's experimental denouement allows the play to conclude in a projected sixth act, a resolution he does not supply because of its unsuitability to a comedy but one he fleshes out with allusions and numerous clues. He does not end the play like a comedy, with "Jack" having "Jill," because it turns out not to be a comedy after all. It only "seems" that way (*LLL* 5.2.863).

In Act 4, scene 1, Shakespeare uses the deer hunt as a symbolic representation and foreshadowing of the Princess' military actions at the play's close. Scholars note the importance of this seemingly playful hunt, seeing it as "emblematic" and "central to the meaning of the play."[22] Characterizing his ladies as adept huntresses, Shakespeare portrays them as capable of resorting to force to gain their ends. They make preparations to hunt deer, with the Forester instructing them where to situate themselves for the "fairest shoot" (*LLL* 4.1.10). The audience learns in Act 4, scene 2 that the Princess, indeed, wounds a deer, as Holofernes, Dull, and Nathaniel argue over the age of the deer—whether "a buck of the first head," or a more mature one "*sanquis*, in blood," or a "pricket" in its second year (*LLL* 4.2.10, 3–4, 12). After the unresolved debate over the age of the animal, Holofernes delivers "an extemporal epitaph on the death of the deer":

> The preyful Princess pierced and pricked a pretty pleasing pricket;
> Some say a sore, but not a sore till now made sore with shooting.
> The dogs did yell, put 'l' to sore, then sorrel jumps from thicket;

> Or pricket, sore, or else sorrel, the people fall a-hooting.
> If sore be sore, then 'l' to sore makes fifty sores o'sorrel:
> Of one sore I an hundred make by adding but one more 'l'. (*LLL* 4.2.56–61)

He clarifies that she wounded the deer rather than killing it outright: the "pierc[ing]" and "prick[ing]," or puncturing, of the animal's flesh with an arrow caused it to feel "sore," or pain, and to "jump from thicket," pursued by the dogs. Playing with Roman numerals in order to create the word "sorrel," the name for a buck in its third year, allows Shakespeare to amplify the pain the deer endures, expanding one sore to fifty and then to a hundred. He has the pedant pass judgment on the Princess, calling her "preyful," denoting a hostile and injurious person, a designation she has sought to avoid.[23] Holofernes' punning on "sore" and playing with Roman numerals allow him to inflate the one "sorrel" she wounds into a hundred, with Shakespeare further highlighting her deadly nature by alluding to the massacre of a horde of deer. Of course, much of Holofernes' epitaph is mere nonsense, with Shakespeare making fun of the pedant's proclivity for punning and alliteration and speaking in inflated terminology, as he delivers tributes more suitable to a human than a mere animal. But the elaborate memorial to the deer gives the event more attention and significance, highlighting the symbolism of the animal and the killing.

The deer symbolize the ladies' human victims, those less shrewd and rapacious than the women—in particular, the King, his lords, and his subjects. Punning on the similar sound of the words "shooter" and "suitor," Rosaline clarifies the women have not come to be wooed but to shoot their "suitors," a figurative reference to warding off their advances and a literal reference to the women's intent to inflict physical harm (*LLL* 4.1.113). In preparing for the hunt, the Princess asks the Forester for "the bush / That [the ladies] must stand and play the murderer in" (*LLL* 4.1.7–8). The word "bush" denotes not just a clump of shrubs in which to conceal oneself, but also "ambush," or hiding with the intent to attack.[24] In having the Princess refer to herself and her entourage as "murderer[s]," a term usually applied to the killing of humans rather than animals, Shakespeare reinforces the reading of the ladies as deadly and the hunt as symbolic of an actual massacre or ambush of human victims that will take place in a projected sixth act.[25]

There are enough clues within the text itself to allow us to read the Princess and her ladies as dangerous agents, who pose serious harm to Navarre and his kingdom at the play's close. But the associations of the Princess with France and the King with Navarre elicit allusions to actual early modern historical persons and events that buttress this reading. In evoking Catherine de' Medici in his princess, Shakespeare casts a deadly political tenor over his female protagonist. By the time Shakespeare was writing *Love's Labour's Lost*, the "Black Legend" had developed around Catherine, largely fueled by the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572, a tragic massacre of Christians by Christians, of which she was seen as the mastermind.[26] The massacre firmly established the image, particularly among Protestants, of Catherine as a

predatory, plotting Machiavellian, similar to the Princess' self-description as a "murderer" and Holofernes' designation of her as a "preyful princess," who slays "pretty pleasing pricket[s]." The massacre originated in Paris, where Princess Marguerite was to marry Henri de Navarre, the leader of the Protestant party and the historical parallel to Shakespeare's king; in arranging it, Catherine had intended to mend the breach between Catholics and Protestants. Shortly after the wedding, an attempt was made to kill Admiral Coligny, the leader of the Huguenots who had influence over King Charles IX. But once the attempt was botched and Coligny only wounded, the Protestants threatened retaliation. As a preemptive measure, a plot was formed to kill Coligny and a large number of Huguenots by capitalizing on the occasion of many of the leaders, including Navarre's entourage, being assembled in one place—Paris—for the marriage. Feeling they had the blessing of the king, the mob under the leadership of some of the captains of the city militia turned on the Huguenots in the city and went on a killing spree for three days. The massacres continued in other cities—such as Meaux, Troyes, Orleans, Bourges, Angers, Saumur, Lyons, Rouen, Toulouse, Bordeaux—three or four weeks after St. Bartholomew's day. While no one knows the exact number of the dead, estimates "range all the way from three thousand to one hundred and ten thousand victims."[27]

The political coup weakened the Protestant party by killing its leaders and scaring many into conversion, forcing Navarre, soon to be King of France, to abjure his faith and become Catholic and making him a prisoner of the court for the next four years. What made the event so notorious was not just the large number murdered but also the conditions under which it transpired: many of the slaughtered were wedding guests whom the queen and her son had just hours before entertained under the most festive circumstances. The Huguenots largely blamed Catherine for the attack and wrote scathing denouncements of her. Modern historians mostly dispel this assessment, however, and attribute it to anti-Catholic sentiment, xenophobia, and misogynistic views of women rulers. They argue a counter-narrative that proposes others, besides Catherine, had reasons for wanting the defeat of Coligny and the Huguenots.[28] Some of the culprits who have been proposed include the Cardinal of Lorraine and his nephews the Dukes of Guise and Aumale, often viewed as the most likely suspects, who believed Coligny had ordered the assassination of their father ten years earlier; the Duke of Anjou, the king's aspiring younger brother, and his advisers; King Charles IX himself, without the advice of his mother; the Spanish government; and incendiary priests and a Catholic conspiracy. Although Catherine most likely did not premeditate the massacre, her contemporaries, nevertheless, viewed her as having long planned its execution, and they perpetuated the Black Legend upon which Shakespeare seems to base his Princess.

The associations of the Princess with Catherine de' Medici and his King with Navarre and the references throughout the play to war, surprise attacks, torture, plots, conspiracies, ambushes, and invasion allow Shakespeare to allude to one of the bloodiest incidents in early modern times—the Massacre of the Huguenots—and to suggest his princess prepares for a similar politically

oriented siege in her last actions, which will take place off stage just as the deer hunt has. Undoubtedly, his audience would not have needed much prodding to see allusions to the massacre, with which they were familiar. Albert H. Tricomi explains that "continual revivals of Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*," a dramatic rendering of St. Bartholomew's massacre, reflected "the morbid fascination with which English eyes viewed the religious civil war raging across the channel."[29] Like Catherine's entrapment of the Huguenots and Machiavelli's examples of "nefarious take-overs," the Princess and her ladies strategize to place the King and his closest friends and advisors in vulnerable positions—as far from each other and as far from the seat of power in Navarre as possible.[30]

Moreover, in evoking associations with the historical King of Navarre, Shakespeare highlights the military vulnerability of his King, with the names of his three companions resembling those of the actual king's war council: Biron, Longueville, and d'Aumont.[31] Historically, the Marechal Biron and Duc de Longueville served as two of Navarre's chief generals, with Shakespeare having his Longaville described as "glorious in arms" and Dumaine addressed as "corporal" (*LLL* 2.1.45; 4.3.83). Biron has been described as "the French King's best general," which may explain why Rosalind assigns Berowne a task that will distract him the most and remove him the furthest from his monarch.[32] Separating the King from his advisors and generals and removing him from his court make him ill prepared for a defensive move, should a siege be lodged against him and his country. It leaves Navarre, the homeland of Catherine's enemies, the Protestants, without a ruler and ripe for foreign invasion. That the Princess' last directions to the King are associated with a possible future marriage, as Catherine's timing of the massacre was associated with the recent marriage of her daughter and the King, adds another allusive layer to the text. As with his portrayal of characters, Shakespeare does not make a direct correlation between his drama and history, as Marlowe does in the *Massacre at Paris*, yet the associations allow him to capitalize on actual historical figures and events to create a deeper layer of meaning to his text.

The many references to death and murder throughout the play cast an ominous shadow and allow Shakespeare to allude to an imminent tragic event that will take place off stage after its end. Shakespeare has the women in particular described as deadly. The Princess literally brings death to the play with the killing of the deer in Act 4, scene 2. As the play comes to a close, Shakespeare hammers at the presence of death: the pageant of the Nine Worthies, a topos of mortality, details the death of famous men; Marcade, the messenger of death, makes his fateful entrance; the Princess and Rosaline "impose deathly penances upon Navarre and Berowne"; and the play ends with the Song of Winter, the "season of death," instead of that of Spring.[33] All of these allusions reinforce the lethal intentions of the ladies and lend support to the reading that Shakespeare alludes to the Black Legend of Catherine de' Medici and the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day, the bloody event for which she became infamous. The title of the play, furthermore, suggests the men will lose, and it will be more than just the "labours" of love. Just as they have lost the verbal, amorous skirmish, so too will they lose the military war.

By portraying the men as foolish lovers and political dullards and the females as masterful strategists, he invites his audience to admire the ladies for their skills at realpolitik, despite their reservations about their deadly intentions. Ultimately, the play can be read as a veiled encomium to actual female rulers of Shakespeare's own time—women who excelled at the game of secular politics and did not shy away from tricky, sometimes deadly though necessary strategies to enhance their rule. Like Prometheus (*LLL* 4.3.325), who stole fire from heaven to bring to earth, Shakespeare's Princess and her ladies show themselves capable of taking Aquitaine and "all that is" Navarre's (*LLL* 2.1.247) through fraudulent and forceful means.

Notes

1. *Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), "labour" n 1, 3, 5a, and "lost" ppla 1, 3, 4. All further references to this work will be designated as *OED*.
2. The following critics detect traces of Elizabeth in the figure of the Princess: Eva Turner Clark, *The Satirical Comedy: "Love's Labour's Lost": A Study* (New York: W.F. Payson, 1933), 21, 25, 29; Maurice Hunt, "The Double Figure of Elizabeth in *Love's Labor's Lost*," *Essays in Literature* 19 (1992), particularly 86–88, 173, 178–79; Mark Thorton Burnett, "Giving and Receiving: *Love's Labour's Lost* and the Politics of Exchange," *English Literary Renaissance* 23 (1993): 310, 312–13. Those who see parallels between the Princess and Catherine and Marguerite include the following: Clark, 13–14, 18, 22, 31–33, 52; Hugh M. Richmond, "Shakespeare's Navarre," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 42 (1979): 200–16; and David Honneyman, *Shakespeare's Sonnets and the Court of Navarre* (Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen P, 1997), 3–5, 23–24.
3. Richmond, "Shakespeare's Navarre," 201, 209.
4. Although France abided by the Salic Law, which prevented women from holding political office, Shakespeare does not seem to have it operate in his fictional France.
5. William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. H.R. Woudhuysen, Arden 2nd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 1998), 1.1.134. All further references to the play will be to this edition, and act, scene, and line numbers will be noted in the text. *OED* "grace" 1a, 1b; "majesty" 1a, 4a.
6. *OED* "will" 2.
7. *OED* "vouchsafe" 6; 19b.
8. Ralph Berry, *Shakespeare's Comedies: Exploration in Form* (Princeton: Princeton UP, 1972), 78.
9. Louis Montrose, "'Sport by sport o'erthrown': *Love's Labour's Lost* and the Politics of Play," *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 18 (1977): 544.
10. Kristian Smidt, "Shakespeare in Two Minds: Unconformities in *Love's Labour's Lost*," *English Studies* 65 (1984): 215–16.
11. Alexander Leggatt, *Shakespeare's Comedy of Love* (London: Methuen, 1974), 83.
12. *OED* "consort" v. 5c; "desires" n. 2.
13. Honneyman, *Shakespeare's Sonnets,* 56.

14. Antony Colynet, *The True History of the Civil Warres of France* (London: Thomas Orwin for Thomas Woodcock, 1591), 315.
15. *OED* "arm" 1; "encounter" 1; "muster" 8.
16. *OED* "forestall" 1.
17. *OED* "dispatch" n 2, 6a.
18. *OED* n. 8.
19. *OED* adj[1] 12.
20. William Shakespeare, *The New Folger Library Shakespeare: Love's Labour's Lost*, eds. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine (New York: Washington Square Press, 1996), 208.
21. Patricia Parker, "Preposterous Reversals: *Love's Labor's Lost*," *Modern Language Quarterly* 54 (1993): 472.
22. The quotations belong respectively to Smidt, "Shakespeare in Two Minds," 215, and Catherine M. Mclay, "The Dialogues of Spring and Winter: A Key to the Unity of *Love's Labour's Lost*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 18 (1969): 122.
23. *OED* "preyful" 3a.
24. *OED* "bush" n.1 4a.
25. *OED* "murderer" n.1.
26. R.J. Knecht, *Catherine de' Medici* (London and New York: Longman, 1998), 163.
27. Paul Van Dyke, *Catherine de Medicis*, 2 volumes (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927), 2: 97.
28. See, for example, Nicola Sutherland, *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew and the European Conflict, 1559–1572* (London: Macmillan, 1973), 295–6; and Mack P. Holt, *The Duke of Anjou and the Politique Struggle During the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 20.
29. Albert H. Tricomi, "The Witty Idealization of the French Court in *Love's Labor's Lost*," *Shakespeare Studies* 12 (1979): 26–27.
30. Catherine's critics were correct to label the massacre a Machiavellian strategy: Niccolo Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. Harvey C. Mansfield, Jr. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 36–37, records the story of Liverotto da Fermo, who seized power of Fermo from his uncle Giovanni Fogliani by temporarily leaving his military endeavors and falsely professing to want "to see him and his city and in some part to acknowledge his patrimony." He returned "in honorable fashion accompanied by a hundred horsemen of his friends and servants," and after a few days "he held a most solemn banquet to which he invited Giovanni Fogliani and all the first men of Fermo." Once they withdrew to a room, "no sooner were they seated than soldiers came out of secret places and killed Giovanni and all the others," and Liverotto Fermo made himself prince. The Massacre of the Huguenots resembles this historical plot by relying on trickery and the strategic positioning of victims.
31. Richmond, "Shakespeare's Navarre," 203.
32. Richmond, "Shakespeare's Navarre," 207.
33. The quotations belong respectively to Hunt, "The Double Figure of Elizabeth," 187; and Berry, *Shakespeare's Comedies*, 88.

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CHAPTER 18

Katherine of Aragon, Protestant Purity, and the Anxieties of Cultural Mixing in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII*

Mira Assaf Kafantaris

Shakespeare and Fletcher's *King Henry VIII, or, All is True* (1613) has a vexed claim to historical veracity, particularly in its complex dramatization of Henry's first queen, Katherine of Aragon. As the story of Henry's schism with Rome and the providential birth of Elizabeth I, *Henry VIII* can easily be read as joining the chorus of Protestant triumphalism in the context of its immediate historical moment. In 1613, King James I, the self-appointed *rex pacificus*, sought to strike a fine balance between the highly publicized Protestant marriage of his daughter Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine, and a Catholic match for the Prince of Wales. Echoing multiple sectors of English culture, the London pulpits praised a union between two Protestant nations as "godly" and denigrated a potential Catholic match, declaring it "unnatural." Against this backdrop, *Henry VIII* furnishes its audience with contradictory views on cultural mixing; while the anxieties of mixture and the fantasy of Protestant purity bookend the play, the complex portrayal of Katherine of Aragon as both English and Spanish, Catholic and Protestant, points to the omnipresence of cultural mixing, especially when English history is under consideration. I argue in this chapter that *Henry VIII* not only explodes the myth of Protestant purity, but stages a topic of heightened interest at a critical stage just before dynastic marriage became the subject of widespread debate on the eve of the Spanish match in the early 1620s.

The question of why Katherine of Aragon should have taken center stage at this historical juncture, when the rift between King James' ecumenicalism and

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hot Protestant militancy was widening, has puzzled critics. Susan Frye, for example, has asked why Katherine of Aragon is presented as a paragon of Christian virtue, true piety, and wifely duty in a play that ultimately celebrates the lineage of the king who cast her off and repudiated Catholicism. Frye and others have answered this question by looking at the rivalries at the Jacobean court and drawing parallels between Katherine's ostracization and the plight of contemporary high-profile women, ranging from Anna of Denmark, to Frances Howard, to Lady Arbella Stuart.[1] More effective, this chapter argues, is reading Katherine's emotional and dramatic complexity alongside the overall logic of the play's tenuous relationship to any truth, exemplified in its ironic subtitle *All is True*. As critics such as Gordon McMullan and Frances Dolan have demonstrated, the purpose of any claim to truth in the play is deliberate ambiguity, and by doing so, they both pay homage to Lee Bliss' emphasis on "an essential ambiguity in the play's 'truth'" especially since "establishing the 'truth' in any given situation is exceedingly complicated; prior certainty repeatedly dissolves in the face of later revelations."[2] McMullan succinctly suggests that "as with numerous pamphlets entitled 'A True Report' or 'A True Account' that were printed in the period, there is no need to assume that all is true."[3] To Dolan, furthermore, the play's ambiguity puts the onus on the reader or viewer, "who learns to negotiate among competing truth claims in part by encountering their rivalry."[4] Taking its cue from Dolan's reading, this chapter investigates *Henry VIII*'s dramatization of cultural mixing as an instance of this purposeful ambiguity. Rather than strictly reproducing the binary assertions of "good" or "bad" foreign queens that abound in theological treatises, historical chronicles, and even earlier history plays, *Henry VIII* resists presenting history as a polemical Protestant tool; it nuances theological imagery and historical narratives in representing dynasticism to a broad and heterogeneous audience.[5] In what follows, I read *Henry VIII* through the lens of dynasticism and its multiple associations with differing theories of cultural mixing, represented here in Andrew Willet's *A Treatise of Salomon's Marriage* (1613) and Barnabe Barnes' policy treatise *Foure Bookes of Offices* (1606), which in turn put the London stage in conversation with the tensions inherent in James' marriage plans for his children.

But why was King James I's dynastic marriage policy, which belonged to the restricted domain of royal prerogative, a point of ideological contention? The answer lies with the king's twinned agenda of Catholic tolerance and dynastic marriage, which he aimed to achieve by courting competing Spanish, French, and Savoyard marriage proposals for the Prince of Wales (1612–14) while cementing England's alliance with the Protestant Union through Princess Elizabeth's marriage to Elector Palatine Frederick V in 1613. A Habsburg or Bourbon match for James' heir represented, on a pragmatic level, a way for England to balance the revival of the Catholic league between the Hapsburgs and the Bourbons in March 1611.[6] Ideologically, and to the dismay of many Protestants, a Catholic match would allow James to fulfill both his ecumenical dream of Christian universalism and his promise of tolerance for Catholics that underlined the Anglo-Spanish peace of 1604.[7]

Against this backdrop of matrimonial alliances and counter-alliances, *Henry VIII* presents Katherine of Aragon as a model of exemplary loyalty to England, while remaining decidedly Catholic and Spanish. In dramatizing Katherine of Aragon as the center of moral consciousness in a maelstrom of machiavellian statecraft, more importantly, the play avoids the tired early modern clichés of lustful and politically powerful foreign queens, exemplified by the scheming Catherine de' Medici in Christopher Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris* (1593) and Isabella of France, "that unnatural Queen, false Isabel" in *Edward II* (1592).[8] Most demonized is Margaret of Anjou in the three parts of Shakespeare's *Henry VI* and *Richard III* (1592), who is discussed in detail in other chapters in this volume.[9] Indeed, Katherine of Aragon appears to be both a virtuous wife and someone with deep understanding of the inner workings of governance, its tactics and maneuvering. First, she voices the protests of the commons against the Amicable Grant levied by Cardinal Wolsey without the King's knowledge: "The subjects' grief / Comes through commissions which compels from each / The sixth part of his substance, to be levied / Without delay."[10] She then skillfully justifies the commons' widespread discontent: "This makes bold mouths: / Tongues spit their duties out, and cold hearts freeze / Allegiance in them" (*H8* 1.2.60–2). When Wolsey attempts to exonerate himself by blaming it all on the "single voice" of the Privy Council and the "learned approbation of the judges" (*H8* 1.2.70; 71), Katherine rejects his claims, contradicts him to his face, and accuses him of usurping the royal voice: "You know no more than others, but you frame / Things that are known alike, which are not wholesome / To those which would not know them and yet must / Perforce be their acquaintance" (*H8* 1.2.143–7). As a servant of the commonwealth, Katherine's queenship is a selfless mediation on behalf of her wronged subjects, which demonstrates her political power within the parameters of maternal love, wifely duty, and allegiance to the crown.

Indeed, the complex dramatization of Katherine's queenship in the play confuses contemporary representations of the historical Katherine of Aragon as a virtuous, apolitical everywoman—a Penelope working her loom, or a patient Griselda figure.[11] For instance, John Taylor, the self-appointed moralizer of the Jacobean period, praises Katherine's needlework in *The Needle's Excellency* (1631) as a metaphor for her exemplary life, which is memorialized in her ever-present productions "in the Tower, and places more beside." Her "excellent memorials" become not only expressions of virtue, patience, and "payne" over her status as a divorced queen but, more importantly, eclipse her past identity as "Faire Katherine, Daughter to the Castile King," who "Came to England with a pompous traine / Of Spanish Ladies."[12]

Alternatively, critics have compared Katherine of Aragon's emotional and dramatic complexity in Shakespeare and Fletcher's play to her complete erasure from Samuel Rowley's earlier, more polemical play about Henry VIII, *When You See Me, You Know Me* (1605; revived in 1613).[13] In Rowley's play, historical truth serves the quest for true religion, a quest partly advanced by Queen Katherine Parr's positive and zealous role in the realization of England's

triumphant Protestant identity and its defeat of the popish antichrist. Another play strongly associated with Rowley, *Thomas of Woodstock* (*c.* 1604–6),[14] depicts Anne of Bohemia (Anne o'Beame) as a paragon of wifely duty and queenly intercession. In a play that focuses on the earlier troubles of King Richard II, in which he succumbs to the evil council of his self-serving favorites and plots the murder of his righteous uncle, "plain Thomas" of Woodstock, Anne o'Beame acts as the king's moral and rational compass: she champions the plight of the poor and is genuinely fearful for the future of the commonwealth. To be sure, intercession and peace-making are common tropes in chronicle accounts of queens, alongside chastity and patronage of the arts.[15] Quite interestingly, Anne of Bohemia is stripped of any ideological resonance in the play, especially at a historical juncture when hot Protestants had turned her into a reformist figure and employed her narrative as an example of a "good" foreign queen to counter King James' enthusiasm for a Catholic match.[16]

One of these Protestant polemics is Andrew Willet's *A Treatise of Salomons Marriage*, presented at the most public of celebrations of international Protestantism and unity: the wedding day of the Elector Palatine and Princess Elizabeth (14 February 1613).[17] To make his point, Willet evokes the fate of England's dynastic alliances with France and Spain, blaming the French Margaret of Anjou for causing the Wars of the Roses and the half-Spanish Mary Tudor for interrupting the course of true religion: "Out of France came that manlike Ladie, which was the firebrand of the ciuill wars betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancanster: Out of Spanish blood budded that branch, that ouershadowed the Gospell in England."[18] But shaping Willet's condemnation of cultural mixing is not merely anti-Catholic and anti-foreign invective, but a warning against "manlike Ladie[s]" with mixed bloodlines. In Willet's formulation, a Catholic queen threatens to subvert not only the state's gendered hierarchy, but also the social, religious, and political health of the commonweal. Instead, Willet lists "prosperous" alliances with "the valiant Germanes," including "Queene *Philip*[pa] the Earle of Henaults daughter, that fruitfull Ladie, that bare vnto the King [Edward III] diuers sonnes" and, rather interestingly, "Queene *Anna*, the sister of *Wencelaus* King of Bohemia; a religious Lady, whom *Thomas Arundel* Archbishop of Canturburie preaching her funerall sermon, commended for her piety, that she had the foure Euangelists in English, with the Fathers expositions vpon them."[19] While Philippa of Hainault is praised for securing the male line, Anne of Bohemia is virtuous because she not only read the scriptures in the vernacular but, more emphatically, she embraced the teachings of such reformists as Jan Hus, Jerome of Prague, and John Wycliffe. Here Willet draws on John Foxe's influential martyrology, *Acts and Monuments*, which casts Anne as a symbol of international proto-Protestantism. To Protestants, as Michael Van Dussen has argued, Anne's queenship "was not simply the basis for the spread of Wycliffism, but for introducing 'Christe's gospell' to reformers in Prague as well."[20] Despite her foreignness and failure to ensure the succession to the throne, Anne of Bohemia becomes a paragon of Protestant piety and is celebrated in Reformation polemic on the basis of religious purity.

In addition to historical precedents, Willet conveys his rejection of an "unnatural" union by invoking two biblical examples from the books of Daniel and Ezekiel. On the one hand, Willet communicates his rejection of a Catholic match by comparing it to the destructive mixture of clay and iron in Daniel's explanation of Nebuchadnezzar's inscrutable dream, and on the other, his enthusiasm for a Protestant union by comparing it to the generative union of two grafts enshrined in Ezekiel's parable. More specifically, Daniel's prophecy of civil unrest serves as a powerful metaphor for Willet's Jacobean audience's understanding of the dangers of a Catholic match, where the Babylonian king Nebuchadnezzar's seemingly invincible kingdom is weakened because of its mixed composition: "This coniunction with France and Spaine was like to that mixture of clay and iron, wherewith the toes of the image which *Nabuchadnezzar* saw in his dreame, were tempered: but it would not hold." In the second biblical example, Willet exhorts his audience to reject any Catholic match, especially when contrasted to "this matrimonial combination contracted with Germanie [that] doth represent vnto vs, the two tallies or pieces of wood which the Prophet [Ezekiel 37:15–2] put together: whereby he signified, that Israel and Iuda should grow into one people."[21] Willet compares a Protestant union to the grafting of distinct plants, which becomes generative only if religious uniformity is guaranteed. In other words, Willet's anxiety surrounding the unnaturalness of mixture and his distrust of foreigners dissipate when England's triumphant Protestant destiny is ensured.

Although *Thomas of Woodstock* emphasizes Anne's virtue, it does not corroborate this proto-Protestant view of the Bohemian queen. Far from it, Anne's expository speech upon her introduction to the English court conveys a sense of loss and a total dissolution of identity:

> My senses [are tied] by a magical restraint
> In the sweet spells of this your [her English peers'] fair demeanours
> That I am bound and charmed from what I was.
> My native country I no longer remember
> But as a tale told in my infancy,
> The greatest part forgot; and that which is
> Appears to England's fair Elysium
> Like brambles to the cedars, coarse to fine,
> Or the wild grape to the fruitful vine.
> And having left the earth where I was bred,
> And English made, let me be Englishèd.
> They best small please me, shall me English call.[22]

In a passage imbued with the language of bondage and magic, Anne pledges her loyalty to England and her pleasure in being "Englishèd." Lea Luecking Frost argues that "in being Englished, [Anne] volunteers to detach herself from her own narrative in order to play an exemplary role in an English narrative."[23] While Frost is right to emphasize Anne's transformation to fulfill the expectations of an English ideology, it is important to note that Anne functions predominantly as an

object for the projection of the English's expectations of a virtuous foreign queen rather than as a character to whom agency and will are ascribed. Anne's claim of Englishness necessitates wiping out all memory of her native country, which is here established through the interplay of enchantment and bondage ("my senses are tied by a magical restraint"; "the sweet spells"; "bound and charmed"). Also revealing is Anne's allusion in horticultural terms to her past Bohemian identity as aimless and even degenerative. As a transplant in the English garden, she presents herself as "the coarse bramble" to England's "fine cedar," "a wild grape" to England's "fruitful vine," thereby reinforcing the connotations of England as an idyllic, insular garden weakened by strange seeds.[24] Contrary to Willet's positive spin on hybridity as a pathway to religious uniformity, here any trace of Anne's foreignness becomes the antithesis of everything pure in "England's fair Elysium"—a foreignness that needs to be erased so that the purity of the commonwealth remains untainted.

Whereas *Thomas of Woodstock* understates Anne o'Beame's foreignness and erases her religious influence, *Henry VIII*'s treatment of Katherine of Aragon's queenship destabilizes this anxiety that England's openness to foreigners would do irreparable damage. Before we examine how *Henry VIII* registers cultural mixing, we need to consider how the play defines blessed Englishness against suspect foreignness, which as we saw in Willet's sermon, had become increasingly associated with religious difference and queenship. The play opens with an account of the Field of the Cloth of Gold that echoes Willet's language of "unnatural" unions. In describing Henry VIII's and Francis I's lavish celebration of the 1520 English–French alliance, where "pomp was [no longer] single, but now married / To one above itself" (*H8* 1.1.15–16), the Duke of Norfolk evokes Catholic deception and idolatry.[25] His lengthy exposition conflates ocular vocabulary, such as "saw," "beheld," "view," "eye," "discerner," and "seen" (*H8* 1.1.8, 9, 14, 30, 32, 37), with the language of idolatry, such as "earthly glory," "wonders," "heathen gods," "gilt cherubims," "paintings," "lustre," "fabulous story," "believed," and "worship" (*H8* 1.1.14, 18, 19, 23, 26, 29, 36, 38, 39). Not coincidentally, Norfolk's recollection of the meeting between Francis and Henry is saturated with images of monstrous union—"they clung in their embracement as they grew together, / Which had they, what four throned ones could have weighed / Such a compounded one?" (*H8* 1.1.9–12)—followed by "'Twas said they saw but one" (*H8* 1.1.32). Many critics have indeed shown how France was one of various pagan, effeminate, cowardly "others"—including the Welsh, the Scots, and the Irish—against which chronicle history plays defined "Englishness" and developed a sense of national identity.[26] At the time of *Henry VIII*'s composition and production, as seen in Willet's treatise, the opposition between blessed Englishness and damaging foreignness was concentrated in the language of Protestant purity and anti-Catholic invective in response to the celebrated Palatinate marriage and the projected Catholic match for the Prince of Wales.

Further aggravating the "unnaturalness" of the Anglo-French union are its consequences, particularly the potential loss of pure Englishness, embodied in

the realms of sex, language, and dress. In Act 1, scene 3, Sir Thomas Lovell's announcement of a new proclamation on "The reformation of our travelled gallants / That fill the court with quarrel, talks and tailors" (*H8* 1.3.19–20) brings a wave of opprobrium deriding not only the courtiers' French airs, but also their transgressive and effeminizing roleplaying. Moreover, the old nobility sees France's sartorial influence as an assault on a fixed English identity, and thus rejects any form of Anglo-French intermixing: the Chamberlain wonders whether "Is't possible the spells of France should juggle / Men into strange mysteries" and frowns at "their clothes's […] pagan cut" (*H8* 1.3.1–2; 13); Lord Sandys thinks the "New customs […] unmanly" and "there's no converting of them" (*H8* 1.3.4); to Lovell, the French language suggests sexual opportunism: "A French song and a fiddle has no fellow" (*H8* 1.3.41); and corrupts English courtiers, who "*cum privelegio*, *oui* away / The lag end of their lewdness" (*H8* 1.3.34–5).

Along the same lines, English fascination with French manners threatens to transform cultural contact into sexual contamination.[27] Notice, for example, how the account of French mannerisms is conflated with the ever-lurking threat of the French disease,[28] which in English courtiers have "grown so catching": "They have all new legs, and lame ones. One would take it, / That never see 'em pace before, the spavin / And springhalt reign among 'em" (*H8* 1.3.37; 10–12). Such bloated language and imagery resonates with Willet's figuration of contaminated unions with Spain or France that thwart generative possibilities at a moment when King James was negotiating a Catholic match for his heir behind the scenes.[29]

In the same account, Norfolk trivializes the ladies in King Francis' entourage by invoking a polemical anti-Catholic trope—the painted face of Jezebel, the wicked queen from Sidon whose dynastic marriage to King Ahab brought idolatry and persecution into Israel.[30] French women, according to Norfolk, "Not used to toil, did almost sweat to bear / The pride upon them, that their very labour / Was to them as a painting" (*H8* 1.1.24–6). Here, Norfolk's description of the French ladies as painted and adorned corresponds to a familiar network of gendered metaphors associated with the deceit of the Catholic Church. Protestant polemic frequently compared the Catholic Church to the Whore of Babylon, whereby "Catholic practice (aesthetically dazzling) was akin to a corrosive, sexual deception that feminized all who fell prone to its allure."[31] Not surprisingly, Willet employs the same invective in his character assassination of a potential Catholic queen in *Salomon's Marriage*, arguing: "There should be a difference betweene the handmaides of God and the diuell, &c. *Iesabels*…; that which is giuen the body by birth, is the worke of God, that which is counterfeit, is the worke of the diuell."[32]

If we sample plays in *Henry VIII*'s immediate temporal vicinity, we notice that London's playgoers were probably familiar with this unease over cultural mixing.[33] For example, Fletcher's *Bonduca* (1612), a tragedy about the first-century warrior queen Boadicea, offers starkly opposite assumptions about mixed marriage; the titular Briton queen kills her daughters and then commits

suicide to avoid intermarriage with the invading Romans. In the final moments of *Bonduca*, however, both the Romans and the Englishman Caratach establish a working relationship that forms the basis of their co-existence.[34] Most poignantly, John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (1613) pushes the question of cultural mixing to a brutal extreme. When the Duchess secretly marries her social inferior, her evil brothers plot to "apply desperate physic" to "purge [her] infected blood" that was "attained" or contaminated by a foreign pathology.[35] Blinded by their obsession with the purity of the bloodline, the brothers echo Willet's and the English nobility in *Henry VIII*'s passionate denigration of cultural mixing as a contaminating disease both genetic and sexual.

Other plays hint instead at the generative potential of such mixing. In Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* (1611–12), a mixed marriage between Arbaces and Panthea, which is mistaken for an incestuous and thus "unnatural" one until the final act of the play, ensures peaceful relations between Iberia and Armenia.[36] So too is the resolution in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale* (1611), where a marriage alliance between Perdita and Florizel reconciles Leontes and Polixenes, Sicily and Bohemia. *The Tempest* furnishes examples of the two extremes of the debate: on the one hand, Claribel's marriage to the King of Tunis, and Miranda's orchestrated betrothal to Ferdinand frame the play.[37] However, a mixed union with no political consequences, emblematized in Caliban's base desire to produce offspring with Miranda, is depicted as sexual violence and a degeneration of a pure form.

Henry VIII's depiction of a foreign queen becomes a particular site where Shakespeare and Fletcher formulate and challenge proto-nationalistic categories in a way that religious treatises such as Willet's could not. Mirroring and problematizing James' dynastic vision, the play, in its treatment of Katherine of Aragon and Anne Bullen, evokes key questions surrounding foreign queens, particularly their markers of difference and the vexed representations of their reproductive bodies as loci of competing ideologies on which the success of a dynastic alliance and royal succession hinge. To start, I suggest that Katherine's paradoxical characterization in *Henry VIII* not only explodes the stereotype of Catholic and foreign "manlike Ladie[s]" and "Heathenish wives," which Willet employed, but more importantly questions Protestant views of the progression of history as linear and triumphant. First, the play presents Katherine as both English and Spanish. In a scene where the two cardinals Wolsey and Campeius prompt her to submit to the will of the king, Wolsey breaks into Latin. Katherine interrupts him:

> O, good my lord, no Latin.
> I am not such a truant since my coming
> As not to know the language I have lived in.
> A strange tongue makes my cause more strange, suspicious.
> Pray speak in English. (*H8* 3.1.41–5)

Here is positive proof that this "strange" woman from Spain not only speaks truth to power, but is also more loyal to England than Wolsey, who manipulates the king to achieve his own political ends. By refusing to be addressed in Latin and equating truth with English, Katherine reinforces the audience's confidence in her loyalty to England and challenges one of the most identifiable taxonomies of difference that rendered any foreign queen doubly suspicious: her "strange tongue." On one level, as Richard Helgerson has shown, English was by the end of the sixteenth century intrinsically connected to national character and pride, and by not speaking it, Katherine would heighten the anxiety about the damage an influential foreign queen could do to England's mother tongue.[38] Earlier in the play, Shakespeare and Fletcher provide a sampling of the anxiety surrounding the "mongrelism of English" in the nobility's discussion of the French invasion at court.[39] Here, rather than being weakened by foreign influence, Englishness absorbs and neutralizes Katherine's polysemy.[40] On another level, as a woman, Katherine resists the positioning of vocal women as transgressors whose language, through its direct signifier "the tongue," should be silenced—a violent image epitomized in the ripping out of Lavinia's tongue and her rape in *Titus Andronicus*: "*her hands cut off, and her tongue cut out, and ravished*."[41]

Yet Katherine, unlike Anne o'Beame who insists on "being Englishèd," remains decidedly Spanish; her loaded place-name, "of Aragon," is itself problematic, especially in the context of what critics call the "Armada paradigm," premised on an all-too-real popish threat to the idyllic garden of Protestant England, which Spain was ever ready to execute.[42] Contrary to Anne o'Beame, who as soon as she arrives in England has forgotten her *patria*, "My native country I no longer remember," Katherine proudly invokes her Spanish patrilineage when Cardinal Wolsey challenges her legitimacy at the divorce trial: "Ferdinand, / My father, King of Spain, was reckoned one / The wisest prince that there had reigned by many" (*H8* 2.4.45–7).[43] When Katherine's divorce from Henry becomes imminent, she turns into a stranger again, Ferdinand II of Aragon's Spanish daughter rather than Henry Tudor's "Englished" wife, despite all her efforts to prove her claim to Englishness. As the Old Lady puts it: "Alas, poor lady, / She's a stranger now again" (*H8* 2.1.16–17).

Not only does Katherine underscore her foreignness when her marriage is dissolved, she also emphatically exposes her isolation and suspicion of the English:

> Would I had never trod this English earth
> Or felt the flatteries that grow upon it.
> Ye have angels' faces, but heaven knows your hearts.
> What will become of me now, wretched lady?
> Shipwrecked upon a kingdom where no pity,
> No friends, no hope, no kindred weep for me,
> Almost no grave allowed me[.] (*H8* 3.1.143–51)

Katherine's despairing self-reflection on her wandering and exile invokes pathos and increases dramatic tension. The mournful excess of her last words points to the precarity of her situation and enshrines her paradoxical position in the English imagination: "Although unqueen'd, yet like / A queen, and daughter to a king, inter me" (*H8* 4.2.171–2), where the conflation of "unqueened," "queen," and "daughter of a king" betrays the futility of untangling the complexity of Katherine's queenship any further.

The contradictoriness of Katherine's characterization extends to her religion, where she expresses both Catholic and Protestant affinities. Discussing sinning and sacramental absolution with Wolsey, she conflates her political cause with her interior, spiritual condition: "Lord Cardinal, / The willingest sin I ever yet committed / May be absolved in English" (*H8* 3.1.47–9). Unlike active counter-Reformists who adopted Latin to appeal to their continental affiliates, Katherine expresses her desire for the quintessential Catholic doctrine of sacramental confession in English to undercut Wolsey's clerical authority over her and to assert her Englishness, and by association, her loyalty to the English state.[44] Here, Katherine evokes the plight of loyal English Catholics who struggled to prove their loyalty to England despite their adherence to the old faith. At this historical moment, loyal Catholics, as critics have shown, envisaged not only religious freedom, but more importantly, an active role in the post-Reformation settlement in church and state of the sort that James' ecumenical dream promised.[45]

Catholic as she undoubtedly is, Katherine does experience a vision on her deathbed of Protestant piety. Her vision, unfolding through a set of elaborate stage directions, speaks to the inner experience of direct revelation, which the reformation heralded:

> six Personages, clad in white robes, wearing on their heads garlands of bays, and golden vizards on their faces, branches of bays or palm in their hands. They first congé [make a formal bow or curtsey] unto her, then dance; and at certain changes, the first two hold a spare garland over her head, at which the other four make reverent curtsies. Then the two that held the garland deliver the same to the other next two, who observe the same order in their changes, and holding the garland over her head. Which done, they deliver the same garland to the last two, who likewise observe the same order. At which (as it were by inspiration) she makes in her sleep signs of rejoicing, and holdeth up her hands to heaven. (*H8* 4.2. *s.d.*82.3–15)

These "spirits of peace" (*H8* 4.2.83), as Katherine calls them, deliver a vision of heavenly felicity vouchsafed directly by God. As E.E. Duncan-Jones has suggested, Katherine's dream vision draws directly from a visionary poem attributed to the proto-Protestant Marguerite of Navarre who was celebrated by French reformists as a supporter of Jean Calvin and Clément Marot.[46] Marguerite's work *Le Miroir de l'âme pécheresse* (1531) was translated by none other than the eleven-year-old Princess Elizabeth as a present to her stepmother Katherine Parr in 1545.[47] Katherine's association with a religious reformer such as Margaret of Navarre crystalizes her characterization as a queen who has

straddled the full representational landscape of foreignness and its extreme opposite, Levitical incest, Catholicism and Protestantism. Moreover, the conjuring of Marguerite's reformist vision also evokes Katherine's relationship to Elizabeth's Protestant mother, Anne Bullen. Rory Loughnane has argued that Anne's physical presence in the play as the new queen "forces the comparison of queens, past and present, that the political ceremony," such as Anne's coronation procession, "aims to efface and replace."[48] By spotlighting Katherine's Protestant affinities, the play allows its audience to compare her to Anne Bullen's characterization as an English queen marked with French culture. At Cardinal Wolsey's banquet, for example, King Henry, disguised as a masquer in a "noble troop of strangers," "speak[s] no English" and courts Anne Bullen in French (*H8* 1.4.54–6). Indeed, Linda Gregerson has examined Anne's francophilia and her identification with French culture, having spent eight formative years as a maid-of-honor in French courts.[49] According to Lancelot de Carles' contemporary account of Anne, "no one would ever have taken her to be English by her manners, but a native Frenchwoman."[50] In this way, both Katherine and Anne figure as embodiments of the permutations of cultural mixing at a historical moment when hot Protestant insistence on purity as a way to preserve the commonweal took center stage.

Henry VIII famously concludes with the vision of a blessed Tudor-Stuart lineage relayed by Archbishop Cranmer, the ultimate martyr of the English Reformation, from which both Katherine of Aragon and Anne Bullen are excluded. The Christening scene's georgic vision of the island's blessed destiny of "peace, plenty, love, truth, terror" (*H8* 5.4.47) is indeed a return to the well-endowed Garden, albeit an insular and self-sufficient one, where "every man shall eat in safety / Under his own vine what he plants" (*H8* 5.4.33–4). Cranmer's prophecy of the providential birth of Queen Elizabeth I and the Stuart succession confers internal stability and international expansion. Elizabeth is "the maiden phoenix" from whose "sacred ashes" James I is born (*H8* 5.4.40, 45, 46); James, in turn, like Solomon, "shall flourish, / And, like a mountain cedar, reach his branches / To all the plains about him" (*H8* 5.4.50–4); where this biblical typography is taken to presage a Jacobean age of stability, expansion, and international prestige. Like Willet's vision of Protestant purity, which praises the Palatinate marriage because it "haue maried religion to religion, and haue matched the Gospell with the Gospel," Cranmer's providential speech has been read as a vision of Protestant triumphalism speaking directly to Princess Elizabeth's Palatinate marriage.[51] Yet if we read this vision alongside Barnabe Barnes' commentary on King James' dynastic plans, it might suggest that England can selectively incorporate the best qualities of foreign influence, thereby reconciling the reality of cultural mixing with a proto-nationalistic language.

In his *Foure Bookes of Offices* (1606), a treatise dedicated to James I, Barnes eagerly anticipates the time when James' children, "like the sweete Cedars in *Salomons* forrests," will be introduced by "transportation or inoculation of their sprigs into other kingdomes" so that the Stuarts "may beare rule and preheminence in all the goodliest gardens of the world." To Barnes, it is necessary to recognize that these supposed pure sprigs are themselves hybrid; he

explains: "by processe of time, diuers old Danish, Saxon, and French graffes haue beene planted, which take their vertue from the roote of that ancient Brittaine stocke, including England, Scotland, and Wales, by times continuance reincorporate, and flourishing out againe in one fruitfull tree." As the transportation and inoculation metaphor suggests, this fruitful tree is not a degeneration of a pure form, but a reaffirmation of England's original hybridity. The fruit of these inoculations, Barnes asserts, would not become adulterated in the process of intermixture, for "neyther can any difference bee found in a well seasoned palate, betwixt that taste which the fruits of these graffes yeeld."[52] This theorization of the art of grafting as a positive metaphor for hybridity resonates with Polixenes' description of grafting in *The Winter's Tale* as "an art / Which does mend Nature—change it rather," whereby "we marry / A gentler scion to the wildest stock, / And make conceive a bark of baser kind / By bud of nobler race" (*WT* 4.4.92–6).[53] Whereas to Barnes cross-breeding yields the same tasting fruit because Englishness absorbs foreignness, to Polixenes, the mixture of the "gentle scion" with the "wild stock" results in a positive transformation. This figurative delineation of cultural mixing as generative presents a counter-narrative to hot Protestants' god-sanctioned divisions which provided the critical justification and language that rendered mixing unnatural and opposition to a Catholic match a way to protect the construct of a pure and triumphant Protestant identity.[54]

From another perspective, inasmuch as Cranmer's vision of a linear progression of history might point to a uniform religious identity in the Jacobean present, it also evokes the mixed marriages that enabled James I's seamless succession to the English throne, particularly the marriage of Henry VIII's sister Margaret Tudor to James IV of Scotland, and Katherine of Aragon's central relation to this alliance. Spain had tied the marriage of Katherine to Prince Arthur Tudor to stability in Anglo-Scottish relations, which was of course secured by a royal marriage. Therefore, the attempt to efface Katherine of Aragon is an attempt to efface England's hybrid past. Jo Eldridge Carney has argued that this seamless Tudor-Stuart succession eliminates the role of James' mother Mary Stuart.[55] I want to push Carney's suggestion further, arguing that similarly to Mary Stuart, Katherine's paradoxical state of a "queen unqueened" in England points back to the moment when she became queen of England and the politics behind it, namely the marriage of Margaret of Tudor to James IV of Scotland. James' phoenix-like succession to the English crown would not have been possible had Spain not pressured Henry VII to settle matters with Scotland via a dynastic marriage. John Ford revisits this episode from English history in his play, *Perkin Warbeck* (1633), in the context of Charles I's marriage to the French and Catholic Henrietta Maria and the question of royal succession.[56] In Act 3, scene 3, King Henry VII's chaplain reports that the Spanish would not proceed in the marriage alliance between Prince Arthur and Catherine unless the Scottish-backed rebellion of the pretender to the throne, Perkin Warbeck, was quashed. Henry's chaplain reports that the Spanish representative:

> 'A hummed it out, how that King Ferdinand
> Swore that the marriage 'twixt the Lady Catherine
> His daughter, and the Prince of Wales your son,
> Should never be consummated as long
> As any Earl of Warwick lived in England,
> Except by new creation.[57]

In other words, one of the motivations behind Henry VII's peace with Scotland by way of a dynastic marriage, which ultimately put James I on the English throne, was England's desire to finalize the Spanish match between Katherine of Aragon and Arthur Tudor.

At the play's end, everyone rejoices in Cranmer's vision of Protestant triumph. Princess Elizabeth is figured as the Phoenix from whose ashes James would spring and prosper. Yet this vision of seamless succession is less a triumph of English and Protestant identity over foreign and Catholic threat than an inescapable combination of the two. Katherine's presence in the play is always positive; she champions the causes of the commons, speaks truth to power, and challenges Wolsey's machinations, but she never loses her Catholic religion or her identity as a Spanish princess. Pushed to the periphery of the play and cut from its present, Katherine comes to symbolize the absent presence of England's mixed past. In the same vein, her dramatization in *Henry VIII* as a queen who inhabits the paradoxical landscape of "a queen unqueened" underscores the complexity of her significance at this important historical juncture. Katherine's contradictory state as a living anachronism blurs the distinctions between public and private virtue, English and foreign, pure and contaminated, Catholic and Protestant, serving as a metaphor for the ubiquity of cultural mixing despite the typological narrative of Protestant purity. In doing so, the play throws into relief the ideological work of Protestant typology, which either appropriates foreign queens like Anne o'Beame and turns them into Reformist icons or effaces them for a present-day Protestant purity to take shape.

The implications of the paradoxical realities of cultural mixing are startling if we take into account the tensions inherent in James' ongoing marriage plans for his royal children. *Henry VIII* shows how religion was one of the multiple processes of differentiation through which national identity was conveyed and contested. The play dramatizes this fraught intersection of English and "other," particularly when this "other" is a queen who could exercise substantial political power; it not only expands and loosens the certainties of polemic, thereby giving the audience a magnifying glass through which to see how boundaries are theoretically constructed, but also suggests that a prosperous commonweal can be achieved through the virtuous leadership of a wise king even in the absence of absolute religious uniformity which foreign queenship, at this immediate historical moment, appeared to engender.

Notes

1. According to Susan Frye, the story of the blighted Katherine "prompts us to recover both Anne of Denmark's political functions, together with a sense of her contemporaries' acknowledgement of them" in "Anne of Denmark and the Historical Contextualization of *Henry VIII*," in *Women and Politics in Early Modern England, 1450–1700*, ed. James Daybell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), 182. Frye also sees in Cardinal Wolsey's plot to bring down Katherine an analogue for Anne of Denmark's marital battles with King James and her competition with the king's favorite, Robert Carr in "Queens and the Structure of History in *Henry VIII*" in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works*, vol. 4*: The Poems, Problem Comedies, Late Plays*, eds. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 433–35. Jeanne Addison Roberts reads "the sympathetic portrait of the forcibly divorced Queen Katherine" as exhuming "the questions of the legitimacy of that divorce, or indeed of any divorce" in "Marriage and Divorce in 1613: Elizabeth Cary, Frances Howard, and Others" in *Textual Formations and Reformations*, eds. Laurie E Maguire and Thomas L. Berger (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1998), 170. Also see William M. Baillie's examination of the production of *Henry VIII* in the context of the Howard-Essex divorce in "*Henry VIII:* A Jacobean History," *Shakespeare Studies* 12 (1979): 247–66.
2. Lee Bliss, "The Wheel of Fortune and the Maiden Phoenix of Shakespeare's King Henry the Eight," *ELH: A Journal of English Literary History* 42.1 (1975): 1–25, esp. 2, 3.
3. Gordon McMullan, "Introduction," William Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *Henry VIII (All Is True)*, ed. Gordon McMullan, Arden 3rd Series (London: Thomson Learning, 2000), 105.
4. Frances E. Dolan, *True Relations: Reading, Literature, and Evidence in Seventeenth-Century England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 222.
5. For history as a polemical protestant tool in "elect nation" plays, see Julia Gasper, "The Reformation Plays on the Public Stage," in *Theatre and Government under the Early Stuarts*, eds. J.R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 190. For a localized reading of these ideologically charged plays in lower-class, religiously fraught neighborhoods and parishes, see Mark Bayer, "Religious Communities at London's Northern Playhouses," in *Theatre, Community, and Civic Engagement in Jacobean London* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2011), esp. 116–147. For Catholic reclamation of this Protestantized history, see Christopher Highley's discussion of the Venerable Bede's *History* as a text that provided Catholics with the canonical narrative of British history in *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), esp. 84–91.
6. Anthony Milton has suggested that the Palatinate marriage was in part a direct response to the double dynastic marriage treaty between France and Spain, made public in January 1612. See his *Catholic and Reformed: The Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought, 1600–1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 403. For an analysis of James' irenic foreign policy, including dynastic marriage negotiations with Spain, see W.B. Patterson, *King James VI and I and the Reunion of Christendom* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), esp. 311–336.

7. For a discussion of an Anglo-Spanish alliance around the 1604 peace treaty, see Paul Allen, *Philip III and the* Pax Hispanica*, 1598–1621: The Failure of Grand Strategy* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), esp. 99–114 and Robert Cross' "To Counterbalance the World: England, Spain, and Peace in the Early 17th Century" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2012), esp. 57–8, 64, 243, 513.
8. Christopher Marlowe, *Edward II,* in *The Complete Plays,* ed. Mark Thornton Burnett (London: Everyman, 1999), 5.1.17.
9. On the demonization of foreign queens in the Chronicles and plays, see Katherine Eggert's *Showing Like a Queen: Female Authority and Literary Experiment in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 97.
10. Shakespeare and Fletcher, *King Henry VIII*, 1.2.56–59.
11. For an account of the depoliticization of Katherine of Aragon in historical and literary chronicles, see Betty S. Travitsky, "Reprinting Tudor History: The Case of Catherine of Aragon," *Renaissance Quarterly* 50, no.1 (1997): 164–174; and Matthew C. Hansen, "'And a Queen of England, Too': The 'Englishing' of Catherine of Aragon in Sixteenth-Century English Literary and Chronicle History," in *"High and Mighty Queens" of Early Modern England: Realities and Representations*, eds. Carole Levin, Jo Eldridge Carney, and Debra Barrett-Graves (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 79–100.
12. John Taylor, *The Needles Excellency* (London: 1631), B1v.
13. See, for example, Kim Noling, "Woman's Wit and Woman's Will in *When You See Me, You Know Me*," *SEL* 33.2 (1993): 327–42; Amy Appleford, "Shakespeare's Katherine of Aragon: Last Medieval Queen, First Recusant Martyr," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 40.1 (2010): 149–72; Mark Rankin, "*Henry VIII*, Shakespeare and the Jacobean Royal Court," *SEL* 51.2 (2011): 349–366; Gaywyn Moore, "'You Turn Me into Nothing': Reformation of Queenship on the Jacobean Stage," *Mediterranean Studies* 21.1 (2013): 27–56; and most recently, Brian Walsh, *Unsettled Toleration: Religious Difference on the Shakespearean Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), esp. chap. 4, "Rowley and the Lutherans."
14. The play survives only in a Jacobean manuscript that postdates the 1606 Act of Abuses. On Sir George Buc's, Master of the Revels from 1610 to 1622, excisions and relicensing of *Woodstock*, see Richard Dutton, *Mastering the Revels: The Regulation and Censorship of English Renaissance Drama* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1991), 148. Traditionally, critics have argued that the play was written and staged before 1595 based on its literary ties to Shakespeare's *Henry VI, Part 2* and *Richard II* (see Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge, "Introduction." *Thomas of Woodstock, or, Richard the Second, Part One* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 4–8. However, MacDonald P. Jackson has convincingly argued that the play is Jacobean and Samuel Rowley as its possible author on the basis of linguistic analysis and patterns of oaths and exclamations. I follow here Jackson's dating of the play and assumption of Rowley's authorship. See MacDonald P. Jackson, "Shakespeare's Richard II and the Anonymous *Thomas of Woodstock*." *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 14 (2001): 17–65 and "The Date and Authorship of Thomas of Woodstock: Evidence and Its Interpretation." *Research Opportunities in Medieval & Renaissance Drama* 46 (2007): 67–100. More recently, Martin Wiggins and Catherine Richardson provide 1610–1616 as timeframe for the

play, but considering 1611 as "best guess" in *British Drama 1533–1642: A Catalogue* Vol. 6, *1609–1616* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 171.

15. On medieval queens as intercessors, see John Carmi Parsons, "The Queen's Intercession in Thirteenth-Century England," in *Power of the Weak: Studies on Medieval Women*, ed. Jennifer Carpenter and Sally-Beth MacLean (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1995), 147–77; and most recently, Theresa Earenfight's *Queenship in Medieval Europe* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012).
16. See Paulina Cermanova for an analysis of Anne of Bohemia as a Reformist figure, "Constructing the Apocalypse: Connections between English and Bohemian Apocalyptic Thinking," in *Europe After Wyclif*, eds. J. Patrick Hornbeck, II and Michael Van Dussen (New York: Fordham University Press, 2016), 66–88.
17. Other texts celebrating the wedding with anti-Catholic zeal is John King's sermon *Vitis Palatina*, which he preached a few days after the wedding and published in 1614. See Nadine Akkerman's edition of *The Correspondence of Elizabeth Stuart, Queen of Bohemia*, vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 137.
18. Andrew Willet, *A Treatise of Salomons Marriage* (London, 1613), A1r.
19. Willet, *Salomans Marriage*, Av.
20. For a discussion of Anne of Bohemia's figuration in the 1583 and 1589 editions of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, see Michael Van Dussen, "The Occasion of Queene Anne," *From England to Bohemia: Heresy and Communication in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), esp. 12–14. Also see Paulina Cermanova for an analysis of Anne of Bohemia as a Reformist figure in "Constructing the Apocalypse," 66–88.
21. Willet, *Salomons Marriage,* A1r-v.
22. *Thomas of Woodstock, or, Richard the Second, Part One*, eds. Peter Corbin and Douglas Sedge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), 1.3.36–49.
23. To Lea Luecking Frost, this role is imagined as a redistribution of commodities, particularly clothes in "The Historiography of Texts and Textiles in *Thomas of Woodstock*," *English Literary Renaissance* 45.1 (2015): 142.
24. For a thorough examination of the garden imagery in the early English cultural imagination, see Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1979); and more recently, Amy L. Tigner, *Literature and the Renaissance Garden from Elizabeth I to Charles II: England's Paradise* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012).
25. On the language of Catholic deception, see Kenneth Gross, *Spenserian Poetics: Idolatry, Iconoclasm, and Magic* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985); and Holly Crawford Pickett's "The Idolatrous Nose: Incense on the Early Modern Stage" in *Religion and Drama in Early Modern England: The Performance of Religion*, ed. Jane Hwang Degenhardt and Elizabeth Williamson (Burlington: Ashgate, 2011), esp. 30–35.
26. See Christopher Highley, *Shakespeare*, *Spenser*, *and the Crisis in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Claire McEachern, *The Poetics of English Nationhood, 1590–1612* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); David J. Baker, *Between Nations: Shakespeare, Spenser, Marvell, and the Question of Britain* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997); Colin Kidd, *British Identities Before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), esp. chaps 3 & 4; and *British Consciousness and Identity: The Making of Britain, 1533–1707*, ed. Brendan Bradshaw and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

27. On metaphors of disease as foreign invasions, see Jonathan Gil Harris, *Foreign Bodies and the Body Politic: Discourses of Social Pathology in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. 22–30; and *Sick Economies: Drama, Mercantilism, and Disease in Shakespeare's England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), esp. 1–24.
28. Syphilis' international names included: the "French Disease," or "Spanish Sickness," "Neapolitan bone-ache," and "Morbus Gallicus." See Jonathan G. Harris, *Sick Economies*, 44.
29. On Shakespeare's bloated bodies and contaminated language, see Patricia Parker's influential study: *Shakespeare from the Margins: Language, Culture, Context* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996). On King James' negotiations with the House of Savoy, Spain, and France for a Catholic match for the Prince of Wales, see Toby Osborne, *Dynasty and Diplomacy in the Court of Savoy: Political Culture and the Thirty Years' War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 47; and Andrew Thrush, "The Personal Rule of James I, 1611–1620" in *Politics, Religion and Popularity in Early Stuart Britain: Essays in Honour of Conrad Russell*, eds. Thomas Cogswell, Richard Cust and Peter Lake (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 86–89.
30. See Dolan, *Whores of Babylon: Catholicism, Gender, and Seventeenth-Century Print Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).
31. Gillian Woods, *Shakespeare's Unreformed Fictions,* 32.
32. Willet, *Salomons Marriage*, F2v–F3r.
33. In a talk on compost and soil amendment, Frances Dolan has discussed how the London stage resisted the inevitability of mixture despite the prevalence of grafting as a metaphor for the improvement of nature in "Compost/Compositions" (presentation, Center of Medieval and Renaissance Lecture Series, Columbus, OH, September 11, 2015).
34. The Romans yield thus: "Most worthy man, we'l woo thee, be thy prisoners"; Caratach yields thus: "I yeeld then, / Not to your blowes, but your brave courtesies" (5.3.177, 187–8). *The Tragedie of Bonduca*, ed. Cyrus Hoy, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, Vol. 4 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 149–259.
35. John Webster, *The Duchess of Malfi*, ed. Leah S. Marcus (London: Methuen Drama, 2009), 2.5.21–26.
36. For a reading that links marriage in the play with contemporary thinking about the rule of both king and parliament, see Zachary Lesser, "Mixed Government and Mixed Marriage in *A King and No King*: Sir Henry Neville Reads Beaumont and Fletcher," *English Literary History* 69.4 (2002), 947–977.
37. For readings emphasizing *The Tempest*'s concern with European dynastic alliances, see David Scott Kastan, *Shakespeare After Theory* (London: Routledge, 1999), esp. 183–97; and Stephen Orgel's Introduction to *The Tempest* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), esp. 30–31.
38. Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
39. On the "mongrelism of English," see John Kerrigan's *Archipelagic English: Literature, History, and Politics, 1603–1707* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 68.
40. See Marianne Montgomery's discussion of successful linguistic flexibility in the city comedies of Marston, Middleton, and Dekker in "Language, Trade, and

Community: Three Dutch Plays" in *Europe's Languages on England's Stages, 1590–1620* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012). In these plays, Montgomery argues, Dutch provides a framework for understanding how success in the marketplace is contingent on speaking and controlling several languages.

41. William Shakespeare, *Titus Andronicus*, ed. Jonathan Bate (London: Routledge, 1995), 2.4 *s.d.* Many critics have addressed Lavinia's violent silencing in *Titus Andronicus.* See, for example, Marion Wynne-Davis, "'The swallowing womb': Consumed and Consuming Women in *Titus Andronicus*," in *The Matter of Difference: Materialist Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare*, ed. Valerie Wayne (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1991), 129–51. Carolyn Asp, "'Upon her with doth earthly honor wait': Female Agency in *Titus Andronicus,*" in *Titus Andronicus: Critical Essays*, ed. Philip C. Kolin (New York: Garland, 1995), 333–46.
42. See Barbara Fuchs, *The Poetics of Piracy: Emulating Spain in English Literature* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), esp. 9–11, and "Golden Ages and Golden Hinds; or, Periodizing Spain and England," *PMLA* 127.2 (2012): 321–27. See also Eric J. Griffin, *English Renaissance Drama and the Specter of Spain: Ethnopoetics and Empire* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).
43. *Woodstock*, 1.3.51.
44. On Latin as a lingua franca for Catholic activists, see Christopher Highley, "'A Pestilent and Seditious Books': Nicholas Sander's *Schismatis Anglicani* and Catholic Histories of the Reformation," in *The Uses of History in Early Modern England*, ed. Paulina Kewes (San Marino: Huntington Library, 2006), 147–67, esp. 151. See also his *Catholics Writing the Nation in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008). Most recently, Gillian Woods has underlined the diverse ways in which Catholic narratives articulated an English identity or carried Catholic traces while promoting loyalty to England in *Shakespeare's Unreformed Fictions* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
45. On Catholic loyalty, see Michael Questier, "Catholic Loyalism in Early Stuart England," *English Historical Review* 123.504 (2008): 1132–1165; Ethan Shagan provides a helpful survey of the examinations of the peculiar status of English Catholics in "Introduction: English Catholic History in Context," in *Catholics and the 'Protestant Nation': Religious Politics and Identity in Early Modern England. Catholics and the Protestant Nation* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), 1–21.
46. E.E. Duncan-Jones argues that Margaret's reformist piety was well known in England during the sixteenth century in "Queen Katherine's Vision and Queen Margaret's Dream," *Notes & Queries* 8.4 (1961): 142–43.
47. I am grateful to Gaywyn Moore for pointing out Queen Elizabeth I's connection to Marguerite de Navarre. On Marguerite de Navarre and Elizabeth I, see Anne Lake Prescott, "The Pearl of the Valois and Elizabeth I: Marguerite de Navarre's *Miroir* and Tudor England," in *Silent but for the Word: Tudor Women As Patrons, Translators, and Writers of Religious Works*, ed. Margaret P. Hannay (Kent, OH: Kent State University Press, 1985), 61–76; Maryanne C. Horowitz, *Seeds of Virtue and Knowledge* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), esp. 142–44; and the introduction to "Marguerite de Navarre's *le Miroir de L'âme Pécheresse*," in *Elizabeth I: Translations, 1544–1589*, ed. Janel Mueller and Joshua Scodel (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 25–39.

48. Rory Loughnane, "*King Henry VIII (All is True)*: Semi-choric Devices and the Framework for Playgoer Response in *King Henry VIII*," in *Late Shakespeare, 1608–1613,* eds. Andrew J. Power and Rory Loughnane (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 119.
49. Linda Gregerson, "French Marriages and the Protestant Nation in Shakespeare's History Plays," in *A Companion to Shakespeare's Works*, vol. 2, *The Histories*, ed. Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), 255.
50. Qtd. in Gregerson, 255.
51. Willet, *Salomons Marriage*, Ar. For an account of the way Protestants co-opted the image of Princess Elizabeth, see Georgiana Zeigler, "Devising a Queen: Elizabeth Stuart's Representation in the Emblematic Tradition," *Emblematica: An Interdisciplinary Study of Emblem Studies* 14 (2005): 155–79. See also Frances Yates, *Majesty and Magic in Shakespeare's Last Plays: A New Approach to* Cymbeline, Henry VIII *and the* Tempest (Boulder, CO: Shambala, 1975), 59.
52. Barnabe Barnes, *Foure Bookes of Offices* (London: 1606), 78.
53. William Shakespeare, *The Winter's Tale*, ed. John Pitcher, Arden 3rd Series (London: Methuen, 2010).
54. For an examination of the religious language of purity, contagion, and purgation in the period, see Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), esp. 7–11.
55. Jo Eldridge Carney, "Queenship in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*: The Issue of Issue," in *Political Rhetoric, Power, and Renaissance Women*, ed. Carole Levin and Patricia A. Sullivan (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995), 198.
56. On *Perkin Warbeck* as a play about Stuart succession, see Lisa Hopkins, "*Perkin Warbeck:* A Stuart Succession Play?" in *John Ford's Political Theatre* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), 39–71.
57. John Ford, *Perkin Warbeck*, in *'Tis a Pity She's a Whore and Other Plays*, ed. Marion Lomax (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 3.3.52–8.

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CHAPTER 19

"The Ambition in My Love": The Theater of Courtly Conduct in *All's Well that Ends Well*

Susan Broomhall

On July 11, 1643, Henrietta Maria, queen consort to Charles I, stayed at New Place, the last home of William Shakespeare in Stratford-upon-Avon, then the residence of his eldest daughter, Susanna Hall. The queen remained for two days as she made her way from Newark to Oxford. At her departure, Hall apparently presented Colonel Richard Grace, who numbered among her illustrious guest's retinue, with a small and rather unusual gift, a 1575 work in English translation, *A mervaylous discourse vpon the lyfe, deedes, and behaviours of Katherine de Medicis, Queene mother*, in a copy where the title page is marked in ink with the words "Liber R: Gracei ex dono amicae D. Susanne Hall."[1] Anyone literate in English would quickly see from the work's subtitle that this was a French propaganda text, *vvherin are displayed the meanes vvhich she hath practised to atteyne vnto the vsurping of the kingedome of France, and to the bringing of the estate of the same vnto vtter ruine and destruction*. This unlikely gift to present to one who traveled with Henrietta Maria, another foreign-born queen, raises questions about how Hall came by the text, and the strong and intriguing prospect that it may once have formed part of her father's library. No inventory or listing has ever been located, however, to indicate the works that Shakespeare might have collected.

Critics have typically attributed the *Mervaylous Discourse* to Huguenot authorship, proposing Henri Estienne and Théodore de Bèze among the more

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famous candidates, and its publication date a few short years after the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of August 1572 places it firmly within the tensions of the French Wars of the Religion.[2] These events were well known to the English, not least because of the increase in Huguenot refugees who sought asylum during the 1570s.[3] Christopher Marlowe's *Massacre of Paris* (*c.* 1593) had also brought these events to the stage, and Shakespeare's own contribution to the co-authored play *Sir Thomas More* included a notably sympathetic speech by the eponymous protagonist in favor of compassion for the refugees.[4]

However, a closer study of the *Mervaylous Discourse* does not bear evidence of a markedly Huguenot voice, but rather broad criticism of Catherine de' Medici, the half-French scion of the Medici dynasty who married Henri II and who would ultimately see three of her sons rule France as François II, Charles IX, and Henri III. Catherine de' Medici was a long serving and formidable force at the heart of French political life for the latter half of the sixteenth century. The *Mervaylous Discourse* offers no words of praise for her contribution, but rather fear and loathing for a woman it perceived as a dangerous usurper of (male) royal power whose actions were interpreted accordingly. What is primarily at issue for the pamphlet's author(s) is the illegitimate participation of women, perhaps the wrong kind of women, in high political life at the French court. Indeed, these concerns are foregrounded in the work's subtitle. The possible presence of such a text in Shakespeare's personal library therefore poses intriguing questions as to how contemporary views about Catholics, women, moral behaviors, and speech at the French court might have found resonance in his works.

This chapter explores the gendered nature and language of courtly conduct in Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well*. While there are no queens in this play, there is potential to read the work as a critical commentary on French court life, particularly mid-century Valois courtly politics, and its leading political protagonists such as Queen Catherine, royal mistress Diane de Poitiers, Duchess of Valentinois, and King Henri II, whose reign served to establish their differing forms of power. A courtly culture of distrust and intrigue, and the manipulative presence and culpability of the leading men of the Guise dynasty alongside a scheming Catherine, infused Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*. Shakespeare's work also echoes elements in the *Mervaylous Discourse* and other contemporary commentaries on the French court about the ambiguity of gendered courtly conduct in words, objects, and deeds.[5] In *All's Well*, verbal play, material culture, and actions are shown to be key to the articulation and practice of emotions that underpin the successful operation of the court. What these emotions do and mean within the play for men and women interacting in the courtly realm, focusing especially upon expressions surrounding marriage, sexual behaviors, and reproductive labor, typically represent far more complex political motivations than romantic sentiments. This interpretation can perhaps explain some complexities and apparent contradictions of Helena's character that have long perplexed scholars, as well as the rather unsatisfactory and hasty coming together of Bertram and Helena in the final moments of the play. Seen in the light of the

moral criticism of the French court presented in works such as the *Mervaylous Discourse* and its contemporaries, Shakespeare offers in *All's Well* a coupling that may be less a meeting of hearts than a joining of well-matched individuals able to successfully perform a range of courtly behaviors, including learning to dissimulate through words, attire, and deeds to achieve their goals.

The French connections of this play are undeniable. Much of its action is set in an imaginary French court, to which Bertram and Helena arrive from a distant minor court, here Rossillion, perhaps echoing Roussillon, a contested Franco-Spanish territory during much of the early sixteenth century, which was attacked by the young prince Henri in 1542 before he became king. Moreover, the elite young men of the French court use the incessant wars on the Italian peninsula of the sixteenth century as a testing ground for military masculinity—these wars had embroiled the French nobility in years of conflict before Henri II sued for peace in 1559. The play is widely understood as an adaptation of one or several of the tales from Boccaccio's *Decameron*, most probably via Antoine le Maçon's French translation of 1545 or William Painter's *Palace of Pleasure* (1566).[6] Richard Hillman argues that in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, when Shakespeare is thought to have written *All's Well*, "London theatre audiences were immersed with particular intensity in the discourses of French affairs."[7] Lisa Hopkins has previously suggested that Shakespeare may even be more directly referencing the complicated amorous relations of Henri II with his queen and his mistress.[8] According to Hopkins, if we understand Bertram to represent Henri II, the central male figure around whom female protagonists operate, then Helena, the daughter of a physician, voices Catherine de' Medici and Diana, Henri's mistress, Diane de Poitiers.[9] That we accept such a literal reading of the *dramatis personae* as historical individuals is not essential, however, to see other ways in which the action of the play mirrors conventions and hierarchies at the French court of the time. Most notably, aristocratic men were subordinated to women, sometimes of lesser status, to receive courtly training and initiation, as was Henri II as a young prince to Diane de Poitiers, and Bertram in effect to Diana and Helena. Moreover, as a mistress and a queen of nonroyal blood, Diane and Catherine were heavily involved in crown policy throughout the reign of their shared partner, Henri II, and Catherine remained so during the rule of her sons. In *All's Well*, although the king and his entourage of warrior noblemen are the nominal authority figures of the court, Shakespeare has effective power reside with a group of lower status or vulnerable women, from Helena, the Countess, to the widow Capilet in Florence and her daughter Diana, often working collaboratively to achieve a variety of goals for themselves and their children.

Considering meanings of love, sex, and marriage through the lens of courtly conduct need not imply a cynical realism, although a particular form of realism is recognized as a strong element within the play.[10] Diplomatic and courtly success depended on emotional behaviors performed within a set of received conventions and with respect to specific hierarchies at court. Controlled emotional expression was a fundamental component of political discourse, in which

performed emotions structured relationships between protagonists, their agents, and subjects. These articulations were not abstract ideas but symbolically critical to political socialities and interactions.[11] Estienne du Tronchet, poet, author, and secretary and councilor to Catherine de' Medici, argued in his *Discours académiques florentins, appropriez à la langue Françoise* (1576) that dissimulation was essential political training, for "he who exposes his secret, prostitutes his freedom into the hands of another."[12] In practice, Catherine and foreign ambassadors frequently participated in fictive emotional expressions that facilitated dialogue between them, as is clear in their respective letters.[13] Thus, controlled performances, familiarity, and manipulation of certain affective behaviors, gestures, and speech, formed aspects of the subtle education of young courtiers, just as it does for Bertram and Helena in *All's Well*.

Emotional Management and Courtly Honor

Virtue and honor have long been identified as key topics explored in *All's Well*. Particularly difficult to reconcile in relation to Helena, the supposed heroine of the play, is the ambiguous manner in which she applies truth in order to lose one virtue (in the terms of her day, virginity) in order to gain another, in an ambitious marriage with Bertram that provides her with courtly honor. John Masefield's 1911 assessment of Helena as "a woman who practices a borrowed art, not for art's sake, not for charity, but, woman-fashion, for a selfish end" might contain, as Sheldon P. Zitner has suggested, "a casual misogyny now mostly out of fashion" but nonetheless foreshadows some of the problems in understanding this character as a heroine.[14] The problematic nature of truth and its performances as shaped by gender and even ethnicity is equally raised within the *Mervaylous Discourse*, which opens its criticism of Queen Catherine focused on the "destestable crafte of disceipt": "First Katherine de Medicis is a *Florentine*, wherin is to be considered, that as among all nations, in craft and subtiltie Italy beareth the name, so in *Italy Tuscane*, and in *Tuscane Florence* exelleth."[15] Worse, she is of the Medici dynasty and "[d]epe dissimulation is naturally rooted in them."[16]

So too is the truth of words raised in *All's Well* through the comparative speech of male characters such as Parolles, Lafeu, and Lavatch, none of whom appear in Shakespeare's sources. One has to ask, therefore, with what aims did he introduce these characters and what elements could they add to the action and understanding of the play? Courtly readers evidently understood Parolles' character as essential to the play. Famously, "Monsieur Parolles" is written next to the title of the play in the Second Folio copy owned by King Charles I, a man who surely knew something of courtly language.[17] Although Parolles is often dismissed by modern scholars as a braggart and rogue who receives his comeuppance, the words of a character whose name means "words" must be carefully considered.[18] Parolles helps to demonstrate to the audience just how poor Bertram's courtly understanding is, as he forms a friendship with this character. Yet examination of Parolles' speech reveals that this character

understands very well both the nature of the court and the need to adopt a courtly discourse of emotional restraint or, more often, dissimulation.

Parolles offers explicit advice on such points in his interactions with both of the principal protagonists, Bertram and Helena. For example, he suggests to Bertram how he may yet join the other young men heading to fight in the Italian Wars.

> Use a more spacious ceremony to the noble lords; you have restrained yourself within the list of too cold an adieu: be more expressive to them: for they wear themselves in the cap of the time, there do muster true gait, eat, speak, and move, under the influence of the most receiv'd star; and though the devil lead the measure, such are to be followed. After them, and take a more dilated farewell. (*AW* 2.1.49–56)

Parolles' advice suggests the adoption of a kind of emotional management that emphasizes some expressions of feeling at the expense of others perhaps felt. This is not aimless commentary but rather a purposeful recommendation to specific action. Parolles is teaching Bertram the art of courtly conduct, where specific emotional performances, and not articulation of what one might actually feel, are vital to achieve one's goals—in this case, Bertram's desire to earn valor in the Italian Wars. The audience has already seen from the first scene that the Countess, Helena, and Parolles all perceive Bertram, the young ward of the king who is set to join the court following his father's death, to be in need of such education. Helena's comment that "The court's a learning-place" suggests her fears for him or, more particularly, what it might be that he will learn (*AW* 1.2.173). Parolles twice calls Bertram "Sweetheart," a term commonly used in Shakespeare, usually to and by women: "What's the matter, sweetheart? […] What, what, sweet-heart?'" (*AW* 2.3.264, 267). Both occurrences fall after Parolles' conversation with Lafeu, at which the two men have drawn barbs from the other, and seem to suggest Parolles considers Bertram too young and naïve, and lacking the realism needed for courtly success in a world inhabited by men such as Lafeu.

Parolles' advice to Bertram about courtly demeanor can be contrasted with his recommendations to Helena. He offers her his advice as a "perfect courtier," by which he suggests that his "instruction shall serve to naturalize thee, so thou wilt be capable of a courtier's counsel, and understand what advice shall thrust upon thee" (*AW* 1.1.204–6). But Parolles' words are not those of the "perfect courtier" that he promises—they are too frank for that—instead, they are those that will *make* a perfect courtier. He tells her that the piety and morality of the court are hollow ("When thou hast leisure, say thy prayers"), that social networks will be all important to her success ("remember thy friends"), and that marriage to an eligible man should be Helena's prime goal: "get thee a good husband" (*AW* 1.1.208–10). But a marriage of mutual affection this aristocratic pairing is not: "use him as he uses thee" (*AW* 1.1.210–11). Herein is the sum total of the play and of the actions Helena will adopt. But these are not the only lessons that she will learn. Certainly, the arc of her courtly training

is not so steep as that required of Bertram. The audience observes from the outset, after all, that she already has the measure of Parolles—as in her first words about him: "I know him a notorious liar"—and yet she also recognizes in his words a capacity for truth that may be valuable to her: "withal, full oft we see cold wisdom waiting on superfluous folly" (*AW* 1.1.98, 103). But Helena must also learn vital courtly lessons; namely, how to conceal her feelings.

Parolles' exposé of courtly realities had no appropriate, explicit place in contemporary honor codes and conventions of love and romance. Distinct vocabularies of feeling shaped a French courtly culture steeped in literary conventions of chivalric prose romance. These fictions served to disguise, however thinly, the reality of the intimate relationship between Henri II and his longstanding mistress Diane at the French court. The popularity of translated chivalric literature from Spain and Italy such as *Amadis de Gaule*, promoted concepts of chaste love and devotion to a single lady for whom a servant knight or prince could overcome all manner of obstacles, interspersed with masculine camaraderie.[19] The *Amadís* series, as French translator Jacques Gohory opined in his introduction to Book 10, served as an ideal introduction to youth at court as "an example and model of chivalry, courtesy and discretion, which lifts their hearts to virtue, teaching them the acts which they must follow or avoid."[20] Courtly discretion and dissimulation in the name of such "virtue" enabled Henri's dalliances with courtly women, even when they led to illegitimate children, to be managed within the courtly culture. Years later, Catherine de' Medici emphasized the importance of courtly protocols and appropriate emotional demeanors in providing discretion for her husband's actions. She wrote of her personal labor to present an appropriate affective display at court, rather than her lived feelings, about the affairs of her husband. "If I made good cheer for Madame de Valentinois, it was the King that I was really entertaining […] for never did a woman who loved her husband succeed in loving his whore."[21] Catherine's letters revealed something of the realities of female dissimulation for male pleasure at court, but these same qualities of artful affective display could be interpreted as dangerous. The *Mervaylous Discourse* defined Catherine as a Florentine—a people who "mortally hate all such as eyther in vertue, nobilitie, or any other good qualitie, doe exceed them […] notwithstanding that in outward apparence they will seme affable vnto all men."[22] The court then, in contemporary experience, public discussion, and *All's Well*, was a place where nothing much was as it seemed, or at least as it was expressed. Helena must learn the same lessons that Catherine did as queen: appropriate expressive practice of emotions in the courtly world must be learned, not necessarily felt.

Status and Survival

The *Mervaylous Discourse*'s exploration of Catherine's "nature, countrey and originall" promised to reveal how "in the soyle nature lyeth hidden."[23] It offered its readers insights into the "real" Catherine, a woman debased as much by her less than royal origins as by her character and ethnicity. The author

invited readers to compare Catherine's actions to "the maners & condicions of her ancestors," and depicted how from her first arrival at the French court as Henri's bride, "during her tender age, wherein notwithstanding her youth, shee did shew forth most manifest and euident tokens of her ambicious mind."[24]

Helena too is a woman of lower status who aims to secure a glittering marriage. She announces herself that she is the "hind that would be mated by the lion" (*AW* 1.1.89). However, her ambitious mind will, like Catherine, protect her from the treatment delivered to the character who provides *All's Well*'s most explicit exploration of status politics, Parolles. Lafeu, for instance, declares his ability to know and see through Parolles: "So, my good window of lattice, fare thee well: thy casement I need not open, for I look through thee" (*AW* 2.3.212–14). But what does Lafeu's knowing Parolles amount to? Lafeu sees Parolles as a liar, certainly. Yet it seems that, in Lafeu's estimation, Parolles' main offence is not his truth-telling or otherwise, but that he dresses above his station:

> Why dost thou garter up thy arms a' this fashion? Dost make hose of thy sleeves? Do other servants so? […] you are more saucy with lords and honourable personages than the commission of your birth and virtue gives you heraldry. (*AW* 2.3.245–7, 256–8)

In short, Lafeu accuses Parolles of not having merited exalted status by virtue of blood or acts of honor. For Lafeu, Parolles' shameless social climbing sought through courtly gesture and language, and overblown claims to military honor, constitute the man's prime offence.

However, having drawn these conclusions, Lafeu doubts himself. Bertram tells him otherwise about his friend, and so Parolles' social network acts to provide an initial vouchsafe for his courtly status.

> *Laf.* But I hope your lordship thinks not him a soldier.
> *Ber.* Yes, my lord, and of very valiant approof.
> *Laf.* You have it from his own deliverance.
> *Ber.* And by other warranted testimony. (*AW* 2.5.1–4)

Lafeu hesitates to trust his own instincts against the words of honor of another at court.

> *Laf.* Then my dial goes not true; I took this lark for a bunting.
> *Ber.* I do assure you, my lord, he is very great in knowledge, and accordingly valiant. (*AW* 2.5.5–8)

Lafeu determines then to accept the young man's accreditation of Parolles and, despite his hesitation, seeks to create a friendship with him.

> I have then sinned against his experience and transgressed against his valour; and my state that way is dangerous, since I cannot yet find in my heart to repent. Here he comes: I pray you, make us friends; I will pursue the amity. (*AW* 2.5.9–13)

So, the words of honorable, "warranted" others convince Lafeu to go against what he senses, at least temporarily. And when Lafeu reverts to his earlier view, he defines Parolles in terms of his apparel: "the soul of this man is his clothes," describing him to the countess as "a snipp'd-taffeta fellow" (*AW* 2.5.43–4; 4.5.1–2). Parolles may be no more than his "costume" but that is precisely what his offence is in Lafeu's eyes. Parolles represents a potentially dangerous interloper whose "false" courtly conduct must be contained by those who will ultimately depend for their identity on playing the courtier. The theatrical substance of his merit renders questionable the broader basis to the court's own system of virtue, honor, and advancement.

The meaning of elite status is also rehearsed through the character of the clown Lavatch, a name that was surely meant to associate his humor with the level of the barnyard. He too raises questions of what role such non-noble characters play in this courtly theater. Lavatch is no fool when it comes to understanding the courtly world. Even more explicitly (and thus foolishly) than Parolles, Lavatch articulates the vital culture of performance that drives the court. When the Countess requests Lavatch take a letter to Helena and wonders about the suitability of his manners for court, the clown renders courtly gesture a set of simple bodily actions:

> Truly, madam, if God have lent a man any manners, he may easily put it off at court: he that cannot make a leg, put off's cap, kiss his hand, and say nothing, has neither leg, hands, lip, nor cap. (*AW* 2.2.8–11)

When Lavatch later announces the return of Bertram and his men, he describes them in garb and gesture: "Faith there's a dozen of 'em, with delicate fine hats and most courteous feathers, which bow the head and nod at every man" (*AW* 4.5.100–2). Bertram has learned courtly mannerisms but Lavatch's comments offer little evidence, deliberately so, of any notable merit that attaches to these acts.

Furthermore, when Lavatch and Parolles are confronted with each other, they both discern straightaway the type of man their interlocutor is, each recognizing elements of himself in the other.

> *Par.* Go to, thou art a witty fool; I have found thee.
> *Clo.* Did you find me in yourself, sir. (*AW* 2.4.31–2)

Parolles highlights too that judicious silence and dissimulation are important. Parolles is—we might say—*diplomatic* in his words, to achieve his master's plan.

> *Par.* Why, I say nothing.
> *Clo.* Marry, you are the wiser man. (*AW* 2.4.21–2)

Ultimately, we see that Parolles has a good deal of self-knowledge, even as he is the butt of others' jokes: "the thing I am shall make me live. […] There's place and means for every man alive" (*AW* 4.3.322, 328).

Parolles is not ashamed; he is a survivor. And he can be so in the courtly world because he serves a vital purpose there. He and people, like him, of a lower status are an important presence at court. Just as he is necessary to the development of the drama, Parolles is vital to the protagonists of the court. Bertram needs him as a go-between in what we might also term the play within the play, acted by Bertram and Diana. Parolles is the diplomat, the "ring-carrier" (*AW* 3.5.91) in Bertram's dishonorable quest for a woman's sexual honor, as the Widow and Mariana well recognize. Parolles is also the scapegoat that the courtiers need to excuse the actions of erring young nobles.[25] When Bertram flees to Italy, the Countess targets Parolles, a "very tainted fellow, and full of wickedness" (*AW* 3.2.87). Likewise, Parolles' ritualized and rather ludic gulling, ambushed and blindfolded, notably disempowers him by rendering him speechless and unable to negotiate verbally against a made-up language devised by Bertram's cronies. It is just as the clown once warned him, that he would become "a fool […] to the world's pleasure and the increase of laughter" (*AW* 2.4.34–5). In this scene, Parolles—believing himself among enemies—finally articulates his views without the verbal apparel of the courtier, in doing so allowing these young noblemen to demarcate themselves from the lowly, interloping underdog at the world of the court.

In a similar way, Parolles' assessment of Bertram revealed under duress and in his letter to Diana is not false, at least as far as the audience can judge his character for themselves in the play. However, the expression of such an opinion is not consistent with elite honor and respect for a man who is both his master and with whom he professes to share an elite masculine honor code. As Barbara Everett notes of Parolles' assessments of the Dumain brothers—one the audience cannot vet from what we see of them in the play—they nonetheless "have an exactness of social detail and a cruel eye for characteristic behavior which have a peculiar power to hurt those who live by a courtly code of manners."[26] Parolles of this kind (that is, the man and his words) must be punished. Although he survives, what is shown through Parolles' behavior and treatment is the undesirable alternative and outcome to the path that low-born Helena must take to courtly survival and ultimately, success, just as did the French queen sans royal blood, Catherine.

"The Ambition in My Love"

The action and intrigue of *All's Well* are driven ostensibly by a woman's love for a man, yet love—as opposed to lust, virginity as a commodity, and marriage as a social and economic contract between dynasties—is rarely discussed. Similarly, the *Mervaylous Discourse* accuses Catherine, and her son Charles, of marrying her children for her own political ambitions, prepared even to marry her daughter Marguerite to the Protestant Henri de Navarre. "The King and the queene semed very desirous thereof, boasting that now they entended to mary the Catholickes vnto the Protestauntes […] the Queene […] prepared to entrappe the protestantes."[27]

The importance of dynastic politics that drove royal marriages such as those of Catherine and her children are likewise depicted in *All's Well*. Here, though, the play shows not only queens but a range of young women and men as little more than objects for barter. Love—explicitly—has nothing to do with these couplings. Having earlier declared (perhaps truthfully) of marriage to Helena, "I cannot love her nor will strive to do't," Bertram later concedes: "I submit my fancy to your eyes" (*AW* 2.3.145, 167–8). Lafeu sees Bertram's submission and fine speech about Helena's worth to the king as praiseworthy, and remarks to Parolles: "Your lord and master did well to make his recantation" (*AW* 2.3.186–7). Lafeu considers Bertram as most praiseworthy at the moment where the young man lies, and everyone knows it, in order to subordinate himself to the king.

The older courtier is also willing to marry his own daughter, Maudlin, to Bertram once he believes Helena is dead. This is clearly expressed as a long-held desire to unite two noble families, not a love match. Lafeu, having lamented the death of Helena, casually announces the availability of his own daughter and the discussions he has already had with the men of the court about such a match:

> since I heard of the good lady's death and that my lord your son was upon his return home, I moved the king my master to speak in the behalf of my daughter; which, in the minority of them both, his majesty, out of a self-gracious remembrance, did first propose. His highness hath promis'd me to do it. (*AW* 4.5.66–71)

When offered Maudlin, Bertram now demonstrates that he has acculturated to courtly manners. He is quicker to say at least what he should, if not perhaps what he feels.

> *King.* You remember the daughter of this lord?
> *Ber.* Admiringly, my liege, at first I stuck my choice upon her […]
> *King.* Be this sweet Helen's knell, and now forget her.
> Send forth your amorous token for fair Maudlin. (*AW* 5.3.42–5, 67–8)

The audience has no foreknowledge of Bertram's relationship to Maudlin to recognize these as his true feelings, and indeed, his later acceptance of Helena suggests that at least one or the other of these declarations must be false. Nonetheless, Lafeu and the king are happy enough with Bertram's words, and the match is, for both parties, socially speaking, well made. The king then invites Bertram to make a (hollow) gesture of love to Lafeu's daughter; now the entire matter has been arranged with every party except the bride herself.

Here and elsewhere, *All's Well* highlights the myth of women treated as individuals of queenlike status when chivalric honor codes unfold in practice. Instead, training both at court and as an aristocratic man on military campaign teaches young men that women's personal honor can be readily tarnished for male gain. Bertram, the courtier, is quite willing to damage Diana's honor before the king, when it serves him to do so.

> *Ber*. My lord, this is a fond and desp'rate creature whom sometime I have laugh'd with […] She's impudent, my lord, and was a common gamester to the camp. (*AW* 5.3.177–8, 187–8)

The audience sees plainly that Bertram is capable of falseness every bit as damaging as that for which Parolles is punished. In the very last scene of the play, what Bertram has learned of virtue, honor, and respect for women is far from evident, and yet that he has learnt the code of conduct required for courtly life is clear.

Bertram's lack of a speech or soliloquy to explain his motivations and feelings, particularly at the play's end, has been lamented by more than one scholar.[28] Yet it is entirely in keeping with a man who has learned that what he feels has no place at court. He has taken heed of the advice offered by the Countess to her son in the first scene of Act 1: "Be check'd for silence but never tax'd for speech" (*AW* 1.1.63–4). It is succinct advice, fit for a courtier, and underpins the play's message of the centrality at court of elegant words that voice few lived feelings. Indeed, the text's most explicit declarations of love as a feeling come from none other than Bertram in his attempts to woo Diana. Thus, it is when Bertram is acting a new role in a different kind of performance, for the aim of sexual accomplishment, that he expresses romantic sentiments. These expressions are clearly false and, were the audience in doubt, Parolles clarifies with a summary that might stand for the whole discourse of courtly love that Shakespeare's drama has demonstrated.

> *Par*. He did love her, sir, as a gentleman loves a woman.
> *King*. How is that?
> *Par*. He lov'd her, sir, and lov'd her not. (*AW* 5.3.243–5)

Significantly, Parolles terms Bertram a "gentleman" rather than "man," insisting upon the courtly nature of the individual Bertram is becoming.

And what of Helena? Early in the play, she admits her feelings forcefully. Her desire for Bertram, as many scholars have remarked, is strongly sexualized, even as she problematizes it repeatedly in terms of their unequal social status as a mating of hind and lion (*AW* 1.1.89). The audience hears less of her feelings for the rest of the play, even in the final scene, where Helena offers little by way of sentimental assurance to the audience that the match has its foundation in a kind of romantic love. Many scholars have found the play's conclusion wanting in emotional expression on the part of both principal protagonists.[29] Roger Warren, seeing material of deeper feelings in Shakespeare's sonnets comparable to Helena's "single-minded love," has considered that "If Helena had a speech at this point like her Rossillion one at [Act 3, scene 2] we might be fully convinced that her love is enough to make the marriage work; but the problem is that in front of the court this just cannot be said."[30] R.B. Parker also observes how "feeling is conspicuously lacking in anything she says to Bertram in the scene."[31] Helena terms herself "the shadow of a wife" and proposes "deadly divorce" if she has lied to Bertram (*AW* 5.3.301, 312).

> *Ber*. If she, my liege, can make me know this clearly,
> I'll love her dearly, ever, ever dearly.
> *Hel*. If it appear not plain and prove untrue,
> Deadly divorce step between me and you! (*AW* 5.3.309–12)

Both partners speak in highly conditional terms and only Bertram in terms of possible feelings for his partner. The best Lafeu can offer at witnessing this marital denouement is to "weep anon" (*AW* 5.3.314).

Another wily upstart who, like Helena, gained her place at court through feminine collusion and trickery of a noble man is the *Mervaylous Discourse*'s Queen Catherine. Its author identifies Catherine as a woman who twice uses a form of bed-trick to gain power at the French court illegitimately. First, at the time of Catherine's marriage to Henri, Duke of Orléans, the author notes how her uncle, Pope Clement, "could neuer thorowly persuade himself of this marriage, (by reason of their inequality,) before that he had seene them laid together in bed."[32] Consummation helped to secure Catherine's socially uneven match, as it would in part for Helena. Moreover, the text continues that Catherine, as queen, begot her children thanks to the help of another Diana, the king's mistress Diane de Poitiers.

> [S]hee was forced to winne the Lady greate Seneschall afterward Duchesse of Valenciens, to the end to enterteyn her, with my Lord the Dolphine her husband, when as also shee was not ashamed to become as it were his baude, prouyded always that shee might thereby ateyne vnto her ententes.[33]

Catherine here performs another kind of bed-trick, just as Helena has recourse to. To Diana and her mother, Helena's scheme is not expressed as love. It is termed as a "plot" with "wicked meaning" even if "lawful," a "sinful fact" even if "not sin" (*AW* 3.7.43–7). The widow is herself won over to the plan not by the passion of Helena's claim but by a purse of gold. Helena reflects on a night of sex, not love, with Bertram in relatively unambiguous terms:

> But, O strange men! That can such sweet use make of what they hate, when saucy trusting of the cozen'd thoughts defiles the pitchy night. (*AW* 4.4.21–4)

The scene closes with Helena concluding that the ends justify the means, but what is her end goal? She does not speak of love here, but instead makes recourse to ambitions concerning social status: "All's well that ends well; still the fine's the crown. / Whate'er the course, the end is the renown" (*AW* 4.4.35–6). W.L. Godshalk argues that Shakespeare intends the play as "a refutation of the Morality ethic, since Helena gains her desired end through questionable means" that ironically or comically confirm such ethics.[34] However, Shakespeare's deliberate, repeated phrasing of the "all's well" statement through the final scenes of the play gives it claim as the central motif of the work. It is not love that drives this courtly theater, but the promise of "renown" in a dubious, self-serving culture of honor, status and power.

If Helena seems better prepared than Bertram to acclimatize to the courtly world, she is not without missteps that help guide her acculturation. Her early soliloquy on her feelings about, and hopes to obtain, Bertram, is overheard by the Countess' Steward. Helena's answers to the Countess' insistent and repeated questioning soon after demonstrate her rapid acquisition of dissimulation.

> *Count.* […] Tell me truly.
> *Hel.* Good madam, pardon me.
> *Count.* Do you love my son?
> *Hel.* Your pardon, noble mistress.
> *Count.* Love you my son?
> *Hel.* Do not you love him, madam? (*AW* 1.3.79–84)

Once Helena has confessed her love, the audience can debate whether she has told the Countess the truth of her motivations to go to Paris and her ambition for Bertram: "Be not offended; for it hurts not him that he is loved of me: I follow him not by any token of presumptuous suit" (*AW* 1.3.191–3). Helena's explanation for her intent to travel to Paris clearly obfuscates and delays revelation of the truth. It is far less than the telling "true" demanded by the Countess.

> *Count.* Had you not lately an intent—speak truly—to go to Paris?
> *Hel.* Madam, I had.
> *Count.* Wherefore? tell true.
> *Hel.* I will tell truth; by grace itself I swear. You know my father left me some prescriptions […]
> *Count.* This was your motive for Paris, was it? Speak.
> *Hel.* My lord your son made me to think of this. (*AW* 1.3.213–16, 225–7)

Helena is thus also a student of courtly rhetoric but, even from the play's beginning, far better equipped to manage in that theater world of dissimulation than Bertram, whose submission to courtly hierarchy in words and deeds is accomplished more slowly. As Nicholas Brooke has observed, her later soliloquies "announce the action, but not the emotional resources of it."[35] It should not surprise the audience that Helena has the better of Bertram, for she begins with more of the qualities and understanding requisite for success in this world of power and ambition, dissimulation, and emotional obfuscation.[36]

Finally, the king's initial desire for Bertram to marry Helena, which sets so much in motion, is no more about romantic love than is expressed by his courtiers. It is plainly a mechanism to prove his power by being able to subvert blood ideologies and impose his will over other aristocratic men and their future lineage, a contemporary concern at the Jacobean court for wards of state such as Bertram.[37] "My honour's at the stake; which to defeat, I must produce my power. Here, take her hand" (*AW* 2.3.149–50). The king explicitly warns Bertram that "It is in us to plant thine honor where we please to have it grow" (*AW* 2.3.156–7). Honor is thus, clearly, no more than that which the king asserts it to be, but that through which an entire courtly hierarchy is held in

place. If Helena's "suit be won" via deceptive intrigues and dissimulation, ultimately validated by acceptance in the courtly realm through marriage to Bertram, perhaps Shakespeare's view is that the king really is no better than "a beggar, now the play is done; / All is well ended if this suit be won" (*AW* Epilogue 1–2). For the king's power rests in his words and capacity to have others perform likewise. Whether all ends well is conditional on their performance as well as his own.

Conclusions

Why should the audience expect more of Bertram and Helena than the king himself displays as they are admitted to the courtly realm as prospective performers in its theater? Shakespeare offers only ambiguities about the real meaning of virtue, honor, and love in this French courtly world. The play's contrasting elements of romance and realism and Helena's similarly oppositional expressions have perplexed scholars.[38] However, they may perhaps be more usefully viewed instead as transitions guided by acculturation, over the course of the play, to conformity with the demands and expectations of the court. David Haley has argued that the character of Bertram can best be understood through the lens of an aristocratic praxis and that, over the play, he "becomes the heroic nobleman he was destined to be from the outset."[39] But scholars have struggled to see heroism in Bertram's speech and acts as he becomes a nobleman. By contrast, Dorothy Cook defines Helena as the play's heroine in that she "creates and resolves much of the action" and establishes the values of the play.[40] Clearly, she is a central protagonist but what are these values? By the play's end, Helena's actions to win Bertram consist of the same costume, gesture, disguise, performance, and verbal rhetoric that define Shakespeare's presentation of the "nobility" and "honor" of the court. We may do better to see Helena therefore as a central protagonist in the same way that Catherine de' Medici is to the *Mervaylous Discourse*, but this does not render her the heroine of a fairytale or romantic plot in *All's Well*.

Whether Shakespeare ever read or owned *A mervaylous discourse vpon the lyfe, deedes, and behaviours of Katherine de Medicis, Queene mother* cannot be stated with certainty. Nevertheless, this pamphlet and contemporary commentaries surrounding the perfidity of the French court and its courtly elite, particularly the role of dangerously powerful and sexual women there, would seem to offer a thought provoking interpretation of *All's Well that Ends Well*. If Bertram and Helena can be seen as students in training for the courtly world, instead of heroes and heroines in the romantic mold or as characters in a fairytale plot, a coherent reading of their changing speech and actions can be proposed. They have each chosen, like Parolles, to survive, even to prosper, in this new environment. Shakespeare's protagonists are gaining a certain type of courtly initiation that may not be noble or honorable in a conventional sense, but that is entirely appropriate to the ambition in their love, and, perhaps also, to their love of ambition.

Notes

1. Anon., *A Mervaylovs discourse vpon the lyfe, deedes, and behauiours of KATHERINE de Medicis, Queene mother: vvherin are displayed the meanes vvhich she hath practiced to atteyne vnto the vsurping of the Kingedome of France, and to the bringing of the estate of the same vnto vtter ruine and destruction* (Heidelberg, 1575). Now held by the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, SR93.2/Medici.
2. Nicole Cazauran ed., *Discours merveilleux de la vie, actions et deportements de Catherine de Médicis, Royne-mère*, ed. Nicole Cazauran (Geneva: Droz, 1995).
3. See Ole Peter Grell, *Calvinist Exiles in Tudor and Stuart England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1996); *Immigrants in Tudor and Early Stuart England*, eds. Nigel Goose and Lien Luu (Brighton: Sussex Academic Press, 2005).
4. E.A.J. Honigmann, "Shakespeare, *Sir Thomas More* and asylum seekers," *Shakespeare Survey* 57 (2004): 225–35.
5. See Richard Hillman, *Shakespeare, Marlow and the Politics of France* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002) and David Potter ed., *Foreign Intelligence and Information in Elizabethan England: Two English Treatises on the State of France, 1580–1584,* Camden Fifth Series, vol. 25 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).
6. Howard C. Cole, *The* All's Well *story from Boccaccio to Shakespeare* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981).
7. Hillman, *Politics of France*, 2.
8. Lisa Hopkins, "Paris is Worth a Mass: All's Well that Ends Well and the Wars of Religion," in *Shakespeare and the Culture of Christianity in Early Modern England,* ed. by Dennis Taylor (New York: Fordham University Press, 2003), 369–81.
9. Hopkins, "Paris is worth a Mass," 372–4.
10. See for example interpretations by R.B Parker, '"War and sex in 'All's Well that ends well'" *Shakespeare Survey* 37 (1984): 113; Alexander Leggatt, "All's well that ends well: The Testing of Romance," *Modern Language Quarterly*, 32 (1971): 21–41.
11. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly, "Monarchies," and Tracy Adams, "Court Culture," in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction,* ed. Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2016), 179–82; 225–28.
12. "quy expose son secret, prostitue sa liberté en la main d'autruy," (Paris: L. Breyer, 1576), fol. 81r–v, cited in Xavier Le Person, *«Practiques» et «practiqueurs». La vie politique à la fin du règne de Henri III* (Geneva: Droz, 2002), 242.
13. See discussion in Rivkah Zim, "Dialogue and Discretion: Thomas Sackville, Catherine de Medici and the Anjou Marriage Proposal 1571," *The Historical Journal* 40.2 (1997): 287–310.
14. Sheldon P. Zitner, *All's Well that Ends Well.* New Critical Introduction to Shakespeare, No. 10 (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1989), xix.
15. *Mervaylous discourse*, 6.
16. *Mervaylous discourse*, 10.
17. Zitner, *All's Well*, xlvii.
18. In contrast to Jules Rothman, who argues that Parolles' function is purely comedic, "possessing no inner substance to influence, he is to be laughed at only." See "A Vindication of Parolles," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 23 (1972): 184.
19. Eugène Baret, *De l'*Amadis de Gaule *et de son influence sur les moeurs et la littérature au XVIe siecle et au XVIIe siècle* (Paris: Auguste Durand, 1853); Michel

Bideaux, "Les romans de chevalerie: romans à lire, romans à vivre," *Le Roman français au XVIe siècle ou le renouveau d'un genre dans le contexte européen* ed. M. Michèle Clément and Pascale Mounier (Strasbourg: Presses universitaires de Strasbourg, 2005), 173–87.

20. "un exemple & patron de chevalerie, courtoisie, & discretion, qui leur eleuast le cueur à la vertu, enseignant les actes qu'ilz doivent ensuyure ou euiter." *Le dixiesme livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, trans. Jacques Gohory (Paris: Etienne Groulleau, 1552), Aiii^{r}.
21. "cet je fèse bonne chère à madame de Valantynnois, c'estoyt le Roy, et encore je luy fésèt tousjours conestre que s'étoyt à mon très grent regret: car jeamès fame qui aymèt son mary n'éma sa puteyn; car on ne le peust apeler aultrement, encore que le mot souyt vylayn à dyre à bous aultres." *Lettres de Catherine de Médicis*, ed. Gustave Baguenault de Puchesse, vol. 8. (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1901), 181.
22. *Mervaylous discourse*, 9.
23. *Mervaylous discourse*, 5–6.
24. *Mervaylous discourse*, 26.
25. As Richard A. Levin notes in "All's Well that ends well and 'All Seems well," *Shakespeare Studies* 13 (1980): 142.
26. Barbara Everett ed., *All's Well that Ends Well* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1970), 29.
27. *Mervaylous discourse*, 93–94, 98.
28. Haley, *Shakespeare's Courtly Mirror: Reflexivity and Praxis in All's Well that Ends Well* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1993), 217.
29. Muriel C. Bradbrook, "Virtue is the True Nobility: A Study of the Structure of *All's Well that Ends Well*," *Review of English Studies* 25 (1950), 289–301.
30. Roger Warren, "Why does it end well? Helena, Bertram, and the Sonnets," *Shakespeare Survey* 22 (1969): 90, 92.
31. Parker, "War and sex," 112.
32. *Mervaylous discourse*, 26.
33. *Mervaylous discourse*, 27–8.
34. W.L. Godshalk, "All's Well that ends Well and the Morality Play," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 24 (1974): 62. On Helena's ambition, Clifford Leech, "The Theme of Ambition in *All's Well that Ends Well*," *ELH* 21, 1 (1954): 29.
35. Nicholas Brooke, "All's well that ends well," *Shakespeare Survey* 30 (1977): 76.
36. Richard A. Levin terms Helena "no less ambitious than Parolles" (142).
37. Terry Reilly, "All's well, that Ends well, and the 1604 Controversy Concerning the Court of Wards and Liveries," in *All's Well, That Ends Well: New Critical Essays*, ed. Gary Waller (London: Routledge, 2007), 209–20.
38. Lisa Jardine, "Cultural Confusion and Shakespeare's Learned heroines: 'These are Learned Paradoxes,'" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38 (1987): 1–18; Regina Buccola, "'As Sweet as Sharp': Helena and the fairy bride tradition," in *All's Well, That Ends Well,* 82.
39. Haley, *Shakespeare's Courtly Mirror*, 218.
40. Dorothy Cook, "Helena: The Will and the Way," *Upstart Crow* 10 (1990): 14–31.

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PART VII

Queenship and Intertextuality

CHAPTER 20

As Wise as She Is Beautiful: Reconciling Shakespeare's Fairy Queen and Spenser's *Faerie Queene*

Laura Schechter

Despite the wide range of literary criticism on both *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Faerie Queene*, little work has been done to connect William Shakespeare's Titania to Edmund Spenser's Gloriana, perhaps because the latter is so difficult to interpret. Indeed, while headstrong Titania makes demands and comically lusts after Bottom, majestic Gloriana remains largely absent from the text that bears her name. Substantial scholarly work on Gloriana is scant, in fact, Spenserians focusing instead on the rich characterizations of women such as Britomart, Mercilla, and Una, characters who possess individual traits that are perfected and possessed in full by the faery queen.[1] Gloriana represents the culmination of all virtues, or, as A. Leigh DeNeef puts it, "the final end of all virtuous action."[2] The faery queen is, of course, also one of two Elizabethan mirrors identified by Spenser: Gloriana celebrates Elizabeth I's body politic while Belphoebe represents the English queen's body natural.[3]

Given that both Titania and Gloriana can be read as representations of Elizabeth, many scholars have opted to interpret the queens in light of late Tudor court politics and monarchical representation[4]; although few scholars have taken up this possibility in detail, a second approach focuses on the two fairy queens as counterparts, Titania functioning as the bawdy answer to Spenser's regal original.[5] The first reading's interpretation of Gloriana as an

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Elizabethan mirror is unimpeachable, given the poem's own references to this connection,[6] while Titania's drug-fueled romance with Bottom, the lowliest of heroes, could "quaintly burlesqu[e] Elizabeth's declarations of marriage to her subjects, consummat[ing] the unlikely match in crude but charming actuality."[7] Alternatively, her encounter could be read as a perverse representation of Elizabeth's system of courtly love, Titania enforcing male dependency while bestowing gifts and praise on her improbable favorite, Bottom. If Titania and Gloriana are read as foils, on the other hand—as a comic response to an allegorical original—then the representation of Titania becomes one more sign that Shakespeare used *Midsummer* to playfully mock Spenser's elevated content, even as he was, at least in part, inspired by it.[8]

While acknowledging the obvious strength in these approaches, this chapter considers how these two queens function in the temporal-political worlds of their respective texts. In both *Midsummer* and *Faerie Queene*, the fairy realm is temporally flexible and connected to different historically situated worlds that are in crisis. Shakespeare's ancient Athens is experiencing a series of ecological upheavals, as are the forests that surround the city. These disturbances not coincidentally connect to English weather patterns from the 1590s, and they are intimately linked to Titania's refusal to share a bed and engage in seasonal celebrations with Oberon.[9] Her activities in her fairy bower will have a direct impact on the more realistic site of Athenian governance, a site that is in many ways more Elizabethan in spirit than classical. In comparison, Spenser's Arthurian Wales is in a state of civil war, and Una's kingdom, more than vaguely Elizabethan and Protestant, has long been ravaged by a horrid monster, her parents exiled from their rightful rule as the poem opens.[10] Faeryland connects to these sites while simultaneously allowing conceptual connections to both past and future, culminating in visions of late Tudor England and nearby locales. It is Gloriana who instigates all major quests in Spenser's poem, giving twelve knights their directives at an annual twelve-day feast that she holds in her capital city of Cleopolis, and she does so to bring stability to the various worlds.[11] In this reading, both queens encourage creative, untraditional movement between temporal and conceptual realms, even as their actions ultimately produce conservative resolutions—resolutions that can in part be understood as necessitated by the traditional needs and constraints of comedy and allegory, the very genres in which the characters are placed.

In this chapter, I briefly survey previous scholarship on Titania and Gloriana, from there moving to an interpretation that focuses on the fairy queens as agents of change who are notably linked to extra-textual icons of female sovereignty and power, Elizabeth in Gloriana's case, Diana in Titania's. While the plots of *Midsummer* and *Faerie Queene* are driven by the queens' personal relationships and influential maneuvers, Titania and Gloriana both ultimately experience a curbing of their ability to act or make meaningful change. I suggest that both these invigorating potentialities and these disappointing limitations can be explained in part by the de facto conditions of comedy and allegory. Indeed, although comedy initially allows for a loosening of structures—implying the

potential for the reversal of fortunes and the rejection of marriage, for example—the genre's conservative nature will always move toward resolution and the reestablishment of earlier conditions. Allegory, on the other hand, relies on a creative distancing from the world outside of the text, even as it assumes the reader's ability to distinguish between the layers. In fact, allegory confirms that "real world" conditions (and concomitant expectations for power and positionality) are entirely separate from the imagined allegorical realms that provide hypothetical, fanciful alternatives.

Titania and Gloriana as Elizabethan Representations or Literary Foils

This new reading of genre and agency in *Midsummer* and *Faerie Queene* agrees with and builds on the work of previous scholars who have focused on Titania and Gloriana as echoes of Elizabethan court culture or as literary foils. Although Sukanta Chaudhuri dismisses "allusion-hunters" who build shaky associations between Titania and Elizabeth and "invariably [destroy] their case by overkill and tenuous argument," I suggest that both Shakespeare and Spenser take up Elizabeth and the diverse assortment of representations associated with the last two decades of her reign, a point that Chaudhuri to some extent concedes in his discussion of more subtextual influences, which he reads as "a nuanced, ambiguous critique of the royal icon."[12] I would further argue that reading Spenser's work alongside Shakespeare's can bring into sharper relief the Elizabethan influences in *Midsummer*'s depictions of gendered power. The authors share a representational parameter that treats Elizabeth's virginal iconography as intimately linked to political authority, even as this "denial of sexuality" becomes discordant with the romance that informs both works.[13] In fact, according to James P. Bednarz, *Midsummer* offers the most concentrated example of Shakespeare's interest in Spenser's work as a base for Elizabethan representation.[14]

Although Elizabeth authored her own image, she was simultaneously beholden to it and not in complete control of how others used such a diverse set of representations. For example, Louis Montrose has read Elizabeth as a "pervasive *cultural presence*" in Shakespeare's play and "a condition of the play's imaginative possibility"; one should note, however, that "the play henceforth conditioned the imaginative possibility of the Queen."[15] Furthermore, the queen's "power to fashion her own strategies was itself fashioned by her culture and constrained within its mental horizon."[16] Montrose reads *Midsummer* as separating the complex set of Elizabethan representations into two more manageable, comprehensible figures, "the fair vestal, unattainable *virgin*; and the Fairy Queen, an intractable *wife* and a dominating *mother*."[17] Oberon can effectively understand and manipulate the two figures, the vestal and Titania, specifically because they fit into more coherent types, according to Montrose, and the fairy king makes use of his understanding to ultimately limit female power in his realm.[18] One could certainly add Hermia to Montrose's model and read the Shakespearean heroine as an imagined representation of

Elizabeth insisting on her right to wed the suitor of her choosing or altogether forgo the institution of marriage. The conquered Queen of the Amazons, Hippolyta, could just as easily be read, at least in part, in terms of Elizabeth's lifelong single state.

The play's general move from female autonomy to submission could then work as a sort of wish fulfillment created by a culture that had lived with an unmarried woman on the throne for several decades, a culture that had also produced and strengthened the cult of Elizabeth as both a political and aesthetic strategy. Because Oberon puts into play Titania's encounter with Bottom, specifically as a form of revenge for the fairy queen's stubborn independence, one could read her time with the weaver as an expression of that wish to moderate Elizabeth's sovereign power, as Montrose does (*MND* 2.1.176–86, 2.2.31–8).[19] At the same time, any concerns that Titania might hint at a raucous version of Elizabeth could be dismissed by pointing to the play's more explicit allusion to the "fair vestal, throned by the west"—"the imperial votaress" who escapes "Cupid's fiery shaft" when it is aimed at her (*MND* 2.1.158, 2.1.163, 161).

Unlike the votaress' continued chastity, the love-drugged fairy queen wakes from her slumber and is instantly smitten with the singing weaver, who by this point has been transformed to bear an ass' head (*MND* 3.3.125–37). Rather than recoil in horror, Titania "is much enamoured of [Bottom's] note," her "eye enthralled to [his] shape" (*MND* 3.1.134, 135). Promising him fairy servants, jewels, and entertainments, along with a "purge" of "[his] mortal grossness," she forces Bottom to stay in her bower, decreeing, "Thou shalt remain here, whether thou wilt or no" (*MND* 3.1.151–3, 154, 147). Although a love prisoner in Titania's bower, Bottom nonetheless seems to enjoy himself and stays quite willingly, becoming more comfortable in making demands of his fairy attendants. While he first begs for the fairies' "mercy," asking to make their acquaintances and praising their skills, but not demanding services, he soon shows no hesitation in calling for food, drink, and music, all of which Titania and her attendants are happy to provide (*MND* 3.1.170, 173–87). This system of relations holds true even when (or, perhaps, especially when) Bottom's requests are the height of whimsy, as when he directs Cobweb to bring him the intact "honey-bag" of "a red-hipped humble-bee," one found "on the top of a thistle," no less (*MND* 4.1.13, 11–12).

Although Titania maintains control over her fairy retinue, she easily gives rewards and favor to Bottom, who, as a weaver, is indeed at the "bottom" of *Midsummer*'s social hierarchy. There is no discussion of whether Bottom deserves such attention, of course, because his lovesick (but powerful) fairy queen has deemed that the rewards will be given. In this way, the weaver suddenly experiences a great deal of social mobility and leisure, even though in early modern culture the weavers' guild was often least able to respond effectively to changes in the economy.[20] Titania's amorous fawning and Bottom's easy rise through the social ranks could in part parody the often disappointing and unrewarding system of courtly love developed and advanced while Elizabeth was on the throne.

In short, a complicated mixture of Petrarchan and courtly discourses allowed Elizabethan courtiers to vie for favor and reward; the suitors' language interwove vows of fidelity and suggestions of erotic desire, but the tenets of Petrarchan romance dictated that Elizabeth, the distant, withholding mistress, regularly deny affection and reward. This sense of frustrated desire is immediately remedied by the easy gratification offered by Titania. In fact, unlike the average Elizabethan social climber at court, Bottom does not even need to compete with other men for the fairy queen's affections. While Oberon imagines a drugged Titania falling for any number of creatures, directing only that her love be given to "The next thing … she waking looks upon, / Be it on lion, bear, or wolf, or bull, / On meddling monkey or on busy ape," the terms of the trick dictate that the object of Titania's affection be singular (*MND* 2.1.179–81). Bottom, so frequently (and comically) clueless, is singled out by his powerful mistress and, without any effort on his part, given whatever his heart might desire.

It is also entirely possible to read *Midsummer* as, in part, an inventive mockery of Spenser's elevated language and attachment to courtly work over popular entertainment: indeed, although the critic remained unsure what the debt might be, A.G. van Kranendonk long ago pointed out "that the play owes something to Spenser."[21] Jackson C. Boswell has more recently noted "an abundance of […] allusions" to *The Faerie Queene* in Shakespeare's comedy, "especially in its poetic language," while J.B. Lethbridge has suggested that Spenser may very well have "cross-fertilize[d] Shakespeare," even if the two authors "are undoubtedly apples and oranges."[22] Lethbridge also posits that Shakespeare may have more often borrowed individual words from Spenser's texts, rather than large presentations of issues, but this proposition seems patently incorrect, given the depictions of the fairy queens and their interactions with various other characters. *Midsummer* more generally would seem to be a substantial omission if the Lethbridge's points are otherwise tenable.[23]

Indeed, Robert Lanier Reid describes *Midsummer* as a "[reduction of] Spenser's central trope to hilarious comedy: Gloriana's recondite mystery and virginal discreteness is displaced by the bodily-present emotional allure, the charismatic vanity, of Titania […], whose mating with ass-headed Bottom humorously reifies Elizabeth's claim to be married to *all* her people."[24] This sort of parodic turn would be in keeping with the simmering antagonisms shared by Spenser and other Elizabethan writers. Spenser criticized what he saw as the limitations of popular theater, preferring court dramatists such as John Lyly to playwrights who appealed to a wider range of audiences.[25] The poet was, in turn, mocked at times for overly stylized form and content, for his "archaic language" and ability to "feign allegorical depth through pretentious diction."[26] At the same time, Bednarz acknowledges that, even as Shakespeare takes up Spenser's vision of glorious monarchy, inverting the perfection of the absent Gloriana and presenting instead the lovable imperfections of the always present Titania, *Midsummer* mimics its source material as often as it mocks.[27]

Titania and Gloriana as Rulers of Fairy Realms

While it is entirely reasonable to pursue these sorts of interpretations, I would suggest that Titania and Gloriana can also be read as figures of action who initiate major changes in their environments, changes that have effects on the humans in the worlds outside of the queens' fairy realms. As I briefly mentioned earlier, Gloriana initiates and oversees all quests taken on in Spenser's poem: many adventures begin in Cleopolis and move outward through Faeryland, but the crucial quests of Arthur and Britomart originate in the human world and allow mortals access to the faery realm.[28] In her political glory and heavenly splendor, Gloriana becomes an encomiastic echo of Elizabeth, Faeryland a fanciful representation of early modern England, and Arthur, the prince dedicated to finding the faery queen and partnering with her, an idealized allegorical tie to the British nation itself.

Like Gloriana, Titania is the sovereign power who is given pride of place in her respective text. Although Titania shares her rule with Oberon, she initially threatens his power in both the fairy and human realms. The two have made competing claims to a changeling as the play's action begins, and Titania's resistance to Oberon's authority has led to disorder in the larger world (*MND* 2.1.18–31, 82–117). While Titania identifies the fairy realm as "[Oberon's] kingdom," the fairy king is unable to right the disordered weather in the human world without his queen's intervention, noting that the ability to end the disorder "lies in [her]" (*MND* 2.1.144, 118). The two fairy monarchs also have entirely separate retinues and "courts," it would seem, and they inhabit separate parts of the forest's fairy realm during the play. Importantly, Titania's autonomy is linked to the power of Diana, the virginal goddess of the hunt whose moon is so central to the action of the play, and whose name in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* is, occasionally, Titania.[29]

Unlike Titania, Gloriana has no immediately identifiable entourage of followers and servants, and reports about the latter's court are relatively infrequent; despite these narrative absences, *The Faerie Queen* makes clear that Gloriana influences everyone and everything in her realm.[30] Thomas Cain describes Gloriana as "the glory of Elizabeth's imperial office; the desire to win glory that she inspires in [Arthur's…] breast, and which, when won, is identical with her; and the divine glory she reflects and participates in."[31] Her physical absence from the text could, according to Cain, allow the faery queen to remain unchanged and invulnerable to unfortunate happenstance; at the same time, she is anywhere and everywhere, beckoning knights from Britain to her faery kingdom and governing those who live in it.[32] Her absence as presence also allows her to be constantly sought after by those in Faeryland, as Jeffrey P. Fruen suggests.[33]

As a space, Faeryland is "time-inclusive," according to Wayne Erickson, who reads the realm as a "predominantly allegorical world of chivalric adventure" and romance.[34] While Faeryland immediately connects to historical moments such as the sixth-century Wales and Cornwall of Arthur, the faery space also

suggests conceptual connections to both past and future, history and dream. Both the forest of Shakespeare's play and the Faeryland of Spenser's poem function within a fanciful world of romance and the impossible, allowing for inexplicable encounters and transformations, and both realms see the active governance of the fairy queens. Even as the allegorical world suggests that of the late Tudor, however, fissures between the two remain. Indeed, the geography of Faeryland is suggestive but hardly precise, and this distancing between the real and the allegorical is perhaps only strengthened by the lack of tangible details given for Gloriana.

The faery queen most certainly assigns quests to various knights, and the assignments connect her capital city, Cleopolis, with "Britain […] and Eden, which form a political and religious historical frame around the moral, erotic, and social allegory of Faeryland."[35] Each quest will successfully conclude with the establishment of a new order, so Gloriana is arguably doing what she can to move both Faeryland and the historical world into future stability: Britomart and Artegall will complete their quests in Britain and Ireland, and they will produce political heirs who will carry on a new political dynasty; if successful, Arthur's quest will end in Cleopolis when he meets Gloriana, an event that Erickson argues would "initiate the prophetic nation of Tudor legend"; and Red Cross Knight's adventures will conclude in the Eden lands, his wedding to Una allowing for a new religious era.[36] One could note that no quests initiated in *The Faerie Queene* are actually completed by the end of the sixth book, however. Spenser had outlined twelve books on the moral virtues and twelve on the political, but he died before he could complete the epic poem.[37] The poet had imagined Gloriana featuring extensively in the twelfth and final book of *The Faerie Queene*, and that planned depiction would have certainly allowed a greater understanding of her thoughts and deeds.[38]

Life in Gloriana's Faeryland is not perfect by any means, but its imaginative possibilities allow for unusual relationships and adventures, even as these adventures conclude (or fail to do so) in frustrating ways. In initiating Britomart's quest to find Artegall, for instance, Gloriana facilitates the Knight of Chastity's development from curious teenager in her father's castle to steely warrior determined to produce a new political dynasty with her beloved, all as Britomart takes on a masculine costume of armor to travel and do battle.[39] At the same time, pining for Artegall and committed to the future security of her Brittonic nation, Britomart disappears from the text; the reader is left certain of the knight's various desires but entirely uncertain about their feasibilities.[40]

Gloriana initiates Arthur's quest to unite with her, too, entering his dream and leaving little physical evidence of her visit: there are suggestive imprints on the grass near where Arthur was lying, and Arthur wakes from his dream encounter with a "wound," a "restlesse anguish," and desire to successfully conclude his quest.[41] In addition to the "louely blandishment" and "daintie limbes" recalled by Arthur, the reader is given a general description of Gloriana as she is represented on Guyon's shield in Book II.ix.2–4, the young adventurer praising her "most glorious visage" and claiming that "the beautie of her

mind […] / […] her bountie, and imperiall powre, / [Is] Thousand times fairer than her mortall hew."[42] It is this glorious "imperiall powre" that inspires Arthur: perhaps not surprisingly, Arthur, Gloriana's most important devotee and the pinnacle of Brittonic culture, also possesses all other virtues associated with individual knights in the poem, even as those virtues are tested and improved in specific books.[43]

Arthur's dream vision and subsequent quest underpin Spenser's entire text. Indeed, the young prince is the only figure to appear in each of *The Faerie Queene*'s six completed books, and he interacts with every other knight who also performs duties assigned by Gloriana. Appearing to Arthur in a dream and promising her love to him, Gloriana is the instigator and reward for the quest. Arthur's dream is so powerful that, nine months after the encounter, his "visage still wexe[s] pale" while he recounts the narrative to Una and Red Cross, his passion betrayed by physical changes to his countenance.[44]

Medieval and early modern understandings of dreams were largely inspired by classical sources. As Peter Holland explains, the "predictive dream," *oneiros*, included visions, prophecies, and allegorical directives; as such, this type of dream was of much greater interest than the "non-predictive dream," *enhypnion*, which simply expressed "'day-residue'" from the dreamer's life.[45] Chaudhuri agrees and suggests that for the early modern mind, "a dream could be viewed as a sign, the surrogate for a reality outside itself, a hidden unconscious world briefly brought to surface"; the interplay of dream and reality thus leaves the viewer uncertain of both.[46] Like allegory, one could further argue, dreams were "'poised between truth and fiction.'"[47] Both Gloriana and Titania are linked crucially to dreams: while Gloriana enters Arthur's dream to extend her power and initiate the prince's quest, Titania's dream leads to a comical romance with "'a ratepayer in Elfland'" and, ultimately, a diminishment of her capacity.[48] In truth, Titania's willfulness has the most far-reaching effects *prior* to her dream, the enchanted sleep functioning as Oberon's punishment for her recent displays of authority.

The play opens with a series of bids for women's agency, in fact. Hippolyta has been captured in war, and she will soon marry her victor, Theseus; her feelings about the nuptials are not entirely clear, especially when she describes the upcoming wedding as "solemnities" overseen by "the moon, like to [the] silver bow" of Diana (*MND* 1.1.11, 8). Diana, the virginal goddess of the hunt, was often connected to the moon, the shape of which inspired the shields carried by Amazon women in many texts. She is invoked again as Theseus orders a defiant Hermia to marry Demetrius (the suitor chosen for her by her father), to die, or to live in a nunnery, "on Diana's altar [protesting] / For aye, austerity and single life" (*MND* 1.1.83–90, 89–90). The entrance of Titania, "[i]ll met by moonlight," is preceded by Robin Goodfellow's explanation that the fairy queen and king have been quarrelling over possession of an Indian child, refusing to spend time with one another (*MND* 2.1.60, 18–31). Although Robin claims that the boy was "stolen, from an Indian king," Titania soon asserts that the changeling's "mother was a votaress of [her] order," connecting the fairy

queen and her followers to Diana and her company of chaste attendants (*MND* 2.1.22, 123). The fairy queen now raises the child in memory of his mother—repeating the phrase "for her sake" twice in two lines—and she refuses to share "[Oberon's] bed and company" as long as he also makes a claim on the boy (*MND* 2.1.136, 137, 62).

Given the regular references to time being organized or understood in relation to the moon, one could suggest that Diana is linked to the bulk, if not all, of the action carried out in *Midsummer*. In fact, all three worlds in the play—artisanal, Athenian, and Fairy—explicitly reference the moon as a primary organizing principle. Quince sets his rehearsal schedule by the moon: he suggests that evening in the forest will allow for both the privacy and freedom necessary to run lines, "for if [they met] in the city, [the actors would] be dogged with company, and [their] devices known" (*MND* 1.2.94–5, 95–7). Lysander initially courts Hermia by moonlight, and the lovers flee by it when Hermia's controlling father insists on her marriage to Demetrius; in fact, Lysander explicitly imagines their escape as guided by the "silver visage" of Phoebe, or Diana (*MND* 1.1.30–1, 210). Theseus and Hippolyta will marry with the new moon, which is brought up again only eighty lines later, as Theseus gives Hermia her options, should she not want to be put to death (*MND* 1.1.1–3, 83). As mentioned, Titania is famously "[i]ll met by moonlight" when she and Oberon unexpectedly run into each other, and the magic in Oberon's pivotal love flower is only activated when Cupid shoots his bow and arrow by moonlight, missing his intended target, the vestal virgin (*MND* 2.1.60, 157–68).

More specifically, Titania's name instantly suggests the moon goddess. The fairy queen, who generally lacks a name in English folklore, is evidently connected to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, given that Ovid uses the name Titania as a synonym for Diana.[49] Although Chaudhuri cautions against pushing the connection too far, Holland suggests that once Titania is considered as "'the triple Hecate,'" Diana, she can become simultaneously "Cynthia, the goddess […] associated with the moon, causing lunacy and change; […] Diana, with hunting and chastity; […and] Proserpina, with the seasons."[50] Noel Purdon ties the use of moonlight to Ovid's own inclusion of it in the *Metamorphoses*, and he usefully connects transformation in *Midsummer* to that in Ovid's text, for the classical poet's description of Diana as Titania occurs when she turns Actaeon into a hind.[51] Although early modern culture consistently saw belief in fairies as nostalgic, also no longer viewing them as especially threatening, this more holistic treatment of Titania as linked to Diana provides her with a dangerous potential and great deal of agency.[52] The forest becomes a locus of transformations controlled by the moon goddess; at the same time, this sense of Diana's power suggests "a world in imbalance," a world that must be corrected as the comedy concludes, a point to which I shall return.[53]

As Minor White Latham notes, too, the late sixteenth-century sense of fairies as generally amusing and harmless was relatively new.[54] Humans largely understood that they had to stay away from fairy spaces, particularly not

breaching the rings left from their dances[55]; these dances—the lack thereof, more accurately—prove to be a reminder of Titania's material power in the human world, her refusal to engage in the observances leading to severe crop failure in the world of Theseus and the young lovers. Although Latham argues that Titania is remorseful when her quarrels with Oberon lead to weather disturbances and crop failure, the fairy queen hardly takes the action necessary to end the environmental disasters, despite Oberon's observation that it is within her ability to do so.[56] In fact, in English folklore, May 1st and Midsummer Eve were "the two periods when [fairies] were most powerful and most enjoyed themselves"; Latham goes so far as to argue that these two days gave fairies "absolute domain" over England's landscape and people.[57]

Titania understands with complete clarity the effects of her actions, although she does blame Oberon for the couple's discord. She notes that her refusal since midsummer to engage in any way with Oberon has led to a complete halting of their usual activities, of "[dancing their] ringlets to the whistling wind," and she catalogues precisely the number of problems now experienced in the mortal world (*MND* 2.1.82, 86). Rivers have begun to rise dangerously; crops have failed and sheep become sick; frost has settled on the midsummer plants—a frost sent, incidentally, by "the moon, the governess of floods, / Pale in her anger" (*MND* 2.1.103–4). These extreme weather events in the Athenian environment mimic "[m]emorably foul weather […] experienced" with few breaks from March 1594 to the "bad, wet summers in 1595 and 1596."[58] For the early modern viewers or readers of the play, then, the fairy queen's behavior had consequences that echoed observable phenomena in their world, regardless of the people's belief in fairies. Titania views herself and Oberon as the "parents and original" of this meteorological "progeny of evils," but she will continue to wreak havoc as long as Oberon makes a claim for her votaress' child (*MND* 2.1.117, 115). The forest realm, controlled by Titania as a stand-in for the moon goddess, is then a site of an occasionally chaotic fairy rule, and a realm that is materially linked to both the Athenian and Elizabethan worlds.

Indeed, Holland suggests that "Shakespeare's fairy-world is more than an adjunct and parallel reality with its own rules and activities. It is also a source of our actions. The blessings of Oberon and Titania are […] a genuine benediction from a source of power and influence" who could, just as easily, withhold favor or cause injury.[59] It is, of course, possible to read the multiple worlds of *Midsummer* as another clear parody of *Faerie Queene*: just as Shakespeare's fairy realm links to the classical world of Theseus as Duke of Athens, Spenser's Faeryland connects to the sixth-century Cornwall of the mythologized Arthur. In a similar vein, Bottom becomes "a parody of and an analogue to Spenser's Prince Arthur," a man who wakes with the vague memory of having encountered a fairy queen.[60] Of course, the weaver's romance with Titania can also be read as distinct from Spenser's world, as, for example, a critique of the Elizabethan courtly love system, or as a nod to Ovid's *Metamorphoses* and the classical text's interest in transformation.[61]

Without question, the magic of the fairy's bower and the forest offers the opportunity to explore topsy-turvy, queer forms of love that temporarily erase social distinctions and human/nonhuman boundaries. Furthermore, Titania regularly enjoys this power to ignore or remove traditional thresholds, if Oberon's accusations are to be believed. Although Oberon instigates the magical encounters with the help of Puck—drugging the young lovers and Titania, transforming Bottom—the fairy queen has in the past not hesitated to enjoy dalliances with Theseus, "lead[ing] him through the glimmering night" of the classical world on several occasions (*MND* 2.1.76–80, 77). Titania herself speaks fondly of her friendship with the changeling's mother, and her warm reminiscing about their time together suggests an entirely female space that can operate successfully without any male involvement, the billowing sails on the ships impregnated by "the wanton wind" as the votaress retrieved "trifles" off the land and brought them to Titania (*MND* 2.1.123–37, 129, 133). The volatile marriage of two potent (and potentially equal) fairies is placed in stark contrast to the entirely joyful, pleasurable encounters shared by the fairy queen and her devoted attendant, the changeling becoming a product not just of his mother but of his mother's time with Titania.

The fairy monarchs' explosiveness also functions as a counter to the relationship of lowly Bottom and comical Titania. Although one could read Titania's enchantment as a debased form of punishment ultimately controlled by Oberon, David Bevington argues that Titania is not diminished in her encounter with Bottom.[62] She feeds Bottom delicate fruits and places flowers on his head, leaving Bevington to conclude that, "[r]ather than [descend] into the realm of human passion and perversity, she has attempted to raise Bottom into her own."[63] In this way, Titania's encounter with Bottom could potentially serve an aspirational purpose that is somewhat analogous to Gloriana's oneiric visit to Arthur.[64]

The connection between Arthur and Bottom can be taken further, however: Arthur appears in each of the six books of *The Faerie Queene*, while Bottom is active in each of *Midsummer*'s "four social divisions: he joins the Fairy world as Titania's consort; he becomes one of the lovers; he leads the 'rude mechanicals'; and he entertains at the court of Athens."[65] Even the men's descriptions of their encounters with the fairy queens are similar in tone and content. When asked how he came to travel in Faeryland, Arthur admits,

> Full hard it is […] to read aright
> The course of heauenly cause, or vnderstand
> The secret meaning of th'eternall might,
> That rules mens ways, and rules the thoughts of liuing wight.[66]

As he reveals more about his dream encounter, he admits his uncertainty as to "whether dreams delude, or true it were," concluding that, either way, no heart "Was [ever …] rauisht with delight" as his was, "Ne liuing man like words did euer heare."[67] When Bottom awakes and finds himself transformed back to his usual shape, he assumes that he has had a fantastic dream, "a most rare vision" (*MND* 4.1.203). He admits that his encounter with Titania was

> past the wit of man to say what dream it was. Man is but an ass if he go about to expound this dream. Methought I was—there is no man can tell what. […] The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report what my dream was. (*MND* 4.1.204–12)

In fact, as he simultaneously tries to make sense of his memories and admits the impossibility of comprehending them, Bottom lapses into nonsense.

One could also note the creative potential to be found in both men's dream-like encounters. Arthur's time with Gloriana spurs his quest and provides a framework for Spenser's larger poem, and Bottom's time with Titania also inspires: he plans to commission Peter Quince to compose an account called "Bottom's Dream," endearingly titled as such "because it hath no bottom" (*MND* 4.1.212–14, 214). While Holland notes that the weaver's explanation—"it hath no bottom"—suggests that the narrative will lack realism or contain an "unfathomably profound" depth, I would argue that "it hath no bottom" could also hint at the sort of endless diversions and layers found in Spenser's unfinished poem.[68] Comedy allows a weaver to have exactly this sort of mysterious, inspiring experience with a fairy queen, while allegory allows for definite contact with the queen to be endlessly deferred.

The Fairy Queens and Genre

Although comedy initially allows for a loosening of traditional boundaries, providing the means for people to climb the social ladder or be thrust further down it, for example, the genre's conservative nature will always move toward resolution and the reestablishment of earlier conditions. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* opens with women's disruptive insubordination in three strata (Hermia in the domestic, Hippolyta in the political, and Titania in the fairy), but it soon resolves with all women neatly under the control of a patriarchal figure. Indeed, Chaudhuri observes that "the power of patriarchy" in Theseus' Athens "is more apparent than the power of love."[69] While under the influence of Oberon's drug, Titania has even, "in mild terms, begged [Oberon's] patience" and "straight … [given]" over the changeling, the potion apparently creating a leniency that extends beyond the queen's relationship with Bottom (*MND* 4.1.57, 59). She wakes from her magical slumber and is entirely reconciled with Oberon. Husband and wife "take hands" and dance near the sleeping lovers, blessing those relationships, and they close the play "Hand in hand, with fairy grace," ready to offer blessings for Theseus and Hippolyta the following day (*MND* 4.1.84, 5.1.389). The once headstrong Titania even needs Oberon to explain the previous night's events to her, the queen's autonomy and spark eclipsed in her passive observation that "sleeping here [she] was found / With these mortals on the ground" (*MND* 4.1.100–1). Indeed, transformation in the magical forest is only ever temporary.

While comedy fleetingly allows for reimagined relationships and social positions before returning to original conditions, allegory assumes a creative distancing from the world outside of the text, even as it relies on the reader's ability to distinguish between the layers. As Angus Fletcher explains, "In the simplest terms, allegory says one thing and means another. It destroys the normal expectations we have about language, that our words 'mean what they say.'"[70] Really, I would posit, allegory does both things at once: it means what it says, and it means something else. Fletcher points out that the literal narrative "makes good enough sense all by itself," yet that narrative will "[become] richer and more interesting" once the reader looks beyond the basic plot and considers the allegorical layers that refer to extra-textual conditions.[71] In Spenser's poem, however, there is no end to the layers or, more often than not, the narratives.

Indeed, quests in the poem are rarely concluded with perfect closure, and each defeated villain is replaced with another. Importantly, the world of Faeryland and the faery identity are intertwined with self-conscious references to narrative. With a focus on narrative allegory, Maureen Quilligan argues that "allegory finds the limits of its possibility" in language and consistently refers to its own use of language, its own "making of allegory."[72] Her points here are crucial to understanding Gloriana's position in *The Faerie Queene* as well as the limits on potential action that are written into the generic structure of the text itself.

Arthur's journey is left incomplete at the end of Book VI, and, as Reid notes, "[c]ommunion with Gloriana, the poem's titular subject and Arthur's goal, is equally unrealized. She is not just an Idea, an immaterial *visio*, but a potentially complex character who leaves vestigial traces"—her body's imprint on the grass at I.ix.15.1–22, for example—yet the glorious faery queen who initiates all major quests in the poem is ultimately "elusive[, disappearing] in the majestic unfinished ruin of [Spenser's] epic."[73] Quilligan reads the *allos*, the "other" signaled in the term "allegory," as "not some other hovering above the words of the text, but the possibility of an otherness, a polysemy, inherent in the very words on the page; allegory therefore names the fact that language can signify many things at once."[74] At the same time, the genre "does tend […] to disintegrate into a kind of double-talk, a process of verbal legerdemain designed to hide, rather than to reveal meaning."[75] Even within the six completed books of *The Faerie Queene*, the material effects of the absent Gloriana's quests remain unclear; the challenges are left unresolved, or, if completed, they open into new ones.

Importantly, Matthew Woodcock notes, "From the outset of the poem, faery is established as a sign for something else—a transparent surface inviting continued decoding and interpretation."[76] While Arthur's quest is referenced in all six completed books, thus presenting "a story of fairy" as "the central and seminal stimulus for everything that the narrator proceeds to present," Spenser's presentation of fairies draws attention to itself as constructed, as a "process of veiling and speaking" that "consciously stresses the inherently unmimetic nature of his surface narrative."[77] In fact, Woodcock goes further to note that "the artificiality of Spenser's fairies is consciously redoubled by an

added layer of narratorial self-consciousness. Each of the [relevant] episodes […] deals with a story of fairy that is narrated or read by characters within the *fabula* of *The Faerie Queene*."[78] Furthermore, Arthur's memory of his dream encounter is embedded in a larger narrative told to his companions, Una and Red Cross Knight, and he remains uncertain about "whether dreames delude" as they pertain to his time with the faery queen.[79] In this way, Spenser's narrative about narratives also keeps Gloriana very clearly a literary construct, the sort of queen who does not and cannot exist in the "real world" outside of the poem. Even as it creates connections to extra-textual geography and rulers, the poem itself is insistently textual; the allegorical folds, the stories within stories, limit Gloriana's actions by constantly deferring any sort of conclusion.

Conclusion

While critics can productively engage with the two fairy queens as foils, reading Titania as "not […] a glorified Gloriana but […] a parody of the prototype," we can also broaden this scope to consider the regal fairies as dynamic figures of action who instigate material changes in the worlds that surround them, even as generic constraints ultimately curb their actions.[80] The comedic elements that allow Titania to fall for a weaver with an ass' head will also direct her back toward wifely obedience (at least until the next comedy begins, and she and Oberon square off once more). The allegorical structures that provide Spenser such complicated and aesthetically rich perspectives will also keep Gloriana's rule separate from any sort of practical realism.

Of course, Gloriana can be read as a representation of Elizabeth's body politic, in much the same way that Titania could be read as an echo of frustrations with the English queen's system of courtly love; in both cases, however, the alignments are always representational or diegetical, not mimetic. The viewer or reader encounters versions of Elizabeth in *The Faerie Queene*, but she is divided and refracted. Her political office is represented in part by Gloriana, "and her kingdome in Faery land," but her physical body is suggested through that of the virginal Belphoebe.[81] Even here, however, Spenser proceeds with ambiguity: as Boehrer argues, Elizabeth is not split neatly into two mirrors, for Gloriana is described as chaste, while Belphoebe is high born and raised by a goddess.[82] Furthermore, several other women in the poem suggest singular aspects of Elizabeth's rule, in much the same way that they suggest singular aspects of Gloriana's. Elizabeth's queenly body does not then divide into political and natural; rather, it "[multiplies]—in fact both a propagation and a refigurement—[…and] the political exigencies of Spenser's poem demand" this maneuver.[83] Like her counterpart Gloriana, Titania potentially connects to an aspect of Elizabeth's reign but not the whole, and, like Gloriana, the connections are left opaque. While Shakespeare's fairy queen might signal annoyance with the cult of Elizabeth or past systems of courtly love, other elements of the English queen's representational and political personae can be seen more easily in Hermia, the young woman who insists on her right to choose a partner

in marriage; Hippolyta, the conquered Amazon whose opinion of marriage remains unclear; and the "fair vestal, throned by the west," who escapes "Cupid's fiery shaft" and continues her travels by moonlight (*MND* 2.1.158, 161, 162–4).

Without a doubt, Titania allows for a more immediate, accessible, and fun depiction of queenship than does Gloriana. She is a unique representation of monarchy within Shakespeare's larger canon, which tends to focus on representing powerful women from historical record, and perhaps this separation from the world of history and politics, this convenient distancing from real figures such as Elizabeth, also encourages the development of such a memorable character, even if her antics are eventually sidelined to agree with patriarchal expectations for wifely submission.

Notes

1. Gloriana is generally described as faery, not fairy, in Edmund Spenser's poem. For consistency and as a means of distinguishing the two women, I shall refer to Gloriana alone as the faery queen; given the preference for "fairy" in William Shakespeare's comedy, Titania will occasionally be labelled the fairy queen. Both figures together will be called fairy queens.
2. A. Leigh DeNeef, "Raleigh, Letter to," in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*, ed. A.C. Hamilton (Toronto, ON; Buffalo, NY: University of Toronto Press; Routledge, 1990), 582.
3. Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, rev. 2nd ed., ed. A.C. Hamilton et al. (1590 and 1596; Harlowe, England: Pearson Longman, 2007), 716, III Proem 5. Hereafter *FQ*.
4. For example, James P. Bednarz, "Imitations of Spenser in 'A Midsummer Night's Dream,'" *Renaissance Drama* 14 (1983): 79–102; Bruce Thomas Boehrer, "'Carelesse Modestee': Chastity as Politics in Book 3 of *The Faerie Queene*," *ELH* 55, no. 3 (1988): 555–73; Louis Adrian Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies': Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture," in *Representing the English Renaissance*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 31–64.
5. Jackson C. Boswell, *Spenser Allusions: In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries Addenda*, *Studies in Philology* 109, no. 2 (2012), 364; Robert Lanier Reid, "Spenser and Shakespeare: Polarized Approaches to Psychology," in *Shakespeare and Spenser: Attractive Opposites*, ed. J. B. Lethbridge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 90–2.
6. Spenser, *FQ*, 716, III Proem 5.
7. Robert Reid, "The Fairy Queen: Gloriana or Titania?" *The Upstart Crow* 13 (1993): 20.
8. Reid, "Spenser," 90, "Fairy," 17.
9. Harold F. Brooks, introduction to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, by William Shakespeare, edited by Harold F. Brooks (London: Methuen, 1979), xxxvii.; William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Sukanta Chaudhuri, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 2.1.62, 81–117.
10. *FQ*, III.iii.52; I.i.5, vii.43–6.

11. *FQ*, II.ii.42–3, 717.
12. Sukanta Chaudhuri, "Introduction," in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 96, 97.
13. Bednarz, "Imitations," 88.
14. Bednarz, "Imitations," 88.
15. Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies,'" 32.
16. Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies,'" 54.
17. Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies,'" 55.
18. Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies,'" 55.
19. Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies,'" 35.
20. Hugo Soly, "The Political Economy of European Craft Guilds: Power Relations and Economic Strategies of Merchants and Master Artisans in the Medieval and Early Modern Textile Industries," in *The Return of the Guilds*, eds. Jan Lucassen, Tine De Moor, and Jan Luiten (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 62.
21. A.G. van Krandendonk, "Spenserian Echoes in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *English Studies* 14, no. 2 (1932): 21.
22. Boswell, *Spenser Allusions*, 364; J.B. Lethbridge, introduction to *Shakespeare and Spenser: Attractive Opposites*, ed. J.B. Lethbridge (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 26.
23. Lethbridge, *Attractive Opposites*, 35.
24. Reid "Spenser," 90.
25. Bednarz, "Imitations," 85, 86.
26. Reid, "Fairy," 17. Bednarz, "Imitations," 80. James P. Bednarz also reads *Midsummer* as a clear parody of *Faerie Queene*; additionally, the critic connects the play to Spenser's less well-known 1591 work *The Teares of the Muses*. Brooks, introduction, lviii, lviii–lxii; Peter Holland, introduction to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, by William Shakespeare (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 49–53, 69–71; Maurice Hunt, "A Speculative Political Allegory in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *Comparative Drama* 34, no. 4 (2000–2001): 426–31, doi: 10.1353/cdr.2000.0010; Minor White Latham, *The Elizabethan Fairies: The Fairies of Folklore and the Fairies of Shakespeare* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 35. Although *Faerie Queene* is the intertext of greatest interest in my discussion of *Midsummer*, Shakespeare did find inspiration in several texts, including Apuleius' *The Golden Ass*, Geoffrey Chaucer's "The Knight's Tale" and "Sir Tophas's Tale," Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*. The 1591 Kenilworth and 1595 Elvetham Entertainments also provided source material.
27. Bednarz, "Imitations," 98.
28. Spenser, *FQ*, II.ii.42–3, 717.
29. Holland, introduction, 31–2.
30. *FQ*, III.viii.46, II.i.31, V.xi.37.
31. Thomas Cain, *Praise in* The Faerie Queene (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1978), 111.
32. Cain, *Praise*, 112.
33. Jeffrey P. Fruen, "'True Glorious Type': The Place of Gloriana in *The Faerie Queene*," *Spenser Studies* 7 (1986/1987): 148–49.
34. Wayne Erickson, *Mapping* The Faerie Queene: *Quest Structure and the World of the Poem* (New York: Garland, 1996), 3.
35. *FQ*, II.ii.42–3, 717; Erickson, *Mapping*, 6.

36. Erickson, *Mapping*, 7, 6–7.
37. *FQ*, 715.
38. *FQ*, 717
39. *FQ*, III.i.8, ii.17, iii.22–8, iv.6–10, IV.vi.26–9, vi.40–1, V.vii.21–3, vii.29; III. ii.4.
40. *FQ*, V.viii.2.
41. *FQ*, I.ix.15.2, 7.3; III.iv.61.2.
42. *FQ*, I.ix.14.1, 13.8; II.ix.3.4, 5–7.
43. *FQ*, II.ix.3.6, 716.
44. *FQ*, I.ix.14.3, 15.9, 16.1, 16.2.
45. Holland, introduction, 6.
46. Chaudhuri, introduction, 77.
47. Holland, introduction, 9.
48. Holland, introduction, 81.
49. Holland, introduction, 31–2; Chaudhuri, introduction, 53.
50. Holland, introduction, 32–3; see also Noel Purdon, "Myth in Action: The Substructure to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," in *The Words of Mercury: Shakespeare and the English Mythography of the Renaissance* (Salzburg: Institut für Englische Sprache und Literatur, Universät Salzburg, 1974), 174–75.
51. Purdon, "Myth in Action," 179–80, 188.
52. Holland, introduction, 21, 28. Chaudhuri, "Introduction," 47. Sukanta Chaudhuri goes further to suggest that "[v]iolence, conflict and mischief are scaled down and neutralized in [the fairies'] world." According to Chaudhuri, the fairies in *Midsummer* "cause damage and confusion by error": while they maintain power, "they have been downscaled and exonerated of either will or capacity to work serious harm," and they ultimately work to mediate any harm caused by their misbehavior.
53. Purdon, "Myth in Action," 185.
54. Latham, *Elizabethan Fairies*, 120.
55. Latham, *Elizabethan Fairies*, 122.
56. Latham, *Elizabethan Fairies*, 183–84.
57. Latham, *Elizabethan Fairies*, 101, 102.
58. Brooks, introduction, xxxvii.
59. Holland, introduction, 34.
60. Bednarz, "Imitations," 98.
61. See, for example, Bednarz, "Imitations"; Boehrer, "'Carelesse Modestee'"; Montrose, "'Shaping Fantasies.'"; David Bevington, "'But We Are Spirits of Another Sort': The Dark Side of Love and Magic in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*," *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 7 (1975): 89.
62. Bevington, "'But We,'" 91.
63. Bevington, "'But We,'" 91.
64. *FQ*, I.ix.13–15.
65. Bednarz, "Imitations," 98.
66. *FQ*, I.ix.6.6–9.
67. *FQ*, I.ix.14.5, 6, 7.
68. See *MND* 228, note 213.
69. Chaudhuri, introduction, 83.
70. Angus Fletcher, introduction to *Allegory: The Theory of a Symbolic Mode* (1964; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 2.

71. Fletcher, *Allegory*, 7.
72. Maureen Quilligan, *The Language of Allegory: Defining the Genre* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1979), 15.
73. Reid, "Spenser," 87, 120.
74. Quilligan, *Language of Allegory*, 26.
75. Quilligan, *Language of Allegory*, 27.
76. Matthew Woodcock, *Fairy in* The Faerie Queene: *Renaissance Elf-Fashioning and Elizabethan Myth-Making* (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2004), 51.
77. Woodcock, *Fairy*, 60, 68.
78. Woodcock, *Fairy*, 75.
79. *FQ*, I.ix.2.6, 14.4.
80. Boswell, *Spenser Allusions*, 364.
81. *FQ*, 716, III Proem 5.
82. Boehrer, "'Carelesse Modestee,'" 556.
83. Boehrer, "'Carelesse Modestee,'" 556.

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CHAPTER 21

The Princess of France: Difference and Dif(fé)rance in *Love's Labour's Lost*

Aurélie Griffin

Historical ties across the Channel have ensured a good number of French princesses and queens in Shakespeare's drama. Margaret of Anjou in the *Henry VI* plays and Katherine in *Henry V* are memorable examples of historical princesses being reinvented on stage. In the more surprising context of a comedy, *Love's Labour's Lost* presents an unnamed French princess who is sent on an embassy to Navarre and becomes queen after her father's death. Her intriguing anonymity—a unique case for a protagonist in Shakespeare's plays—suggests that she is more than the royal love interest of the king and underlines her political role, as discussed in detail in Carolyn Brown's chapter. On the one hand, the embassy, which appears as little more than a pretext to start the plot—the original conflict about land and money being easily settled at the end of the play—presents her as the equal of the King of Navarre, despite her gender. On the other hand, the fact that she does not become queen until the end of the play reminds the audience of her subordinate position as the daughter of a king. She actually should not rule herself because of Salic Law, a principle according to which a woman must not rule the country alone.

As the envoy, and later ruler, of a Catholic kingdom visiting a Protestant realm, the Princess is decidedly *other*, as a woman, a foreigner and a Catholic. *Love's Labour's Lost* thus partly, but not quite, reflects the situation of Elizabethan England. In this chapter, I argue that the character's gender, foreignness, and status as a princess create a set of differences that turn her into a distorting mirror of Elizabeth I. These differences are both *external*, setting

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the play's France against referential England while suggesting a number of similarities; and *internal*, presenting France and Navarre as direct opposites. In that respect, the Princess may be linked to Elizabeth I thanks to the Derridean notion of *différance*.

This chapter first examines the play's emphasis on the Princess' gendered otherness, before turning to its emphasis on foreignness. Finally, I consider the Princess' fundamentally *différante* identity, offering to explain the paradoxical collusion of identical and contrary characteristics between the Princess and Elizabeth by using the concept of *différance*.

Gender Difference

Love's Labour's Lost opposes two aristocratic circles, which are consistently defined as the negative of each other: the first is composed of men exclusively, the second only of women, with the exception of Boyet. In the lords of Navarre's static court, serious intellectual pursuits are supposed to constitute all of the characters' actions: "The mind shall banquet though the body pine; / Fat paunches have lean pates."[1] The body and its needs are denied as sensory experiences are forbidden:

> But there are other strict observances:
> As not to see a woman in that term,
> Which I hope well is not enrolled there;
> And one day in a week to touch no food,
> And but one meal on every day beside,
> The which I hope is not enrolled there;
> And then to sleep but three hours in the night,
> And not be seen to wink of all the day,
> When I was wont to think no harm all night,
> And make a dark night too of half the day,
> Which I hope well is not enrolled there.
> O, these are barren tasks, too hard to keep;
> Not to see ladies, fast, not sleep. (*LLL* 1.2.36–48)

Berowne comically underlines the unnatural dimension of the oath, which aims at submitting the body to the mind through an iron will. Having vowed to retire from the world and study with the King of France for three years, the lords must follow collateral rules which deprive them from all bodily satisfaction.

The passage explicitly mentions three of the five senses (sight, touch, and taste) and heavily focuses on sight, which is hardly surprising given the early modern emphasis on the latter. In the early modern period, sight was indeed considered as "the most noble, perfect, and admirable" of the senses, as the one from which love originated in the neo-Platonic doctrine.[2] If the idea of falling in love is thus implied, however, the ternary rhythm of the last line of the passage equates the three actions as similarly indispensable physical needs and sug-

gests that women are primarily to be experienced through sight. Queenship made this situation even more deeply felt, as Elizabeth I made clear in a 1584 speech: "The eyes of many behold our actions; a spot is soon spied in our garments, a blemish quickly noted in our doings."[3] While she constructed her own image as a constant object of attention for her courtiers both in her appearances in the flesh and in portraiture, Elizabeth simultaneously reminded them of her own powers of observation with her motto *video et taceo* (I see and am silent).[4] The phrase may even have been ironically remembered in the last line of the passage from *Love's Labour's Lost* quoted above, implicitly opposing a wordy gentleman who vows "not to see ladies" to an all-seeing female monarch. The irony would have, of course, been emphasized when Elizabeth saw the play performed at court. Just like Elizabeth with her fellow monarchs and courtiers, the French ladies challenge the lords of Navarre by asserting themselves not only as objects of the gaze but also as gazing subjects, in particular when they turn their backs on them during the Masque of the Muscovites.[5]

The sensuous definition of women becomes even more pointed in the opening scene of the play, when Berowne associates women and food in his speech. He does not merely list unrelated physical pleasures. Neither does he only suggest a symbolic connection between means of survival and of reproduction. More importantly, Berowne metaphorically designates women *as* food, as creatures (one hesitates to write "products") that can be experienced through the same senses, and implicitly some of the same organs. This identification is facilitated by the dual meaning of the phrase "to touch no food," the most explicit reference to lack of nourishment by associating two senses, while the other functions as a euphemism for sexual intercourse. The shift from food to women *as* food explains the otherwise surprising movement from women to food to sleep in Berowne's speech. Rather than juxtaposing three different aspects of the bodily life that the lords are leaving behind, the speech develops a consistent idea. Berowne will touch no food *because* he will see no women for three years. Ironically, it is not because of women that Berowne "[can]not sleep." In the absence of contact with women, Berowne's wakeful nights will now be occupied by study rather than sex. The phrase "barren tasks" thus makes the proper and the figurative senses co-exist, while the letter "O" (evoking the vagina) and the adjective "hard" (suggesting erection) are pushed as far away as possible from each other in the same line. The "barren[ness]" of the lords' "tasks" is translated in the body of the text, foreshadowing the open ending of the play with its delayed—or nonexistent—marriages. Experienced as food, women are implicitly seen as mindless creatures, as mere bodies that can be used by men. The opening scene exposes the lords' failed attempt to define their existence in purely intellectual terms, pitting men against women as minds against bodies.

When the ladies enter the stage, Boyet's praise of the Princess' beauty limits their existence to the physical (*LLL* 2.1.1–12), an objectification that the Princess explicitly refuses (*LLL* 2.1.13–16). She distinguishes two different types of beauty, a factual one that can only be experienced by sight, and a rhetorical construct devised by men:

> Good Lord Boyet, my beauty, though but mean,
> Needs not the painted flourish of your praise.
> Beauty is bought by judgement of the eyes,
> Not uttered by base sale of chapmen's tongues. (*LLL* 2.1.13–16)

The Princess opposes the objectivity of sight, tellingly designating it by bodily organs, to the subjective self-interest of language. This opposition could once again function as a reminder of Elizabeth I's motto, *video et taceo*—one that would be all the more ironic if neither the Princess of France nor Elizabeth were, in effect, silent.[6] In their world, beauty is a commodity to be bought and sold, a currency in a commercial exchange on the marriage market. Boyet, as a courtier, has much to gain by praising the Princess, just like Elizabeth's courtiers with the queen. The dynamics of the court depicted in *Love's Labour's Lost* are thus not entirely dissimilar to those at work under Elizabeth's reign.[7] The rhetoric of praise prevents efficient communication between lords and ladies. In Act 4, scene 1, the Princess refuses to be praised by the Forester, only to learn that he intended no such thing:

> *Forester.* Hereby, upon the edge of yonder coppice,
> A stand where you may make the fairest shoot.
> *Princess.* I thank my beauty, I am fair that shoot,
> And thereupon thou speak'st "the fairest shoot".
> *Forester.* Pardon me, madam, for I meant not so.
> *Princess.* What, what? First praise me, and again say no?
> O, short-lived pride! Not fair? Alack for woe! (*LLL* 4.1.9–15)

Raised at court, she presumes any words uttered by men to be flattery. While this weariness is shared by her attendants, the Princess' status means that she must have been (even more) often introduced to eligible, ambitious bachelors looking for social promotion through marriage. Only characters who are out of her social league can address her directly, and without being influenced by the language of neo-Petrarchan poetry, as their inferiority ensures that they will not try to seduce her.

When the Princess meets rustic characters, she is liberated from compliment, and comically, though perhaps somewhat painfully, has to learn to face facts. In the same scene, Costard, who is looking to deliver a letter to Rosaline, equates social domination with physical excess:

> *Costard.* Which is the greatest lady, the highest?
> *Princess.* The thickest and the tallest.
> *Costard.* The thickest and the tallest. It is so, truth is truth.
> An your waist, mistress, were as slender as my wit,
> One o' these maids' girdles for your waist should be fit.
> Are you not the chief woman? You are the thickest here. (*LLL* 4.1.48–51)

The usual superlatives to pay homage to the Princess' beauty become mere statements of fact which turn out to be barely laudatory. Ironically, being so far away from the Princess in the social spectrum allows the Forester and Costard to address her as an equal, rather than adopting the sycophantic language of the lords and of the King of Navarre himself. The rustic characters' lack of (courtly) education prompts them to the expression of plain, tautological truth. They thus emphasize the rhetoric of seduction which pollutes the communication between lords and ladies. Even in the lowly characters' deflated words, however, the Princess is always described in physical terms. As a woman, her whole existence is encompassed in her body in the eyes of men—of whatever social class.

The play thus initially opposes men and women as if they each occupied one end of the spectrum in the relation between body and mind. However, the characterization of each set of characters gradually becomes more complex, incorporating the realm of existence they at first seemed to reject. The lords' attempt to deny corporeality and mortality almost immediately proves impossible. The ladies' imminent arrival, together with the incursion on stage of farcical characters who function as hypertrophied bodies ("Costard," whose name ironically means "head," and the pregnant Jaquenetta, the "manner" of their encounters being the subject of Costard's first appearance) symbolize the futility and inescapable failure of the oath. The ladies, who had first been described as creatures of a purely physical, sensory nature, belie the lords' misogynistic assumptions thanks to the quality of their wit. However, their wit is described in bodily terms—it remains associated with the body rather than being an exclusive emanation of the mind: "The tongues of mocking wenches are as keen / As is the razor's edge invisible" (*LLL* 5.2.256–7). These lines are said by Boyet, the one male character belonging to the women's circle, and betray a fear of emasculation. Displacing the intellectual faculty of wit from the mind to the body, the ladies' tongues work as substitutes of the men's penises and become a weapon which threatens their masculinity.

The emphasis on the ladies' tongues in the play echoes some of the misogynistic stereotypes of the time. In *The Schoolhouse of Women* (1541), women are excessive by nature and are exclusively governed by their senses.[8] They are nothing but monstrous bodies, to the point that they even seem to be deprived of a brain:

> [Women] Have tongue at large, voice loud and shrill,
> Of words wondrous, passing store,
> Stomach stout, with froward will,
> And namely when ye touch the sore
> With one bare word or little more,
> They flush and flame, as hot as fire,
> And swell as a toad with fervent ire.[9]

The passage functions like the parody of a blazon, adding up organs, passions, and senses through heavy alliteration to convey the monstrosity of women. Though formulated in more delicate terms, Boyet's comment similarly presents a vision of women as hypertrophied tongues, echoing the allegory of Rumour at the beginning of *Henry IV, Part 2*: "Enter Rumour painted full of tongues" (Induction).[10] Even if the ladies' tongues symbolize their wit in *Love's Labour's Lost*, they still evoke the misogynistic cliché of women as garrulous creatures whose speech is fundamentally excessive and uncontrollable—one that is in part confirmed by the ladies' abundant use of language in the play.

Despite her own wit, the Princess contradicts this cliché when she purports to exercise a degree of control over her companions' use of language:

> Good wits will be jangling; but, gentles, agree,
> This civil war of wits were much better used
> On Navarre and his bookmen, for here 'tis abused. (*LLL* 2.1.224–6)

The Princess thus distinguishes herself from her courtiers—both men and women—in mastering the excess of wit in which they all indulge. She proves her ability to rule over her people by exercising moral guidance—ironically, at the expense of the lords of Navarre. She thus exposes the thinking mind in her body, demonstrating her capacity for reason.

Rather paradoxically, the play posits the Princess both as a member of a gender-defined group and sets her apart from it. Being initially construed through the lords of Navarre's point of view, she is first reduced to an object of male desire and in that regard is almost a lady like any other. When she appears on stage, however, she quickly comes to deserve her title by manifesting the qualities expected of a monarch, in which the King of Navarre has immediately been shown to be lacking. The Princess takes on a masculine role of leadership better than her male counterpart, ironically confirming the anticipated failure of Navarre's project. She simultaneously embodies a feminine triumph and a feminine threat to the patriarchal social order in which she is now evolving.

Bearing this in mind, it is difficult not to view the Princess as an avatar of Elizabeth I, a queen who famously commented upon her gender ambiguity in her Tilbury speech: "I know I have the body but of a weak and feeble woman, but I have the heart and stomach of a King, and of a King of England, too."[11] In this speech, monarchical authority is masculine as if by necessity. Yet the queen also famously controlled her appearance to emphasize her femininity.[12] Lisa Hopkins notes that gender ambiguity is "the most characteristic marker of Elizabeth's own writing."[13] Mary Beth Rose similarly remarks that "[Elizabeth's] rhetorical technique involves appeasing widespread fears about female rule by adhering to conventions that assert the inferiority of the female gender only to supersede those conventions" and that "these claims represent a specifically female mode of defining authority."[14] Exceeding the gender categories that were thought to define human existence at the time turned Elizabeth into an androgynous wonder and could become proof of her extraordinary, divine

nature. While the queen's then thirty-seven-year-long reign had given her ample time to perfect that strategy, the Princess of France was apparently devising it on stage. Watching *Love's Labour's Lost* could thus function as a trip back in time in which the audience could discover a not-too-dissimilar future queen learning the ropes.

While the lords tried to conceive of their existence by denying the body its presence and needs, they also failed to limit the ladies, and in particular the Princess' existence, to the body. Beginning as two poles apart, the two sets of characters are brought closer together as the audience is reminded of the hybrid nature of humanity. The lords' imagined retreat appears as an escape from women's intellectual and sexual power. Femininity thus proves to be a strength rather than a weakness. In a cultural context that associated Frenchness with femininity or effeminacy, the lords of Navarre thus appear as doubly at risk.[15]

France and Navarre

Just as it opposes the two sexes, *Love's Labour's Lost* sets two nations against each other: France versus Navarre. This opposition plays on early modern stereotypes to apparently pit a female, Catholic France against a male, Protestant Navarre. While the nations are less emphasized than gender distinction on stage, the opposition between France and Navarre contributes to the identification of the Princess as *other* in terms of her foreignness.

Although she is named "the Princess of France" in the *dramatis personae* and stage directions, the Princess' country is rarely mentioned explicitly in the play. She is first introduced as "the French king's daughter" by Navarre (*LLL* 1.1.133) and uses almost the exact same words to have Boyet introduce her as "the daughter of the King of France" (*LLL* 2.1.30). When the ladies appear on stage for the second time, at the beginning of the hunting scene, the Princess reminds her companions that "On Saturday we return to France", underlining the fact that they are strangers in Navarre (*LLL* 4.1.7). In the same way, the King of Navarre had hoped that the Princess would "go well satisfied to France again" (*LLL* 2.1.152). The word "France" is much less used than in the history plays, and there are very few references to actual places. The audience must use their own knowledge of both France and Navarre to imagine them.

The Princess' name is never revealed, contrary to the King of Navarre who is called Ferdinand. The three different speech prefixes that are used to refer to the King in the quarto edition suggest that he is all at once his own person (*Fer.*), a monarch (*Kin.*), and the embodiment of his country (*Na.*).[16] It was customary to use a country's name to refer to its ruler (as in 2.1.226, quoted above). The Princess' anonymity emphasizes both her status and her country of origin. Since "France" is a woman's first name in French, this detail could increase the identification between the Princess and her country—even if she is never called as such. If France itself is rarely named, however, "Aquitaine" is mentioned several times. It is the object of the Princess' embassy, and a point of contention between France and Navarre—just as it was between France and

England during the Hundred Years' War. "Normandy" similarly reminds the audience both of the ties and conflicts between England and France. Contrary to Navarre, which appears as a single entity—an indivisible space represented by the closed court—France is implicitly presented as a split territory. At the end of the play, however, the King of Navarre grants the request he had initially seemed to reject from the Princess, settling the question of Aquitaine favorably for the French. The implication is therefore that of an expanding nation growing stronger, threatening to invade others just as the Princess and her ladies vouch to enter Navarre at all costs.

The play symbolically highlights the distinction between France and Navarre. Each nation is characterized by a disproportion between the number of men and women who seem to people it: only three French men are present or mentioned (Boyet, Marcadé, and the King), and only one woman in Navarre (Jaquenetta). This disproportion conveys the impression of countries composed almost exclusively of men or women, in open conflict with each other. The play thus seems to present a "war of the sexes."[17] However, neither the ladies' attitudes are characterized as "feminine" nor the lords' as "masculine." Retired from the world, the lords elect to lead a domestic life while the ladies, forced to remain in the field, seem to lay the court under siege before penetrating it despite Navarre's interdiction.[18] The ladies' position outside the pale spatially represents their foreignness, although all the characters in the play speak English.

In the "great feast of languages" that is *Love's Labour's Lost*, it is surprising that there should not be more French (*LLL* 5.1.35–6). The relative absence of French stands in contrast with *Henry V*, in which an entire scene is devoted to the bilingual courtship of the King and Katherine, and what may be lost—or gained—in translation, as the French Princess' ignorance of English allows the creation of double entendre and offers a telling critique of Henry's heroism.[19] While Latin, Italian, and Spanish are used in phrases or even whole sentences in *Love's Labour's Lost*, the play presents only a few, short French words and phrases: "*adieu*," "*sans question*," "*allons*," all of which are used by the pedant Holofernes, and "*sans.*"[20] After Berowne assures her that "My love to thee is sound, *sans* crack or flaw," Rosaline answers "*Sans* '*sans*,' I pray you," ironically—since she is French—associating the French word with the rhetorical excess Berowne promises to relinquish at the end of the play (*LLL* 5.2.415–16). Moreover, Rosaline seems to forget that she herself used a French phrase for the purpose of repartee in an earlier exchange with her lover. "Will you prick 't [his heart] with your eye?" Berowne asks in Act 2, scene 1. "*Non point*, with my knife," Rosaline answers (*LLL* 2.1.188–9). The French phrase was italicized in the original quarto edition of *Love's Labour's Lost* as well as in the First Folio, so as "to display its being in French,"[21] in other words to emphasize its foreignness and set it apart from the English text. The French word "*point*," which forms a part of the (now archaic) negation, resembles that of *pointe*, a sharp object such as a needle or the tip of a knife. The word thus answers

Berowne's use of the verb "to prick," suggesting that "the woman possesses, in this exchange, the phallic 'knife' that has the power to cure/penetrate Berowne's heart," as William C. Carroll notes in his edition.[22] Patricia Parker adds that Rosaline "play[s] on the double sense of 'eye' as female genitalia (and hence her supposed lack of 'point') but nevertheless offering to 'prick it'."[23] The use of French thus appears as an additional weapon in the ladies' arsenal.

The very presence of French words is, after all, as surprising as their scarcity. The fictional situation here is that English *stands for* French, the language that would have been spoken both by the French and the Navarrese. This, together with their noble status, explains why both sets of characters display equal mastery of English, when Armado's lack of it is constantly pointed out and made fun of by those on stage. Such a fiction also explains why the Princess speaks no French, but when Rosaline does, the illusion is shattered. The linguistic confusion is comically highlighted by Costard when he purports to deliver "a letter from *Monsieur* Berowne to one *Lady* Rosaline," while meter would still have allowed the French "*Dame*." Some character names reflect this confusion: some editions use the anglicized "Berowne," which was used both in the quarto edition of *Love's Labour's Lost* and the First Folio, while others prefer the French "Biron."[24] The ladies' names, Rosaline, Maria, and Katherine, are reminiscent of French names but not quite the same: Rose, or possibly Rosalie, Marie, and Catherine would have been more authentic. "Dumaine" (Du Maine, possibly working as a nod to the dukedom of Anjou, which belonged to England in the Middle Ages) and "Longaville" (Longueville) similarly seem like French names that have been adapted for an English audience. The Princess' anonymity again makes her stand out from these names, rendering her character more linguistically neutral. Despite the Continental setting of the play, the use of English-for-French conveys a sense of familiarity to the audience. Which of the two countries, then, should the audience mostly identify with?

As the action is situated in Navarre, it is tempting to associate this fictional location with the one where the performance takes place. The closed dimension of the court of Navarre also echoes the circular, enclosed space of the playhouse, both of which may evoke insularity. There is also an effect of familiarity in Navarre, as the identity of the country disappears to present a conventional pastoral realm, completely at odds with the Wars of Religion that were tearing France and Navarre apart. Albert Tricomi thus suggests that, in the context of revivals of Marlowe's *Massacre at Paris*, "the portrayal of the French lords is part of a deliberate contra-topicality, a deliberate inversion of the topical wherein these persons are charmingly transmuted from the French civil war in to the fairy-tale world of Nérac" and that "Shakespeare's idealization of these lords was […] an appealing piece of escapism and fantasy."[25] Bearing those wars in mind, English audiences were more likely to side with the Protestant kingdom of Navarre rather than with Catholic France.

Although such association of Navarre and England remains only implicit, a passage from the play seems to confirm it:

Rosaline. Shall I come upon thee with an old saying that was a man when *King Pepin of France* was a little boy, as touching the hit-it?
Boyet. So I may answer thee with one as old, that was a woman when *Queen Guinevere of Britain* was a little wench, as touching the hit-it.
(*LLL* 4.1.118–23, my emphasis)

One might expect Boyet to take the example from Navarre so as to answer Rosaline's French reference and thus complete the reflection with their current opposition to the Navarrese lords. Instead, Boyet quotes a queen of Britain, implicitly replacing Navarre with England and suggesting that the one is to be taken for the other. As Arthurian Britain reached across the Channel, however, Guenevere's life and influence expanded over what had then become a part of France. "Britain" may be taken to mean "Brittany" here, that is to say, a territory that had once been fought over between England and France, just like Aquitaine and Normandy. Although it first seems to oppose the two kingdoms, therefore, the exchange between Rosaline and Boyet points to their conflicting histories and to the ambiguous identity of some of their territories. While the play first stresses the distinction between France and Navarre, it ultimately breaks down that opposition, creating a disturbing effect. The audience, who had been prompted to view similarities between Navarre and England, is also paradoxically reminded of Elizabeth I in the character of the Princess of France.

There are a number of important similarities between Elizabeth and the Princess. Both are unmarried women and still exercise political rule. Both are courted by eligible, powerful monarchs, but refuse marriage—at least, the Princess delays it (*LLL* 5.2.782–806). The Princess is her father's direct heir, as the rapidity of her transformation from princess to queen shows. The change happens over a half-sentence, when she completes Marcadé's aposiopesis: "The King, your father—/ "Dead, for my life!" (*LLL* 5.2.714–15). This exchange is even performative: by announcing the King's death, Marcadé and the Princess herself make her a queen, so that the audience can witness the transformation on stage. Although Elizabeth did not immediately succeed her father, she presented herself as his heir, notably by reinstating the Henrician Reformation after her sister Mary had effected a return to Catholicism.[26] If Elizabeth was the military leader of her kingdom, the Princess appears as the leader of an army of Amazons, even if the war they wage on Navarre is metaphorical. Like the Princess, Elizabeth enjoyed the courtly sport of hunting, as Woudhuysen recalls in his edition which reproduces a plate from George Turberville's *The noble arte of venerie or hunting* (1575) representing Elizabeth on a stag hunt.[27] Like Elizabeth, the Princess receives poems extolling her beauty and virtue.[28] The Princess' biting wit may also recall Elizabeth's. The Queen of England and the Princess of France therefore share more than a few characteristics, and the latter's anonymity may favor the connection by leaving her own identity a blank page.

These similarities are all the more troubling as she is the Princess of *France*, probably the European country that—together with Spain, which features in the play in the bombastic character of the "magnificent Armado" (*LLL* 1.1.188)—had the most conflicting history as well as notable cultural differences with England. On the one hand, the play thus constructs an image of the Princess of France as decidedly other because of her difference from a male, Protestant norm embodied by Navarre on stage. She is also different from her ladies because of her superior status. Her position is therefore unique, as it is characterized by a set of internal differences with the other characters. By emphasizing foreignness, the play also insists on the difference between its French fictional context and the English location of the theater, creating an exotic frame of reference. Moving the action across the Channel gives the playwright as much freedom to comment on matters at home as setting it in another period. Although she is presented as irreducibly other, the Princess is also paradoxically similar to Elizabeth. There is, of course, a great deal of irony in this implicit association of the Princess of France with Queen Elizabeth I.

Différance

Different and the same: it is through this paradox that the Derridean concept of *différance* can help us understand the Princess of France. Derrida bases his concept on a deliberately provocative error, substituting an –a for an –e, "a kind of gross spelling mistake, a lapse in the discipline and law which regulate writing and keep it seemly."[29] Such a play on words would not be out of place in *Love's Labour's Lost*, as the play is explicitly concerned with the materiality of language, with the substance of paper and ink,[30] as well as the distinction between the oral and the written word.[31] Despite the centuries that separate Derrida from Shakespeare, they both situate their critical thinking within manipulations of language. *Love's Labour's Lost* also draws attention to its own artificiality, and to the artificiality of its language, in a manner not dissimilar from Derrida's *différance*.

Derrida posits that *différance* "is neither a word nor a concept," which makes it all the more difficult to define.[32] *Différance* exceeds "a philosophical discourse operating according to principles, postulates, axioms or definitions":[33]

> In the delineation of *différance* everything is strategic and adventurous. Strategic because no transcendent truth present outside the field of writing can govern theologically the totality of the field. Adventurous because this strategy is not a simple strategy in the sense that strategy orients tactics according to a final goal, a *telos* or theme of domination, a mastery and ultimate reappropriation of the development of the field. Finally, a strategy without finality, what might be called blind tactics or empirical wandering if the value of empiricism did not in itself acquire its entire meaning in its opposition to philosophical responsibility. If there is a certain wandering in the tracing of *différance*, it no more follows the lines of philosophy of its symmetrical and integral inverse, empirical-logical discourse.

> The concept of play keeps itself beyond this opposition, announcing, on the eve of philosophy and beyond it, the unity of chance and necessity of calculations without end.[34]

"Delineation," "tracing": *différance* is not a fixed, preconceived notion, but a process in the making, one that the philosopher can uncover as it follows its meandering ways, moving forward without a predetermined goal. It is this openness, this free movement that makes *différance* a valid proposition to examine *Love's Labour's Lost*, a play that is also as decidedly open as its ending.

Derrida goes back to the two meanings of the verb *différer* to coin the word *différance*:

> [T]he verb *différer* (Latin verb *differre*) has two meanings which seem quite distinct […] the Latin *differre* [refers to] the action of putting off until later, of taking into account, of taking into account of time and of the forces of an operation that implies an economical calculation, a detour, a delay, a relay, a reserve, a representation—concepts that I would summarize here in a word I have never used but that could be inscribed in this chain: temporization. *Différer* in this sense is to temporize, to take recourse consciously or unconsciously, in the temporal and temporizing mediation of a detour that suspends the accomplishment or fulfillment of "desire" or "will", and equally affects this suspension in a mode that annuls or tempers its own effect.[35]

This meaning of *différer* is crucial to *Love's Labour's Lost*, a play that delays its ending outside of the space and time of its own performance, either in the spectators' imagination—with possibly as many different endings or interpretations of those endings as there are spectators—or in another play. This other play could be the hypothetical, or lost, *Love's Labour's Won*,[36] *Much Ado About Nothing* or *The Taming of the Shrew*, which are sometimes equated with *Love's Labour's Won*,[37] or even another, unknown play.

The Princess, who postpones the ending of the play out of its own limits by asking Navarre to meet her in twelve months' time so as to test his resolve, is the instrument of that delay. By leaving the ending open, hence open to interpretation, she is the one who differs it. Her own character, therefore, remains opaque: what is to be made of that deferral? In terms of characterization, the Princess remains elusive: does she intend to test Navarre's love thanks to this twelve months' delay? Or is that merely a pretext to fob him off? Does she embody romance, or else a flat refusal of it, Amazon style? Is her sudden departure proof of her competence as a monarch, as she immediately returns home to take the reins after her father's death, or a sinister foreboding of the failure to produce any offspring? Any thorough understanding of the Princess is submitted to the completion of that delay. In the same way, Elizabeth I repeatedly allowed herself to be courted by various suitors, but refrained from giving an actual answer or delayed it, as the length of her last marriage negotiations, with the French Duke of Alençon (later called Anjou, as one of the lords in *Love's Labour's Lost*), indicates (1579–83). Elizabeth made sense of that delay by

changing her image from that of "youthful" to "perpetual virgin."[38] Both Elizabeth and the Princess/Queen of France remain open to interpretation and thus retain an element of mystery. Both construct their notion of queenship as an open form or sign.

In that respect, they also achieve the second meaning of *différance*:

> The other sense of *différer* is the more common and identifiable one: to be not identical, to be other, discernible, etc. When dealing with differen(ts)(ds), a word that can be written with a final ts or a final ds, as you will, whether it is a question of dissimilar otherness or of allergic and polemical otherness, an interval, a distance, spacing, must be produced between the elements other, and be produced with a certain perseverance in repetition.[39]

As we have seen, the Princess' otherness is repeatedly, if not always consistently, stressed in the play. She is different because she is a woman, because she is French, and because she is a Princess—after all, there are two kings (one seen, the other mentioned) in *Love's Labour's Lost*, but only one princess. In the case of Elizabeth, her gender and her unmarried status help her remain an exception among nobles and monarchs in Europe.

Otherness is even a defining component of the Princess' own identity, as her two titles show. Like Prince Hal in Shakespeare's second tetralogy, the Princess enjoys a happy, festive life until the burden of responsibility and royal duties suddenly weigh her down. Marcadé's entrance at the end of the play "interruptest our merriment" in more ways than one, both for the characters on stage and for the audience (*LLL* 5.2.712). For the new Queen of France as for Henry V, the father's death symbolizes the passage from childhood to adulthood, from a private to a public existence. This is what induces the Princess to give up wit in favor of a more direct, serious way of address: "A heavy heart bears not a nimble tongue" (*LLL* 5.2.731). The sudden transformation of the Princess into a queen is the actualization of a difference that was inherent within the character herself. The status of a princess is essentially transitory, as it only exists within the kingly line of succession. It is, therefore, destined to end by achieving this inner difference. Symbolically speaking, the Princess must die when her father does to become the other self she had always been supposed to be: a queen. Elizabeth I went through the same process, with the difference of course that she did not directly succeed her father to the throne.

The Princess is thus both different and the same, distinguishing herself from others and from herself in order to achieve her own identity—just like Elizabeth. They thus join the two meanings of *difference/différance*:

> Now the word difference (with an *e*) can never refer either to *différer* as temporization or to differends as *polemos*. Thus the word *différance* (with an *a*) is to compensate—economically—this loss of meaning, for *différance* can refer simultaneously to the entire configuration of its meanings. It is immediately and irreducibly polysemic.[40]

Derrida's neologism is justified by the need to re-endow a common word with the plurality of its meanings, and thus to create the conditions for their conjunction or superimposition. Similarly, the Princess is different in both senses at the same time. Rather, it is the interdependence of these two meanings that creates her identity. The Princess' difference from others, on and off stage, is both stressed and obscured to reveal another type of difference, that which is accomplished in time. Her identity is doubly postponed, for she can only be herself when she becomes queen, both nominally, at the end of the play, and in effect, beyond the limits of the play—that is, when she actually rules her country.

Différance comes to define the connection between the fictional character of the Princess/Queen of France and the actual Queen of England. Although both retain their own distinct identities, the similarities are numerous enough to make the Princess of France a sort of work-in-progress possibly (due to the open ending of the play) destined to become increasingly similar to, if not Elizabeth herself. The lack of resolution at the end of *Love's Labour's Lost* enables Shakespeare to leave enough mystery around the process to make sure the queen(s) remain sufficiently beyond the limits of human understanding.

The Princess of France is much more complex than meets the eye. She may be said to be rather tenuously characterized, as the play presents two highly similar sets of characters, but this lack of personality turns her into an open structure to question the status of princess and the nature of queenship. By cultivating both differences and similarities with Elizabeth I, Shakespeare invites the audience to reflect on the figure of the female leader indirectly, avoiding potential censorship. In this play of difference/*dif(fé)rance*, the Princess is, and remains, an intriguing queen.

Notes

1. William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. H.R. Woudhuysen, Arden 3rd Series (London: Methuen, 1998), 1.1.25–6.
2. André Du Laurens, *A Discourse of the Preservation of Sight*, trans. Richard Surphlet (London, 1599), 12.
3. Speech given on November 12, 1584, quoted in *Women Writers of the Renaissance and Reformation*, ed. Katharina M. Wilson (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 541.
4. See for instance Mary Thomas Crane, "'Video et Taceo:' Elizabeth I and the Rhetoric of Counsel," *Studies in English Literature*, 1500–1900, 28.1 (1988): 1–15, 2; Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry*, (London: Thames and Hudson, 1977).
5. *Love's Labour's Lost*, 5.2.158–72, 246–7.
6. Mary Thomas Crane explains the ambiguity of Elizabeth's motto in her article. For a study of Elizabeth's speeches, see, for instance, Frances Teague, "Queen Elizabeth in Her Speeches," in *Gloriana's Face: Women, Public and Private, in the English Renaissance*, eds. S.P. Cerasano and Marion Wynne-Davies (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1992), 63–78.

7. The role of seduction in the Elizabethan court has long been studied, in particular by Frances Yates in *Astrea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1999 [1975]), 29–120; Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth*; Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006), 73–113; Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005 [1980]), 165–178.
8. *The Schoolhouse of Women* is one of the many pamphlets that form a part of the *querelle des femmes* in England, continuing the continental debate on the nature of women. Edward Gosynhill, however, answered The Schollhouse himself with the philogynistic *Mulierum Paean* (1542).
9. Quoted in *Half Humankind: Contexts and Texts about Women in England 1540–1640*, eds. Katherine Usher Henderson and Barbara F. McManus (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 138.
10. William Shakespeare, *King Henry IV, Part 2*, ed. James C. Bulman, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2016) 161.
11. Speech given at Tilbury Camp on August 9, 1588, in *Queen Elizabeth I: Selected Works*, ed. Steven W. May (New York: Washington Square Press, 2004), 77.
12. See for instance Anna Riehl, *The Face of Queenship: Early Modern Representations of Elizabeth I* (New York: Palgrave, 2010), in particular 10, 112, 150–4.
13. Lisa Hopkins, *Writing Renaissance Queens: Texts by and about Elizabeth and Mary, Queen of Scots* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2002), 25.
14. Mary Beth Rose, "The Gendering of Authority in the Public Speeches of Elizabeth I," *PMLA* 115.5 (2000): 1077–1082, 1079–1080.
15. David Steinsaltz, "The Politics of French Language in Shakespeare's History Plays," *Studies in English Literature, 1500–1900* 42.2 (2002): 317–34, 324.
16. See Stanley Wells, "The Copy for the Folio Text of *Love's Labour's Lost*," *The Review of English Studies* 33.130 (1982): 137–47, 143.
17. See Aurélie Griffin, "La guerre des sexes dans *Love's Labour's Lost*" in *Cycnos*, ed. Christian Gutleben (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2015), 131–145.
18. Griffin, "La guerre des sexes," 139.
19. Steinsaltz, "Politics of French Language," 329–30.
20. *LLL* 1.1.110 (it was of course also used in English); 5.1.79, 143; 5.2.415–16.
21. William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, 154 189n.
22. William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, ed. William C. Carroll (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, The New Cambridge Shakespeare, 2009), 90 186n.
23. Patricia Parker, "Preposterous Reversals: *Love's Labour's Lost*," *MLQ* (1993): 457.
24. Both Woudhuysen and Carroll use the spelling "Berowne," while the editors of *The Complete Works* use "Biron."
25. Albert H. Tricomi, "The Witty Idealization of the French Court in *Love's Labour's Lost*," *Shakespeare Studies*, 12 (1979): 25–33, 29.
26. See, for instance, William P. Haugaard, *Elizabeth and the English Reformation: The Struggle for a Stable Settlement of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Religion* (London: Routledge, 1994); A.N. McLaren, *Political Culture in the Reign of Elizabeth I: Queen and Commonwealth 1558–1603* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 23–31.
27. H.R. Woudhuysen, Introduction to *Love's Labour's Lost*, 38–9.

28. See for instance Frances Yates, *Astrea*, 29–87; Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I. The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Louis Adrian Montrose, "Celebration and Insinuation: Sir Philip Sidney and the Motives of Elizabethan Courtship," *Renaissance Drama* 8 (1977): 3–35, and "'The Perfect Paterne of a Poet': The Poetics of Courtship in *The Sheapheardes Kalender*" *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 21.1 (1979): 34–71; David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002 [1984]), in particular 97–139; Linda Shenk, *The Image of Elizabeth I in Politics and Poetry*, (London, New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010).
29. Jacques Derrida, "Différance," in *Margins of Philosophy*, trans. Alan Bass (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1982), 3–27, 3.
30. See, for instance, Nathaniel's comment about the aptly named Dull: "He hath not eat paper, as it were; he hath not drunk ink" (*LLL* 4.2.25).
31. Holofernes transforms oral into written language on stage when he draws attention the difficult pronunciation of some words: "I abhor such fanatical phantasimes, such insociable and point-devise companions, such rackers of orthography, as to speak 'dout' *sine* 'b', when he should say 'doubt'; 'det' when he should pronounce 'debt'—d, e, b, t, not d, e, t. He clepeth a calf, 'cauf'; half, 'hauf'; neighbour *vocatur* 'nebour'; 'neigh' abbreviated 'ne'. This is abhominable, which he would call 'abominable'. It insinuateth me of insanie. *Ne intelligis, domine* ? To make frantic, lunatic" (5.1.16–25). William Shakespeare, *Love's Labour's Lost*, 226–7.
32. Jacques Derrida, "Différance," 6.
33. Jacques Derrida, "Différance," 6.
34. Jacques Derrida, "Différance," 6.
35. Jacques Derrida, "Différance," 6–7.
36. Frances Meres lists a "Love labours wonne" in his list of Shakespeare's comedies; *Palladis Tamia, or Wits Treasury* (London: 1598), 282.
37. See T.W. Baldwin, *Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Won: New Evidence from the Account Books of an Elizabethan Bookseller* (Carbondale: University of Illinois Press, 1957). William Carroll provides a summary of the debate surrounding *Love's Labour's Won* in the Introduction to his edition of the play, 39–40.
38. John N. King, "Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen", *Renaissance Quarterly* 43.1 (1990): 30–74, 32.
39. Jacques Derrida, "Différance," 7.
40. Jacques Derrida, "Différance," 8–9.

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CHAPTER 22

"A Gap in Nature": Rewriting Cleopatra Through *Antony and Cleopatra*'s Cosmology

Livia Sacchetti

The relationship between a historical character and its fictional counterpart is inherently problematic; this difficulty is magnified when that relationship is rooted in archetypes conceptualizing femininity and power. Such archetypes are tainted by the eye of their narrator or fabricator, an eye that historically has been predominantly—not to say exclusively—male. Perceived and portrayed as the Other, the exotic counterpart by which masculinity can either rise or fall, femininity—and the power exuding from it—becomes extreme in nature (it is either intoxicating or purifying) and is measured in terms of its sensual appeal.[1] In taking his pen to Plutarch's Cleopatra, Shakespeare is faced with a queen whose historical image was constructed posthumously by Roman authors—Plutarch, Horace, Dio, Propertius.[2] She is a temptress; her charms, stemming from her Circean sensuality, undid the likes of Julius Caesar, Pompey, and Mark Antony. In some narratives, such as Propertius' poetry, she has monstrous appetites; more generous accounts, among which Plutarch's, acknowledge some of her virtues while depicting her as a ruthless seductress. All invariably portray her power as a threat to the stability of the men they intend to extol. In creating his Cleopatra, Shakespeare deconstructs all previous images of her, slowly evoking her voice, and rupturing the Roman verses that trapped her. He generates and cements the infinitely varied power that constituted her queenship, giving audiences across time a new archetype of feminine power, while liberating it from the need to be measured in relation to a male counterpart.

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The structure of *Antony and Cleopatra* is the element upon which audiences' and readers' experience of the queen—and by extension queenship—is founded.[3] Built around an absence—a "gap in nature"—that generates the state of longing that is the cornerstone of its cosmology, the play subtracts the very image of Cleopatra that it consistently creates. In turn "nostalgic" and prophetic, this platonic longing to encounter the queen launches the play into an imaginative space, one where Cleopatra exists as a memory or legend, and one that is not presented on stage until the final Act.[4] The relationship between this imaginative space and the reality the audience witnesses becomes the agent of the play's tension. The Cleopatra that first sets foot onstage falls short of her title, seemingly consistent with images of femininity that, as Berry demonstrates, shaped Elizabethan courtly tradition.[5] The parameters of her power are initially murky, while she is portrayed as a capricious lover and measured against Antony's words and actions. This Cleopatra is a stark contrast to the character the audience will remember: the queen conjured through Enobarbus' lyrical recollection of the encounter at Tarsus, and then staged in the final Act. The duality thus constructed is at the heart of her impact and fuels that breadth that is so central to the play. In the introduction to the third Arden edition, John Wilders defines "the play [as] larger than life because the future of the known world appears to depend on [Antony and Cleopatra's] relationship,"[6] echoing Kermode's comment that it is immense because in it "the death of one man is the death of an entire world,"[7] and Bradley's that the play "gives us what no other tragedy can give, and it leaves us […] lost in astonishment at the powers which created it."[8]

An attempt to define this "dazzling passion of two worlds" has dominated critical discourse, somewhat overshadowing Cleopatra's character.[9] As Janet Adelman concludes in her foundational essay "The Common Liar," it is "impossible for any one interpretation of *Antony and Cleopatra* to account for the complexity of its experience"; nonetheless, the development of Cleopatra's character is crucial to potency that imbues the play.[10] Coleridge is quick to identify "the profound art" used to create Cleopatra's "angelic strength,"[11] while Hazlitt remarks that her character "is a masterpiece," although he does not find the same greatness in the play overall.[12] More recently, James Shapiro has centered his chapters dedicated to the play in *1606: The Year of Lear* on a study of the relationship between Cleopatra and the rising cult of Elizabeth, while Lombardo focuses his reading of Enobarbus' character on its significance in relation to the queen.[13]

The play's short opening scene introduces the state of longing that spawns its structure; it is the very longing that Shapiro identifies as its "defining feature" and that Lombardo associates with the role of memory in the play, and it slowly but resolutely morphs into a longing for Cleopatra.[14] The titular characters appear immediately, but their dialogue is unremarkable, projecting their greatness onto a moment that is yet to come. More importantly, the audience observes them through Philo's words, as he notes that Antony's "dotage […] overflows the measure" and that, no longer "glow[ing] like plated Mars" he is now consumed by the need to "cool a gypsy's lust."[15] His words, delivered to

a silent Demetrius whose presence doubles the audience's, begin to color the scene and weave the play's complex fabric; the "gypsy," he says, is corrupting Antony.[16] The focus is on the latter: Cleopatra is presented solely through her effect on him. Rather than reverse Philo's introduction, Antony and Cleopatra's first exchange seems to confirm it. Cleopatra's opening line, "If it be love indeed, tell me how much" (*A&C* 1.1.14), scarcely introduces a queen who could converse on equal terms with three of Rome's most memorable rulers. She begs, neither a dominant ruler, nor a convincing lover. Her entrance lacks dignity; it is meek and almost ridiculous. The opposite of "the most triumphant lady" that Enobarbus will describe, she fits a conventional image of femininity in neo-Platonic terms and looks to Antony to measure their love (*A&C* 2.2.195).[17] In turn, the soldiers and audience measure her in terms of her influence on him.

This image creates a timid gravitational center around the queen, one that changes once Shakespeare doubles this moment by creating a second entrance for her. In one of many clever distortions of Plutarch's narrative, Shakespeare transforms Cleopatra's first appearance in Antony's life into a recollection.[18] Told by Enobarbus, this story allows Cleopatra to morph into the "lass unparalleled" that will outlast the play (*A&C* 5.2.315). In shifting the episode's position, Shakespeare splits the tension in the play, as it bends backward to catch an impression of the queen's magnetism (which, poignantly, is the true beginning of her character), while beckoning forward to an undefined future where *that* queen might set foot on stage. This temporal distortion enables Shakespeare to rewrite Cleopatra, allowing her to shed the costume woven for her by the Romans' victorious pens and "refus[ing] Plutarch's condemnation of [her]," as Liz Oakley Brown notes.[19] Shakespeare's Cleopatra is both the capricious queen of the Act 1 and an *Autre* [Other or higher self] in Lacanian terms; her power is suspended, as a benign *unheimlich* [uncanny or "unhomely"] state lingers over the stage.[20]

The ruptured chronology renders time and space in the play liquid, as they bend and mold to meet Shakespeare's needs. The play spans ten years of history, from Fulvia's death in 40 BC (Act 1, scene 2) to Cleopatra's suicide in 30 BC (Act 5, scene 2). However, time and space expand and contract within each scene and act, dissolving realism and mimicking the longing for Cleopatra generated by Enobarbus' speech. In this way, she becomes "the overarching infinity, the indomitable life (as defined by Hegel)" of which Bates speaks.[21] As the plot and political conflict progressively lose momentum in the chaotically orchestrated Roman scenes, this visionary image of Cleopatra becomes central. This image is—in Levinasian terms—an ineffable *ideatum*.

"The idea of infinity," Levinas writes in speaking of Descartes and the relationship between it and "I think," "is exceptional because the *ideatum* surpasses its idea."[22] He then argues that "infinity is characteristic of the transcendent being as transcendent; the infinite is the absolutely other."[23] Further, he states that "the infinite in the finite [...] is produced by Desire—not a Desire that the possession of the Desirable slakes, but the Desire for

the infinite which the desireable arouses rather than satisfies."[24] In having Cleopatra's character constantly tend toward another—higher—self, one presented by Enobarbus in the second Act and one that does not truly set foot on stage until after the battle of Actium, Shakespeare stretches the idea of Cleopatra toward an ineffable *ideatum*. He allows his character to be both a character in his play (and as such jealous, capricious, and ordinary) and, progressively, a new archetype of feminine power (and as such extraordinary); the tension between the two becomes a crucial agent in the play, making its structure taut. Moreover, the tension thus created extends Cleopatra toward infinity, as her character transcends the stage and is only fully formed in the vision of her that Enobarbus repeatedly triggers and which achieves completion only once it is imagined by an audience. Therefore, the desire to meet the queen merges with the desire for an imaginative space, one that inherently stretches toward an idea of infinity.

In order to use Enobarbus' description of Cleopatra—defined as the one who "did make defect perfection" (*A&C* 2.2.241)—as a counter-point, Shakespeare weakens Plutarch's Cleopatra in the opening act. In spite of his obviously biased perspective, Plutarch is quick to acknowledge Cleopatra's unparalleled skills, slipping into a—possibly unwitting—admiration of her talents.[25] He describes her as a ruler who engaged with Antony as an equal, "play[ing] at dice with him, drink[ing] with him, hunt[ing] with him."[26] He speaks of the encounter at Tarsus almost immediately, and is "so dazzled by the scene before him to be—even in Greek—at a loss for words."[27] He presents a queen who can converse easily in thirteen languages—she can address "the Ethiopians, the Arabians, the Troglodytes, the Hebrews, the Syrians, the Medes, and the Parthians, and many others also, whose languages she had learned"—and whose power and "fineness" seem as sophisticated as her Greek heritage.[28]

Conversely, Shakespeare's queen is not only weaker than the one in his source, but also weaker than his heroines in earlier tragedies. The latters' entrances in the plays often mark the introduction of the full arc of their rebellion to their assigned roles and, with it, of the impetus that will fuel the tragic parabola. Juliet comes to the stage establishing the freedom of her feelings; "I'll look to like if looking liking move," she says and, although she follows this by stating her filial obedience, she links looking and liking before doing so, thus introducing the potential for tragedy to ensue.[29] Similarly, Desdemona asserts her independence with her first line, "My noble father I do perceive here a divided duty," while Cordelia famously claims hers by responding to her father's demand with "nothing, my lord."[30] In all these cases, these opening words are the spool from which the tragedy spins. The women are decisive: their words capture the strength of their position in the tragedies.

Cleopatra's entrance pales by comparison. Her words establish a need—that of reassurance—rather than an intention. They are feeble, where the others' are strong; they form a question, where the others' are assertions. Antony speaks to this; he tells Cleopatra that "there is beggary in the love that can be reckoned" and that, in order to measure love, they "must needs find out new

heaven and new earth" (*A&C* 1.1.15, 17). The implicit beggary in Cleopatra's words becomes explicit, introducing the desire for a stronger and more noble queen. This is the very gap that Enobarbus' recollection will fill, reversing Antony's and Cleopatra's roles by showing the audience a queen that "beggared all description" (*A&C* 2.2.208). The tension between the two images of the queen is one between dimensions that cannot be reconciled: the past, which is already a fabrication, the future, which only exists as an ideal projection, and the present, which cannot be reconciled with either. This tension extends the bounds of tragedy, so that Bloom places *Antony and Cleopatra* at the pinnacle of Shakespeare's works in that he "had been working on perspectiveness from his career's start, but achieved mastery of it only in *Antony and Cleopatra*,"[31] while Bradley finds the play "less tragic [because its matter] is outside of good and evil."[32]

Before handing her over to Enobarbus, Shakespeare begins to rewrite Cleopatra's image by significantly weakening Antony, both in historical terms, and in terms of his own character in *Julius Caesar*. In the second scene, as Antony rushes back to Rome to mourn his wife's sudden death, Shakespeare has him look to Fulvia lovingly, denying the very passion that the play's title announces,

> There's a great spirit gone! Thus I did desire it.
> What our contempts doth often hurl from us
> We wish it ours again. (*A&C* 1.2.129–31)

Antony is presented as volatile; paradoxically, he takes the position traditionally ascribed to Cleopatra, his words defining the frail changeability of his passions.[33] By contrast, Cleopatra's steadiness of heart begins to outline a constancy usually assigned to masculinity. Further, Antony's hasty departure generates her independence. No longer a "passive instrument" through which the hero might rise—that role is now Fulvia's and will later be Octavia's—she is also distanced from the role of the temptress, as her presence is not enough to keep Antony from returning to Rome. As Shakespeare forges Antony's mercurial nature, he identifies his blind inconstancy as the defining characteristic motivating his choices, progressively freeing the female characters from being the catalysts of his actions. Interestingly, Antony's reaction to Fulvia's death is entirely fictional. On the matter, Plutarch states that "Antony himself was ready to put upon Fulvia the blame for whatever was charged against himself."[34] In his account, Antony's return to Rome is, like so many of his other choices, a wholly political move; Fulvia's death is an event Antony is ready to manipulate as he sees fit. Despite his distrust of Cleopatra, Plutarch never sees Fulvia as her rival. Antony's lines in Shakespeare's play are therefore designed to create a distance between the titular lovers not just in space but also existentially. It is this distance that allows Cleopatra's second entrance in Enobarbus' speech to define her queenship on its own terms.

The introduction of Antony's regret also generates the opportunity to cast Enobarbus as a reliable Chorus, allowing him to begin to redefine the image of the queen that is in the audience's mind. While Antony accuses Cleopatra of being "cunning past man's thought," Enobarbus replies that her passions are but "the finest part of pure love," comparing her to the ever-potent elements and starting to reshape the parameters of her queenship (*A&C* 1.2.152, 154). As Antony cries for Fulvia's death, Enobarbus calls it a "thankful sacrifice." Antony's lines are short, dry, and angry, while Enobarbus' are long, lyrical, and memorable. Her "sighs and tears," he says, behave as "winds and waters, [generating] greater storms and tempests than almanacs can report" (*A&C* 1.2.155–6). She is a "wonderful piece of work" who can "make a shower of rain as well as Jove" (*A&C* 1.2.158). Powerful and magnetic, she begins to transcend the bounds of her own mortality through Enobarbus' rebuttals, thus rising above her own shortcomings on stage, and appearing as she will be in her final monologue.

Enobarbus' role as the storyteller is central to the play's second act. His visionary speech enables Cleopatra's power to reach the audience directly, shifting the play's focus. The speech lifts all momentum from the battles, from the conflict between "bearded" Antony and "beardless" Octavian, and from that between the exotic and tempting East and the rationally virtuous West, incarnated in Octavia.[35] Crystallized in Enobarbus' speech, Cleopatra's power lies in her ability to defy the chaos of nature and emotions, and control the world surrounding her. The image is so strong it undoes the petty concerns of all the other scenes and launches the play forward to the moment when Cleopatra will ask Charmian to bring her her crown so that she might exit mortality.[36] In order to achieve this, Shakespeare mocks time, leafing through Plutarch's tale backwards. In the past, he finds the moment when Cleopatra refuses Antony's invitation to dinner, offering him her own, turning the tables on gender and assigned roles.[37]

The scene is, again, consigned to the soldiers. In perfect symmetry with the opening scene, Maecenas and Agrippa intervene with short lines, which are a musical counterpoint to Enobarbus' words. Enobarbus' speech replaces the long-awaited soliloquy,[38] while the soldiers function as a Chorus taking the audience's opinion from what it is and transforming it into to what it ought to be. They are necessary to the creation of the *ideatum* as it is their response to actuate Enobarbus' words. The position of the speech, which is the longest in the play, is crucial. Placed in the second scene of the second Act, it subtracts the conflict—and the titular characters—from the stage, replacing both with a tale. This tale creates the gap that qualifies the distance between the idea and the *ideatum*, or between the lesser and the higher Cleopatra: "The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne, / burned on the water" (*A&C* 2.2.201–2)

Thus, Enobarbus begins a speech so powerful that it burns through history and consigns a new, perhaps more truthful, Cleopatra to posterity. The speech creates a double stillness precisely in the point where the action ought to escalate. The characters on the stage are still; in Enobarbus' vision, Cleopatra is also

still. She neither speaks, nor moves. "The winds," instead, are "love-sick" with the perfumes coming from her purple sails; the "flutes [keep] the stroke" while the water carries the barge "amorous of their strokes" (*A&C* 2.2.203–6). Dimpled boys smile at her sides and fan her, and what they "undid did" (*A&C* 2.2.214). This final paradox describes the action: as Shakespeare undoes the tension in the play, he also projects it forward, creating a tension toward infinity. No action, henceforth, will be able to satisfy the demands created in this speech; the play will become nostalgic for it, the stage now turned into the beggar awaiting the queen's return.[39]

In creating a longing for the imagined Cleopatra, the one who can rearrange the elements without so much as moving, Shakespeare brings the *ideatum* to the stage. The combined presence of the idea—the lesser Cleopatra—and the *ideatum*—the higher—allows the play to stage the ultimate juxtaposition, that between mortality and (an intuition of) the infinite. The ideal "infinite variety" the play thus tends to, the force that can defy the "stale-ing" power of "custom" and the withering power of "time," becomes the Other to the mortal journey which, instead, necessarily succumbs to both. Further, this tension is so powerful in that it replaces the two primary sources of tension in the play—that between Antony and Octavian, and that between Eastern and Western civilization, also embodied by the lovers. There is no political power, form of order, or human passion that can compete with or resolve this tension. The only action that can release it is the ascension into a higher realm, which Shakespeare will grant Cleopatra in her final monologue. Her queenship therefore defies the very force that undoes heroes—mortality—and grants her a central place on the stage, replacing the hero.

The immediate effect of Enobarbus' long speech is to transform the pace of the play. Placed at the heart of the second Act, it steals the air from the conflict, the very air that "had gone to gaze on Cleopatra, too, / and made a gap in nature" (*A&C* 2.2.227). Having subtracted the internal struggle from the characters by silencing their soliloquies, Shakespeare shifts the attention away from the events that shape the play's plot. Henceforth, no action—be it Antony's abandonment of his new wife Octavia, or Octavian Caesar's summoning of Pompey's fleet to own the seas and wage war against Cleopatra—can parallel or satisfy the desire created by Enobarbus' speech. Cleopatra's queenship becomes archetypal: it moves away from the events of the play, which become strangely inconsequential, and from her actions within those confines, and moves toward the lasting impact it will have beyond the play, on history. The image of Cleopatra that is created here subsumes the one fabricated by Plutarch, rewriting the historical memory of her.

Interestingly, as Shapiro points out, the longing that shrouds Cleopatra resembles the "growing nostalgia for England's late queen."[40] The parallel is poignantly relevant as the myth that historically shrouded Cleopatra's power resembles the mist surrounding the growing cult of Elizabeth.[41] In his essay exploring the connection between Cleopatra and Elizabeth, Rinehart states that it "would have been impolitic to make her too close," but that "both

could show the women behind the queen [and] indeed that is what makes them endlessly fascinating,"[42] while Jankowski significantly explores the power of both queens in terms of their (necessary) relationship with their bodies.[43] The connection becomes even more interesting when one considers the differences and similarities in their marital status, which illuminate the problematic nature of queenship in relation to masculinity, in literary as well as historical terms. Berry reflects upon the relationship between images of femininity and the cult of Elizabeth by exploring the subordinate position of women in the neo-Platonic and Petrarchan images assimilated in Renaissance thought. Both traditions view femininity as "a passive instrument of a man's struggle for power over himself."[44] The cult of Elizabeth and her choice not to marry, Berry argues, are spawns of this thought. Nadia Fusini echoes her sentiments when she explores Elizabethan concerns with the queen's marital status, and muses that it was "as if an unmarried woman, who refuses to bear children, in command, were in itself unnatural and awful."[45] Interestingly, the historical Cleopatra also resolved the question of marriage in such a way as to preserve her independence. She proclaimed her three-year-old son "Caesarion her co-regent […] Caesarion became King Ptolemy [thus] Cleopatra had her *obligatory* male consort" [emphasis mine].[46] Her son's young age qualifies her choice—much as Elizabeth's choice not to marry—as a refusal to have a male counterpart, enhancing their similarity, and the reflections it suggests on the relationship between femininity and power. The Cleopatra that Shakespeare first introduces in Act 1 is consistent with courtly tradition and neo-Platonic or Petrarchan views and hence with an image that would have resonated with his audience, and it is this very image that his character then subverts.

The play's third Act is crucial in expanding the "gap" created by Enobarbus' speech and cementing Cleopatra's queenship. Shakespeare's audience would have been educated to expect Act 3 to explore the hero's inner conflict and finally develop into an external manifestation of it.[47] Thus, the Act comes charged with the expectation of a scene that will be central or a soliloquy that will allow a subtle and unprecedented experience of the fabric of human nature; on the contrary, the Act is built in short scenes whose focus is found as quickly as it is lost. Paced as a ticking clock, the Act measures the time it takes for Cleopatra to take her "crown" and "robe" and leave her "baser elements" to "lesser life" (*A&C* 5.2.289). Once again, to achieve this Shakespeare has to smudge out the edges of history and stray from Plutarch's tale.

Centered around Antony, Plutarch's narrative explores his life before Cleopatra, as well as his years without her, in depth. Further, it is interested in exalting Antony's profile as a general, and thus recounts the Parthian wars, Antony's victory, and his time in Greece with Octavia in detail.[48] Antony's summoning of Cleopatra in Syria is seen by Plutarch as a moment when "the horse of the mind, as Plato termed it, that is so hard to rein (I mean the unreined lust of concupiscence) did put out of Antonius's head all honest and commendable thoughts."[49] On the contrary, Antony's time away from Cleopatra is recounted as a period of military and marital success. On her part, during this time Cleopatra

persistently attempted to have Caesarion recognized as Caesar's legitimate son, thus securing her influence over Rome, as well as her empire's political position.[50] Neither Antony's role in the Parthian wars nor Cleopatra's attempts to secure a future for her children are present (or mentioned) on Shakespeare's stage.[51] Further, the poles of tension between two eras—the Hellenistic and the Roman—are suffocated by Act 3's quickness. The brevity of the scenes creates moments that are hard to recall and thus never replace or disturb the image of Cleopatra generated by Enobarbus. Threaded like rays of light that shatter on the impact with speed, the historical events become insignificant and the martial march toward the *Pax Romana* is an offstage echo. The first six scenes—measured in the characters' entrances and exits even when left unnumbered—are under two minutes long each, creating a strong impression of time passing quickly and unremarkably. The scenes announce the battle of Actium; however, they also subtract importance from it, as the audience is not allowed to enter the conflict between the ages that the battlefield manifests because the scenes are too fast to allow the battle's importance to come into focus.

At the center of Act 3, once Antony has returned to Egypt, Shakespeare uses Caesar's words to remind the audience of Enobarbus' description of the encounter at Tarsus. He says, speaking of Antony's return to Cleopatra,

> Here's the manner of 't:
> I'th'market place, on a tribunal silvered
> Cleopatra and himself in chairs of gold
> Were publicly enthroned
> [...]
> Unto her
> He gave the stablishment of Egypt; made her
> of lower Syria, Cyprus, Lydia
> Absolute Queen. (*A&C* 3.6.4–15)

He adds to this that she appeared clothed as Isis. The use of "the market place" again recalls the moment when Antony had lingered, waiting for her; the silver and the gold enhance this effect, preparing the audience for Cleopatra's entrance in the following scene. At this point in the play, the lovers have been apart for almost two acts (since *A&C* 1.3), and Antony has mourned one wife only to marry another. The audience could easily expect the moment when they come together again to be a private one, showered in imagery. As Shapiro puts it, "this [...] must have come as a surprise for playgoers. We need only compare this with how memorably he had captured private moments of earlier couples."[52] Shapiro attributes this to the choice to follow Plutarch's lead. In doing so, however, Shakespeare also chooses to emphasize Cleopatra's power and leadership, subtracting attention not just from the love story, but from Antony as a general, and Caesar as the victor.

The center of the scene is Cleopatra's as she tells Enobarbus—and not Antony—that she will take part in the war. She claims her power and reclaims

her position in a story that relegated her to the "concupiscent lust" that undid all of Antony's "commendable thoughts." Her words define her queenship, her loyalty to her crown, and her decisiveness.[53]

"Why should we not be there in person?" she asks, underscoring her right to lead the fleet that she is giving Antony—and which he needs—in the royal plural, which she uses here for the first time. As Enobarbus complains that her "presence must puzzle Antony" and that in Rome her influence is questioned, she replies,

> Sink Rome and their tongues rot
> […] A charge we bear 't'war,
> And, as the president of my kingdom, will
> Appear there for a man. (*A&C* 3.7.16–19)

The appropriation of a masculine title and masculine imagery challenges Cleopatra's relegation to a female counterpart for a male hero. Her queenship makes her "president"—an interestingly neutral term—and allows her to "appear there for a man." As if to underscore the terms of her position, Antony replies "a good rebuke, which might have well becomed the best of men," freeing her from the constraints of her role as his lover (*A&C* 3.7.25). His line is the first he speaks to her since Act 1, scene 3, enhancing its significance. Cleopatra negotiates with Antony on equal terms; defines her role in the battle that will ensue; and maintains a composure which belongs neither to volatile Antony nor to "scarce-bearded" Caesar, who are both seen negotiating their roles on the battlefield while drunk throughout Act 2.

Shakespeare's selective use of Plutarch is as poignantly relevant here as it is when he retraces the encounter on the river Cydnus. Where in the latter case he indulges in Plutarch's words so as to enhance their luster and revive the imagery they imply, in the former he rewrites those words entirely. Rather than have Cleopatra be summoned to Syria by Antony, where he matches his words of love with offers of new kingdoms, only to send her back home as he prepares to wage war against "Arabia and Armenia," Shakespeare has Antony return to Egypt, on Cleopatra's turf, where she cannot be sent away.[54] He then omits the wars that witness the forming of an army "that made the Indians quake with fear" and gave luster to Antony as a general, and instead has Antony and Cleopatra speak of war on equal terms.[55] Further, Antony turns into a rash and stubbornly juvenile general in this scene. Where Plutarch's Antony is still complex, mixing dexterity on the battlefield and savviness in dealing with his soldiers with an unruly passion for Cleopatra—one that Plutarch implies derives from her intoxicating power rather than Antony's weakness—Shakespeare's Antony is simplified at this point. His character's trajectory is thus symmetrically juxtaposed to that of Cleopatra. "By sea, by sea," he repeats, almost chanting, while stubbornly ignoring Enobarbus' wise advice (*A&C* 3.7.40). The tables turn: the capricious role that was Cleopatra's in the first scene when she insisted on Antony measuring his love for her and in Act 2 when, yielding

to the pangs of jealousy, she beat the messenger, is now Antony's. Cleopatra is composed and rational, as one might imagine a Roman general. It is noteworthy that the choice to fight by sea, which determines the fall of the titular couple, historically as well as dramatically, happens in response to a suggestion made by Cleopatra in Plutarch's text. Shakespeare's choice to make the decision Antony's begins to make room for Cleopatra's moral and tragic triumph in the play's final Act.

The offstage battle magnifies the rift between the characters. The sea divides two realms: before the battle, on land, is the world of mere mortals, petty men seeking their personal glory; beyond the battle, at sea, is the world announced by the water imagery in Enobarbus' speech, the space where the elements can be summoned and governed. This space is the stage of Cleopatra's final act and ultimate choice as queen. A war that is not staged ends the political tensions in the play. Cleopatra turns her sails, shifting the balance of power and driving the action. Octavian's triumph and the beginning of the *Pax Romana* are reduced to a single line in the play, when he says, "the time of universal peace is near" (*A&C* 4.6.5), while the play's ending celebrates Cleopatra's queenship by juxtaposing the majesty and composure of her final speech with the ridicule of Antony's fall, and the humble anonymity of Enobarbus'.

The power of the play's final moments is in the memory of Cleopatra they create. Drawing on Enobarbus' description of her rather than on her actual presence in the earlier Acts, it completes the audience's notion of her queenship. Cleopatra rises where the other characters fall; in doing so, she reshapes her story, redefining both femininity and power. No longer temptress or courtly angel, she drives the action, assigns Antony his ending, and stages her own. Greenblatt argues that Shakespeare absorbed from the Morality plays "the expectation that the drama worth seeing would get at something central to human destiny," and developed this concept, understanding that "the spectacle of human destiny [is] vastly more compelling when it was attached to [...] particular named people," thus exploring individual characters' "psychological, moral and spiritual life."[56] This lesson takes yet another turn at the end of *Antony and Cleopatra*. Here, the lesson learned from the Morality plays returns; however, in this case the creation of a new archetype becomes central. Much like Vice, Virtue, Fortune, and Lust were in the Morality plays, Cleopatra becomes larger than a single life; she at once includes the capricious queen of the opening scenes and extends beyond it to incarnate a vision of queenship whose power is not measured in relation to men.

The gap between Cleopatra's final ascent and the mortal journey is enhanced by the placement of Enobarbus' betrayal at the center of the Act 4 and the creation of his dark death. Historically, Enobarbus' betrayal—alongside that of many other soldiers—wisely preceded the battle of Actium. Plutarch states that he returned to Rome where, after Antony's death, he married one of Antony and Octavia's daughters.[57] By moving the betrayal forward and then scripting his suicide, Shakespeare intensifies the play's formal duality. Enobarbus' suicide

doubles that of the titular characters. In an essay devoted entirely to Enobarbus, Read interprets the death as "death by heartache," echoing Hazlitt's comments on the character (the cause of death is not seen on stage, nor is it explained, though his words could indicate suicide), and evaluates it as an "easy death" used to contrast a Roman death and prepare the audience for Cleopatra's final scene.[58] Significantly, Enobarbus falls alone, unknown, buried in a nameless grave; his role as a "figure of moderation" finds new and eerie nuances in his death.[59] Individual as opposed to archetypal, his death is brutally intimate.

> I am alone the villain of the earth,
> And I feel I am so most.
> […]
> No, I will go seek
> Some ditch wherein to die; the foul'st best fits
> My latter part of life. (*A&C* 4.6.30–9)

Enobarbus absorbs the imperfections of mortality, capturing the pain and emptiness of anonymity in his fall.[60] Removing the narrator from the play, his fall also allows Cleopatra to become the single artificer of the final scenes.

Antony's suicide grotesquely mirrors the dark anonymity of Enobarbus' death. His sword follows the example of his soldiers, betraying his intention and causing his slow and unheroic death. Here, Shakespeare adheres strictly to Plutarch's narrative. Antony's clumsy and agonizing end and Octavian's desperate attempts to trick Cleopatra so as to pilfer her treasure, and parade her in triumph in Rome, are all carefully detailed in *The Life of Marcus Antonius*.[61] Likewise, her ability to turn the tables on Caesar, her negotiations to attempt to secure Egypt for her descendants, and her majestic appearance in her death are all meticulously reported by Plutarch. The queen resists the ending designed for her by the victors and slips past a triumph intended to deprive her of power.

Cleopatra's capricious ways and lasciviousness, those that Augustus would have wanted remembered, end before Antony's death. Conversely, she subsumes Enobarbus' visionary voice and becomes the play's Chorus, overwriting Antony's clumsy final moments on stage by turning him into the deity he had proclaimed himself upon joining her in Egypt.[62] Her voice triumphs over him even in his death: hers are the words that can crown him a hero; dressed by his own actions, he would be a mere fool.

> His legs bestrid the ocean; his reared arm
> Crested the world; his voice was propertied
> As all the tuned spheres
> […]
> For his bounty there was no winter;
> an autumn it was that grew more by reaping
> […]
> Realms and islands as plates dropped from his pocket. (*A&C* 5.2.81–91)

Her lines restore his memory and instruct the audience. Cleopatra's role here extends her domain: she not only rules over the dying Egypt; a budding Prospero, she too is the maker of immortal tales and she too can summon the elements, defining the parameters of her queenship in doing so.

> Give me my robe. Put on my crown. I have
> immortal longings in me.
> [...]
> I am fire and air; my other elements
> I give to baser life. (*A&C* 5.2.278–89)

Splitting the elements, Shakespeare splits the endings, capturing both the anachronistically modern and the majestically epic final Act. Enobarbus' death and Antony's fall in Act 4 are worthy of an absurdist play. Enobarbus falls in an anonymous wasteland, graveless, with lowly, unnamed soldiers giggling in the background, while Antony clumsily attempts to perform a heroic deed that he is denied. He earns his fatal wound by stumbling on his sword, as if an accident might better complete his mission than he.[63] Parallel to this, Cleopatra's narrative echoes that of Elizabeth. Just as England prepares to form a memory of its strongest queen, lifting from her the judgment, fear, and myths that her gender imposed, Shakespeare creates the archetype that can support that memory and project it forward. In doing so, perhaps, he honors the ability of a queen whose virtues survived the tales told by her captors.

Notes

1. For an analysis of the construction of feminine power and femininity through a male glance in Shakespeare's time (and in relation to Elizabeth), see Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Natalie Mears, *Queenship and Political Discourse in the Elizabethan Realms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Nadia Fusini, *Lo Specchio di Elisabetta* (Milan: Mondadori, 2001).
2. For my understanding of the historical Cleopatra, I am also greatly indebted to Dr. Helen Pope's "Day of Studies on Cleopatra" held at St. Stephen School's Cultural Center, Rome, in April 2014.
3. The theatrical conception of a form—the framework created to contain and propel the dramatic unravelling of a story—is crucial. The shape of a play defines the playwright's cosmology. It positions the characters within a spacetime continuum, while beckoning the audience to relinquish their own and venture within.
4. See James Shapiro, *1606: William Shakespeare the Year of Lear* (London: Faber and Faber, 2015) and Agostino Lombardo, *Il Fuoco e L'Aria: Quattro Saggi su Antonio e Cleopatra* (Rome: Bulzoni, 1995).
5. Berry, *Of Chastity*, 9–37.
6. John Wilders, "Introduction," in William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. John Wilders, Arden 3rd series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 52.
7. Frank Kermode, *Shakespeare's Language* (London: Penguin, 2000), 217.

8. A.C. Bradley, *The Tragedie of Antony and Cleopatra* (Quarterly Review, April 1906), 350.
9. Janet Adelman, *The Common Liar* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1973), 170.
10. Adelman, *Common Liar*, 219.
11. Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher: Notes and Lectures.* (Liverpool: Edward Howell, 1874), 97.
12. William Hazlitt, *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* (London: Dent, 1817), 75.
13. Shapiro, *1606*, 289; Lombardo, *Il Fuoco*, 83.
14. Shapiro, *1606*, 273. As Wilders investigates in detail in his introduction to the third Arden edition, the Folio version of the play did not contain divisions into acts and scenes. These were instead added later by Rowe.
15. William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. John Wilders, Arden 3rd series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 1.1.2, 4, 9.
16. The connotation of the word in Shakespeare's time indicated a prostitute.
17. Berry, *Of Chastity*, 16–30.
18. This is the first time Antony and Cleopatra meet as adults. Cleopatra probably first met Antony while she was staying in Rome as Caesar's concubine in AD 40. See Stacy Schiff, *Cleopatra: A Life* (London: Random House, 2010), 160.
19. Liz Oakley Brown, *Shakespeare and the Translation of Identity in Early Modern England* (London and New York: Continuum, 2011), 32.
20. In *Seminar XIII* (1965), Jacques Lacan defines *Autre* or *Other* as the locus of symbolic order, where language originates and therefore where the gaps between words can be filled. He also defines it as the "locus of the unconscious." See Jacques Lacan, *Écrits: First Complete Edition in English*, trans. Bruce Fink (New York: Norton, 2002), 7, 189, 412.
21. Jennifer Bates, "Phenomenology and Life: Hegel's Inverted World, Cleopatra, and the Logic of the Crocodile," *Criticism* 54.3 (2012): 436.
22. Levinas, *Totality and Infinity* (Pittsburgh, PA: Duquesne University Press, 1969), 49.
23. Levinas, *Totality*, 50.
24. Levinas, *Totality*, 50.
25. See Schiff, *Cleopatra*; Joyce Tyldesley, *Cleopatra. Last Queen of Egypt* (London: Profile, 2009).
26. Plutarch, *Four Chapters of North's Plutarch* (London: Trubner & Co, 1955), 980.
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30. William Shakespeare, *Othello*, ed. E.A.J. Honigmann, Arden 3rd series (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), 1.3.181; *King Lear*, ed. R.A. Foakes, Arden 3rd series (London: Bloomsbury, 1997), 1.1.87.
31. Harold Bloom, *The Anatomy of Influence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 79.
32. Bradley, *The Tragedie*, 48.
33. For an analysis of the play centered on the words of command, see Paul Yachin, "Shakespeare's Politics of Loyalty: Sovereignty and Subjectivity in *Antony and Cleopatra*," *Studies in English Literature 1500–1900* 33 (1993): 343–63.

34. Plutarch, *Four Chapters*, 995.
35. This is historically accurate. Octavia raised all of Antony's children after his death, including the ones he had with Cleopatra. See Schiff, *Cleopatra*, 191, 237.
36. This is also the moment of transition from mimesis to meta-drama.
37. This event is cited in Plutarch, where he also comments on the immensity of the banquet she offered Antony. Plutarch, *Four Chapters*, 980.
38. On the absence of soliloquies in *Antony and Cleopatra* see also, Shapiro, *1606*, 274.
39. Interestingly recalling Eliot's objections to *Hamlet*.
40. Shapiro, *1606*, 308.
41. On the cult of Elizabeth see also Louis Montrose, *The Subject of Elizabeth: Authority, Gender and Representation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006). On the parallel between Elizabeth and Cleopatra, see also Linda Charnes, *Notorious Identity* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995).
42. Keith Rinehart, "Shakespeare's Cleopatra and England's Elizabeth," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 23.1 (1972): 81, 83.
43. Theodora Jankowski, *Women in Power in Early Modern Drama* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 147, 189.
44. Berry, *Of Chastity*, 3.
45. Fusini, *Lo Specchio*, 112.
46. Schiff, *Cleopatra*, 134.
47. Stephen Greenblatt, Will in the World (London: Norton, 2004), 300–7.
48. Plutarch, *Four Chapters*, 983.
49. Plutarch, *Four Chapters*, 1004.
50. Plutarch, *Four Chapters*, 1004.
51. She also had children with Antony, who are not included in the play. See Schiff, *Cleopatra*, 191.
52. Shapiro, *1606*, 274.
53. Economically, Cleopatra is much stronger than both Octavian and Antony; she is also better educated and the descendant of a stronger dynasty. For an accurate account of Cleopatra's fortune, see Schiff, *Cleopatra*, 18–19.
54. Plutarch, *Four Chapters*, 1004.
55. Plutarch, *Four Chapters*, 1004.
56. Greenblatt, *Will*, 43.
57. Plutarch, *Four Chapters*, 1004.
58. David Read, "Disappearing Act: The Role of Enobarbus in *Antony and Cleopatra*," *Studies in Philology* 110.3 (2013): 568.
59. Adelman, *Common*, 131.
60. Here Shakespeare's character acquires the dark, farcical undertones worthy of a Beckettian character.
61. Plutarch, *Four Chapters*, 1005–6.
62. Here Antony absorbs the Ptolemaic tradition of tracing the King's ancestry to the gods. In this light, see Schiff, *Cleopatra*, 135–6; and Plutarch, *Four Chapters*, 997.
63. Shakespeare seems to uncover the ethical conundrum that strangles modernity and plagues all contemporary literature.

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CHAPTER 23

En un infierno los dos: Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn in Shakespeare & Fletcher's *Henry VIII* and Calderón's *La cisma de Inglaterra*

Courtney Herber

En un infierno los dos,	Now we are both in hell,
Gloria habemos de dener;	We can some glory gain,
Vos en verme padacer,	You, who love torture well,
Y yo en ver que lo veis vos.	I, that you see my pain.[1]

Around 1627, fourteen years after Shakespeare and Fletcher staged *Henry VIII, or, All is True*, and nearly a quarter of a century after the death of Elizabeth I, Pedro Calderón de la Barca's *La cisma de Inglaterra* graced the stage in Spain's *corrales* and palace theater.[2] *La Cisma* could easily have been seen as a cautionary tale of what happens when a good, devout, chaste infanta of Spain marries into the heretical English royal family, and unlike Shakespeare and Fletcher's play, Calderón's does not mention Elizabeth once. Both plays present the King's Great Matter, or Henry VIII's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, its complications, and the diplomatic, religious, and personal quagmire it created for Henry himself. Shakespeare and Fletcher conclude *Henry VIII* after Katherine of Aragon's death, but before Anne Boleyn's downfall and beheading, all of which took place in 1536. In Calderón's *La Cisma*, the audience sees not only Catalina (Katherine) and Volseo's (Wolsey) deaths, they also witness the gruesome aftermath of Ana's (Anne) beheading.

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This chapter pulls apart the fictional representations of Anne Boleyn and Katherine of Aragon in *La cisma de Inglaterra* and *Henry VIII, or, All is True*. Both plays demonstrate how playwrights punish, correct, or reward female characters for either maintaining their virtue or succumbing to vice. These story arcs feature in the Spanish Golden Age honor plays, and by examining these arcs for Katherine, Catalina, Anne, and Ana, this chapter proposes that not only is Calderon's *La Cisma* an honor play, but that Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII* is as well, albeit one that concludes before the honor arc is finished. Contained within these honor plays are examinations how of vice and virtue lead to damnation or redemption, contextualized within understandings of how each queen is portrayed as a mother and as a wife.

While both are clearly history plays, categorizing them as honor plays allows for more advanced comparison.[3] Understanding *La Cisma* and *Henry VIII* as honor plays sets up character arcs in both plays of the wronged woman, the woman who makes ignoble choices for her survival, and the ultimate deaths that need to occur for Henry/Enrique to maintain his family's honor (and by extension his kingdom's). Catherine of Aragon's fictional representations (Queen Katherine in Shakespeare and Fletcher's *Henry VIII* and Reina Catalina in Calderón's *La Cisma*), time and again, are shown to be virtuous, and receive redemption from the playwrights, whereas Anne's representations (Anne Bullen in *Henry VIII* and Ana Bolena in Calderón's *La Cisma*) do not.[4] In *La Cisma*, Ana is a villain. In *Henry VIII*, her true nature is ambiguous and while she is talked about by other characters to be a virtuous woman, her actions complicate that idea of virtue.

Each historical queen's memory was used by the playwrights to demonstrate either virtue or vice and the consequences of each on the international stage. Katherine's and Anne's virtues, or lack thereof, were intricately tied into how Shakespeare, Fletcher, and Calderón represented each queen as a mother and as a wife. At least in *Henry VIII*, Katherine and Anne are, as Linda Micheli asserts, "polar characters identified with the old order and the new, respectively: our responses to them are central to our interpretation of the play as a whole," and *La Cisma*, on the surface, falls into similar patterns.[5] By analyzing both *Henry VIII* and *La Cisma* as honor plays, however, the dual character arcs of redemption and damnation become intertwined with each queen's role as a wife and mother. These arcs, and their conclusions, allow the playwrights to explore both the rewards and punishments for a woman's, even a queen's, transgressions against a king's honor.[6]

Historical Context and Source Material

Henry VIII was first performed in 1613 in the Globe Theatre. Famously, it was during a production of *Henry VIII* that a cannon used during a masque scene set the theater afire. It was revived in the 1620s in the second Globe Theatre, built a year after the fire, and following the Restoration under the supervision of William Davenant.[7]

La Cisma de Inglaterra was first produced in 1627, around the same time that *Henry VIII* was revived in England. According to Ann L. Mackenzie and Kenneth Muir, the play may have been performed in both the *coralles* (public theaters) and in the palace theater of Philip IV. The historical source Calderón used, Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Historia eclesiastica del cisma del reino de Inglaterra* (1588), informs his representation of the women in his play, much like Edward Hall's *Union of the Two Nobles & Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* (1548) and Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577, 1587) did for Shakespeare.

Pedro de Ribadeneyra's *Historia eclesiastica del cisma del reino de Inglaterra* was dedicated to Philip II of Spain. Ribadeneyra was Spanish by birth and an early Jesuit scholar who studied under Ignatius of Loyola. His work, particularly the descriptions of Anne, draws considerably on Nicholas Sander's *De origine ac Progressu schismatic Anglicani*, published posthumously earlier in 1588. Paula de Pando explores this linkage between Sanders, Ribadeneyra, and Calderón, arguing that Sander "saw Anne as a temptress and a witch who blinded the king's judgement and dragged the country into heresy."[8] Anne's execution is justified in these texts because of those negative traits and the usurpation of Catherine's place, and furthermore, "the criminalization of the queen, an utterly anomalous case in Spanish drama, justifies military intervention against England in order to re-establish Catholicism."[9] *La Cisma* is not only about the English schism; as is ever the case with theater, it also reflects attitudes and situations of the period in which it was written and performed. De Pando connects the writing of *La Cisma* not with the failed betrothal between Charles I of England and the infanta Maria Ana, but with Charles' campaign against Spain in 1627.

Where Hall and Holinshed offer largely positive depictions of both Catherine and Anne, Ribadeneyra does not. As María Cristina Quintero writes, "Katherine becomes the embodiment of a national identity that [Ribadeneyra] affirms. She is, furthermore, associated with that most Spanish of virtues: honor."[10] Anne, in contrast, is ugly of body and in spirit, and Ribadeneyra reproduces several salacious rumors about her origins.[11] He details her appearance, drawn almost verbatim from Nicholas Sanders, in the *Historia eclesiastica* as follows:

> Anne was tall of stature, black-haired, long of face, of a complexion rather yellow (as though jaundiced). One of her upper teeth protruded, marring her beauty. She had six fingers on her right hand and a growth like a goiter.[12]

Having six fingers and the goiter were physical markers of possible witchcraft, a detail that would not have been missed by Ribadeneyra, Calderón, or Philip IV. Ribadeneyra further asserts that "she was full of pride, ambition, envy, and dishonesty; while still a girl of fifteen, she slept with two servants of her supposed father, Thomas Boleyn."[13] He then details her lurid history in France, where she supposedly earned the nicknames "the English mare" and "the royal mule."[14] Although he chooses to make her physically beautiful in *La Cisma*, Calderón clearly took much of Ribedeneyra's description of Anne to heart when creating Ana Bolena.

Whether positive or negative, the depictions of Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn in chronicle sources represent attitudes toward women in roles of authority in early modern Europe. How these texts deal with the politically difficult stories of Katherine of Aragon, Anne Boleyn, and Henry VIII influenced the plays using them as sources, which then entertained the playgoing public while they learned lessons about the sad stories of kings and of the virtue, or lack thereof, of queens.

As Honor Plays

The honor play genre in Spanish Golden Age theater focuses on either a woman's actual lack of virtue or her perceived lack of virtue (usually conveyed through sexual impropriety), and attempts by the men in her family to restore their honor by punishing her (usually with death). As Melveena McKendrick writes, "[h]onour was his, and his the revenge when honour was lost."[15] Honor plays explore the loss, either public or private, of that honor, and how the wronged men publicly regain their dignities. As A. A. Parker aptly sums it up, "Since dishonor destroyed one's public reputation, honour could only be restored by an equally public act of vengeance: honour had not only to be restored, but to be seen to be restored."[16]

A woman's behavior and her family's honor were intimately connected since, within this genre, a woman "had no honour of her own that was distinguishable from virtue, but upon her virtue depended the honour of her male relations."[17] The stage recreated incidents that regularly happened in everyday life (such as premarital sex) but the repercussions of those choices were taken to the furthest extreme to be both entertaining and to teach a lesson.[18] We can see these lessons in not just Spanish texts, but English ones as well.

Henry VIII was not Shakespeare's first foray into the honor play genre. While not a play, the poem "The Rape of Lucrece" (1594) is an Elizabethan exploration into how a woman's virtue was seen to be key to maintaining a family's honor. Set just before the founding of the Roman Republic, the story follows Lucrece the beautiful and chaste wife of the Roman general Collatine. Tarquin, another general and son of the king, after hearing Collatine boast of his wife's beauty and virtue, goes to Collatine's home to enjoy Lucrece's hospitality. Overcome by his lust, Tarquin rapes Lucrece and threatens to impugn her honor further by murdering a slave and placing the corpse in bed with her. To retain her husband's honor, Lucrece kills herself after publicly revealing her ordeal.[19] The Tarquins are banished from Rome for his crime, ushering in the beginning of the Roman Republic.

Another example is *Othello* (*c.* 1604), whose title character kills his wife, Desdemona, because he believes her to have been unfaithful.[20] Othello believes that by killing Desdemona before her supposed infidelity can become public knowledge, he can repair the slight to his honor, but when it is proven that Desdemona was falsely accused, he commits suicide after a lengthy public explanation, not dissimilar to Lucrece's. Shakespeare, in both these texts, puts

the supposed need for women to maintain their virtue under a harsh spotlight. By featuring two virtuous women who nonetheless die to protect their virtue, Shakespeare shows the importance of public perception and the enormous importance of self-fashioning and community to not just the characters but also the audience.

Shakespeare continues this exploration of honor in *Henry VIII* but, unlike in *Othello* and "The Rape of Lucrece," he ends this play before the well-known downfall of Anne Boleyn, erasing her presence at the end rather than dealing with her trial and execution. Shakespeare and Fletcher's arc for Anne is one that makes Henry VIII an honor play that has been cut off at the knees, rather than at her neck.

Another avenue to understanding these attitudes toward women's behavior is through early modern conduct books. Mostly written by men, these poems and books both encapsulated and reflected the desired behaviors that men wanted to see in women. "To theorize conduct as social practice," argues Claire Sponsler, "is to view it as an activity, event, or performance, rather than as a structure, system, or code."[21] Sponsler suggests that conduct books occupy a nebulous intersection of discourse and practice, "located midway between the individual body and the culture that produces it, thus embodying cultural practices that are deflected and refracted through them."[22] Women's behaviors, through the mediated space of conduct books, were performative. Like the world of theater, conduct books explore behaviors, events, and social mores in their most exaggerated forms; they state explicitly what the theater implied. Because the mandate of the theater was to "teach and to please," this allowed for entertaining and sometimes violent consequences for a character's choices. If a woman transgressed against social norms on the stage, her behavior was either punished or corrected, and in the context of an honor play that punishment usually meant her death.

Examples of punishments and corrections of feminine transgressive behavior abound in early modern drama. Regardless of how virtuous or honorable a woman's behavior *actually* was, the most important aspect of an honor play is how a woman's behavior was *perceived* by the male characters on the stage with her, as can be seen in John Ford's *'Tis Pity She's a Whore* (*c.* 1629). Annabella and Giovanni are brother and sister, but have fallen in love, and their incestuous affair is accepted and even condoned by two other characters, Friar Bonaventura and Annabella's nurse, at least until Annabella becomes pregnant. In an attempt to hide her shame and salvage her family's honor, Annabella marries one of her suitors, Soranzo, before her pregnancy begins to show. Soranzo discovers the truth and, in typical revenge tragedy fashion, all three members of the love triangle, and several bystanders, are murdered. The play ends with the Cardinal asking, "Who could not say, *'Tis pity she's a whore?*"[23] Annabella's death was necessary to restore her family's honor since, in the eyes of the Cardinal, she sinned in giving in to her brother's lust. Because the private sin became public knowledge, both Giovanni and his father had to die for the family's honor to be restored.

A correction is a step down on the punishment scale, as it does not require death to rectify the transgression. An example of a corrective ending is in John Lyly's *Gallathea* (*c.* 1588). While the young ladies Gallathea and Phillida trans-

gress social norms by wearing men's clothing (acting as men) they only do so because they are obeying their fathers. Because they both are chaste, virtuous young women, even though they fall in love, they are rewarded by the gods. Venus transforms one of them into a man, so they can continue their chaste love in an acceptable fashion. Even though they both cross-dressed and entered into a romantic relationship, because they were chaste in their interactions and were dutiful daughters, they are each rewarded and corrected, so as to be able to continue their lives having learned their lesson to uphold the patriarchal culture.[24]

Corrections and punishments both appear in *Henry VIII* and *La Cisma*. In *La Cisma*, Ana, because of her deception and the ramifications of that deceit, is punished with decapitation and the public display of her corpse. Catalina endures a punishment of exile and death for her scorn of and anger toward Volseo, much as Katherine does in *Henry VIII*. By comparing both works as honor plays, the character arcs with their punishments, corrections, or rewards for Catalina, Katherine, and especially Ana and Anne can be concluded either explicitly on the stage or implicitly in the minds of the playgoing public. The deaths of these queens thus maintain Henry and Enrique's masculine honor, which was intricately tied up in his need for a legitimate son.[25]

Motherhood: Redemption and Damnation

One of the opportunities that women on the early modern stage have to demonstrate their virtue is through their interactions with their children. Much like the Duchess in John Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi* (*c.* 1613) and Lope de Vega's *El Mayordomo de la Duquesa de Amalfi* (1618), Katherine, Catalina, Anne, and Ana's motherhood (or lack thereof) is a central part of her representation on the stage, and is the source of her punishment or reward for her virtue. The Duchess' children are systematically taken from her as part of her punishment, much like what happens to the queens in *Henry VIII* and *La Cisma*.

Daughter erasure plays out in both *La Cisma* and *Henry VIII*. While Katherine's daughter Mary never appears on stage in *Henry VIII*, the infanta Maria is a prominent character in *La Cisma* who takes her place at her father's side by the end of the play. The reverse is true for Anne, whose daughter Elizabeth is the culmination of Henry and Wolsey's machinations in *Henry VIII* and the raison d'être of the play. Conversely, in *La Cisma*, Ana's daughter is never mentioned. According to Maria Cristina Quintero, "from the Spanish perspective, in *La Cisma de Inglaterra*, Calderón's response to this transgressive real historical woman [Elizabeth I] is to deny her even a fleeting presence on the stage."[26] While Spanish audiences obviously knew that Anne Boleyn had a daughter and that she would grow up to see the Invincible Armada defeated, to omit her entirely from the play is an interesting choice. For Calderón, denying Ana her motherhood was both a way to punish her and to quietly push past any complications that would have come from putting Elizabeth on the stage, much like Shakespeare and Fletcher's decision to write Anne out of the final scene of *Henry VIII*.

Motherhood was considered a natural condition for women in both early modern England and Spain, regardless of religion; a "good" mother was virtuous, merciful, kind, and devout.[27] Reina Catalina demonstrates her innate virtue though her relationships with others, particularly the infanta Maria. The queen also embodies the "good mother" trope described by Juan Luis Vives in *The Education of a Christian Woman*, dedicated to the historical Catherine of Aragon.[28] By demonstrating her own learning and cleverness when she composes her commentary on the song, "En un infierno los dos," which Juana Semeyra sings, Catalina can then pass those traits on to her daughter.[29] Enrique, in the final scene of the play, acknowledges Catalina's positive traits, entreats Maria to remember "memories of your sainted mother," and hopes that those memories and lessons "will be revived in you."[30] She demonstrates the trappings and obligations of royalty through her interactions with the other characters, especially her ladies and Pasquin, the court jester, to best educate her daughter in courtly politics and decorum. Particularly important in conduct books is a mother's religious devotion, her kindness toward others, "vigilance over servants' work, and the education of children."[31] Catalina demonstrates all the above, and it shows in her strong relationship with the infanta. In the stage directions, Catalina and Maria enter and exit together for most of the play, and in the second scene are seated side by side in the throne room.[32] Reina Catalina clearly loves her daughter, as is evidenced both when Maria is taken away and later returned to her embrace.

QUEEN: Mary!
PRINCESS: Madam!
QUEEN: Give me one last embrace.
PRINCESS: What can I say at this moment when I lose you?
May my tears speak for me.[33]

This parting was designed by Calderón to elicit audience sympathy for Catalina and Maria, who both demonstrated their personal virtues and love for each other and Enrique. The stage directions have Volseo breaking apart the two women during an embrace, interrupting their display of affection.

Volseo acknowledges that he is taking away a "source of pleasure" for Catalina, who has just been denied what had been the driving structures in her life, namely her motherhood, her identity as a wife, and her queenship. She has just been deprived of her husband, of her empire, and now, of her daughter, in that order. As important as marriage and queenship are to her, Catalina makes clear during her reunion with Maria at the end of the play that her relationship with her daughter is paramount: "Let me lose crown and scepter, / And lose the world, so long as I may live / Here, and not lose you."[34] Maria responds in kind, "As long as I / Live here, within your arms, what signify / Laurel and Sceptre?"[35] Maria's sentiment demonstrates not only her loyalty to and love for Catalina, but also Catalina's worthiness of that love. Before their separation, mother and daughter are not seen apart on the stage, making their forced exile all the more jarring and

their reunion more satisfying. Their relationship comes full circle in their reunion, and is brought to them by the conclusion of Catalina's arc with Volseo.

Calderón's separation of Catalina and Maria is the direct result of Catalina's treatment of Volseo. He schemes to bring about her downfall because of her disdain for him and her kinship to those who denied him his goal of becoming pope. Even though she harbored anger and derision toward Volseo before, once she offers him kindness, sympathy, and goodwill Calderón gives her back the most important part of her life: her daughter. Instead of letting her die a childless mother, Calderón softens his punishment for Catalina's transgression of feminine decorum and allows her to die with some semblance of peace, knowing she has the love and companionship of her daughter. This differs from the historical Catherine, who did not see her daughter again after she was exiled from court in 1531. By giving Reina Catalina back her daughter, Calderón emphasizes Catalina's proper womanly identity as "mother" and allows for her redemption, and a softened punishment.

In *Henry VIII*, both Katherine and Anne are mothers, but neither shares the stage with the characters of Mary or Elizabeth. Mary never appears in the play, and the newborn Elizabeth appears only in the final scene. Audiences would have known that the infant was their late queen, but Shakespeare and Fletcher omit the close, if divergent, relationships the historical Catherine and Anne had with their daughters. Catherine died when her daughter was twenty years old and played a major role in her upbringing, particularly in her attachment to the Catholic Church; Anne, conversely, died when Elizabeth was only three years old, but was highly involved in her care for those short years.

Katherine evokes her motherhood twice in the play, both at moments of high dramatic tension. The first is during her speech before the Legatine court, which pronounced her marriage of over twenty years annulled. She does so to remind Henry of her loyalty and love, and to remind him of the heartache that they shared at the deaths of their many stillborn or short-lived children:

> Sir, call to mind
> That I have been your wife in this obedience
> Upward of twenty years, and have been blessed
> With many children by you. (*H8* 2.4.32–5)

Attempting to appeal to his sense of loyalty, a shared history, and his own goodwill, Katherine makes a positive impression on Henry, who, after she leaves, extolls her rare virtues.

The second mention of Katherine's motherhood comes at the very end of her life. After her exile at Kimbolton, Katherine has grown progressively weaker, but maintains her religious devotion and her kindness, offering understanding and compassion even toward the memory of Cardinal Wolsey. She knows she is close to death, and receives a vision of what the audience could interpret as angels (and Katherine certainly does). This comforts her, and signifies to the audience that while her earthly king has forsaken her, her heavenly

king would not. As she prepares for her final slumber, Katherine is interrupted by a king's messenger and seizes the opportunity to ask him to deliver her final letter to Henry:

> In which I have commended to his goodness
> The model of our chaste loves, his young daughter—
> The dews of heaven fall thick in blessings on her!—
> Beseeching him to give her virtuous breeding. (*H8* 4.2.131–4)

That letter makes it clear that taking care of her daughter after her death is particularly important to Katherine. In this way, even though Katherine and Mary never meet on stage, Katherine is shown to be a good mother.

Anne's role as mother is not depicted on stage. She is mentioned by several characters in the final scene of the play, when Cranmer prophesies of Elizabeth's future, but Anne herself does not appear on the stage to demonstrate a bond between mother and child (*H8* 5.4.4, 5.4.63, and 5.4.72).[36] Henry does entreat all the nobles to accompany him to see Anne as, "[s]he will be sick else" (*H8* 5.4.73). While Henry is certain that Anne would be hurt to not hear of her daughter's wonderful future, Anne never has the opportunity to voice her opinion or excitement for her daughter's reign. While both plays give Reina Catalina and Katherine the opportunity to demonstrate being a mother, Anne only has the fact that she gave birth to a healthy and ostensibly virtuous child to attest to her motherhood.

In *La Cisma*, Ana's motherhood is erased altogether, adding to her monstrosity. She began the play as a phantasm, and over time becomes a murderer and emotional adulteress. As he learns of her deceit, Enrique himself describes her as

> That woman,
> That fierce animal, that blind enchantment,
> False sphinx, that basilisk, that poisonous serpent,
> That enraged tigress, Anne Boleyn.[37]

By associating her with these creatures, Enrique is dehumanizing Ana. This monstrification helps the audience to connect more with Reina Catalina, and, in doing so, Calderón shows how Ana Bolena is not worthy of such sympathy herself and her end is justified because of it. Because she is not given the chance to show herself as a mother, she is undermined as a wife and as a queen, which not only leads to her downfall but also gives the audience cause to celebrate in her death. She is damned.

Partly because she embodies the expectations of mothers in the early modern period, Catalina's punishment for her scornful treatment of Volseo is softened—she is reunited with her daughter. Catalina still dies, but she is remembered well. Katherine, too, is a good mother, even though the play is less explicit on that front. Anne's relationship with Elizabeth is a bit trickier to pin down,

but because Anne herself demonstrated her devotion to pleasing Henry and her innate virtue, she is allowed to fade into the background at the end of the play. This lets her daughter, inheritor of both Anne's and Henry's virtues, to take center stage. This absence also allows Shakespeare and Fletcher to avoid punishing her behavior. Ana, though, is never allowed to be a mother. By erasing this essential part of the historical Anne Boleyn's life, Calderón takes away one of her avenues for redemption and, in so doing, condemns her.

Wife and Queen: Authority, Vice, and Vindication

An early modern queen is meant to be an exemplary role model. As a wife, she is expected to obey her husband in all things, to be compassionate, charitable, and to intercede with the king only for the good of her people.[38] Women, as directed in many conduct books, are expected to be their husband's partner and to maintain a Christian household that runs smoothly.[39] Queens, furthermore, are expected to do all of that under the scrutinizing eyes of the public. In a sense, the entire kingdom is her household, and it is the queen's duty to ensure her subjects' spiritual safety. What else does it mean to be an English queen? Amy Appleford argues that the historical Catherine of Aragon was the last medieval queen of England, and also its first Catholic martyr, as "part of a conscious Catholicization of the history of the English Reformation."[40] As the "only morally unambiguous character" in *Henry VIII*, Katherine is shown again and again to be a good queen. Appleford also engages with the representation of Anne Boleyn, arguing that as the first Renaissance queen of England, "Anne Boleyn was a difficult figure to portray: the mother of the 'beloved' late queen, officially judged and executed as an adulterous traitor, her reputation in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries depended very much on one's confessional viewpoint."[41] Gaywyn Moore takes Appleford's idea of Catherine as the last medieval queen and clarifies this assessment, noting that "we lack concrete definitions of a queen-consort's role in medieval or Renaissance England," and "the role that goes with the title changes depending on the personality of the queen in question and the relationship of the royal couple."[42] The role that Katherine exemplifies in *Henry VIII* is that of intercessor and judge.

While Shakespeare and Fletcher explore masculine authority, they also interrogate feminine authority in *Henry VIII*. As Katherine Eggert argues,

> the sequence of histories absorbs and shapes the political desires of its audience, which become theatrical desires as well: to witness and partake of a compelling masculine, rather than feminine, authority.[43]

This masculine authority is easily seen in Henry V's evolution. Part of what makes him a compelling character is his rhetorical prowess, especially his speech before Agincourt. Yet, of all the characters in *Henry VIII*, some of the most memorable lines and speeches come from Katherine, such as her speech before the Legatine court. In giving her these commanding lines, Shakespeare and Fletcher imbue her with authority too.

The historical Catherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn both wielded authentic power. As the wife of the king, they each had a coronation ceremony and acted as intermediary between the king and his people. The historical Catherine even wielded the power of the king when she was appointed regent in 1513 during Henry's short military campaign in France. Under her regency, English forces successfully defeated the invading Scottish in the Battle of Flodden Field, which resulted in the death of James IV. However, authority does not only denote the power that a queen or king wields, but also the authentic claim to that power. Performativity and ceremony, such as a coronation or a baptism after the birth of a royal infant, are essential elements of demonstrating royalty and queenship, but without the underlying authority, are merely sumptuous play-acting.

In *Henry VIII*, the theatrical Katherine of Aragon's authority is genuine and comes from not only her virtues, but also her birth. Katherine exerts her authority as Henry's queen from her very first scene. In Act 1, scene 2, Katherine enters while Henry is conducting an audience with Cardinal Wolsey and several nobles. She kneels in front of Henry, and after taking her place at his side, tells him, "I am solicited—not by a few, / And those of true condition—that your subjects / Are in great grievance" (*H8* 1.2.18–20). In subsequent lines, she informs the king of exactions, or taxes, which are being blamed on both him and Cardinal Wolsey. Bringing this to Henry's attention brings Wolsey's wrath upon her, but she positions herself forcefully and takes on the role of her people's protector. Alan Morris Cochrum compares her in this scene to an Old Testament prophet, Amos, who condemned "secular and religious wrongdoing that takes advantage of the poor."[44] Cochrum also points out that it is only after Katherine intercedes with Henry against Wolsey's harsh tax that the duke of Norfolk is emboldened to speak up.[45] By exercising her authority and power, she inspires Henry's mercy and Norfolk's voice. She also exerts power over her ladies in her chambers and over Wolsey and Campeius when they seek to speak with her in those chambers. In requiring the clergymen to talk to her in English, "O, good my lord, no Latin" (*H8* 3.1.41), Katherine controls the situation and makes it clear that she has nothing to hide: "The willingest sin I ever yet committed / May be absolved in English" (*H8* 3.1.49–50).

Anne, despite marrying Henry, does not have Katherine's impeccable royal lineage. It is partly her lack of royal birth that allows Shakespeare and Fletcher to erase her presence once she has served her narrative purpose in giving birth to Elizabeth. Even without royal birth, Anne is a "good" wife to Henry, as she obeys him in all things. Regardless of whether she attempted to seduce Henry away from Katherine, she accedes to his wishes. However, we never see her act as a queen. We see Anne in the procession during her coronation ceremony (4.1), which imbues her with a queenly authority, but we never see her exercise that power.[46]

In *La Cisma*, Catalina, like Katherine, has both authority and power. Within a domestic context, she commands Margarita (Margaret de la Pole) and Juana (Jane Seymour) to sing and brings Ana to dance for Enrique's entertainment.[47] She is acknowledged several times throughout the play as a just and virtuous

woman, and is perceived as such by Enrique and others, which demonstrates to the audience her authority.[48] Indeed, in Enrique's first monologue, he describes her as, "the loveliest, / Most Catholic," queen England has ever had, as "the most saintly offspring of the Catholic monarchs," and "that heaven of womanhood."[49] It is partly because she rightfully wields power and authority that she is allowed a softened punishment. If she was only pretending to have either, that would demonstrate a lack of virtue, and would have allowed Calderón to punish her further.

In *La Cisma*, Ana's final punishment comes because of her corruption of the virtues that Catalina espouses and by which she lives her life. Ana is self-centered, willful, and ambitious. She plots with Volseo to become queen and then betrays him once she is married to Enrique. She murders Catalina with a poisoned letter. Ana is a "bad" wife to Enrique not simply on account of her crimes, but also because she does not obey him. Catalina does not quietly accept the dissolution of her marriage because she wants to be a good wife. Ana only makes the appearance of obedience to a higher authority, when in reality she is scheming.

Her scheming ultimately leads to a subversion of her "natural" relationship with Enrique. As the man and king, he should rule his wife, but he supplicates himself to her and lets her rule him. We can see this most clearly in the beginning of Act 3:

KING: Here is a letter I have just received
From Catherine, unopened, for I wished,
My lovely Anne, to deliver it to you.
You open it; for it is right my love,
And also my obedience, should request
This favour of you.[50]

Ana outwardly responds with empathy for Catalina's plight. She acknowledges her place as a lady to the queen and how it must be difficult for Catalina to endure the hardships that Enrique has inflicted upon her. Enrique responds with a proclamation that the infanta Maria should be banished like her mother, and then asks Ana's permission to write a letter back to Catalina. She gives her permission, "provided that I read the letter and know what you have written to her."[51] In taking charge of their relationship, Ana has unwomaned herself and is neither a good mother nor a good wife. Because of her usurpation of Catalina's place and her corruption of Catalina's good wifely virtues, she has earned her gruesome end.

Catalina aptly demonstrates her adherence to wifely virtues by first and foremost wanting to stay married to Enrique. She also refuses to seek protection from her nephew, Charles V, lest he harm Enrique.[52] She is more worried about her relationship with Enrique than her queenship, as she states, "I do not mourn because I see / The golden crown and scepter at my feet."[53] Instead, she seeks to please him in all things, and hopes for his favor.

Katherine in *Henry VIII* also fulfills these wifely tropes with aplomb. She is universally praised by her countrymen in the play, even as Henry readies for his divorce, the Duke of Norfolk decries their separation:

> He counsels a divorce, a loss of her
> That like a jewel has hung twenty years
> About his neck yet never lost her lustre;
> Of her that loves him with that excellence
> That angels love good men with. (*H8* 2.2.29–33)

Even Wolsey knows of the king's affection for his exemplary queen, and reminds the audience that, "I know your majesty has always loved her" (*H8* 2.2.108). Whether or not Wolsey is reminding Henry of his love for Katherine because he is shrewdly manipulating the king into the divorce is not important here. What is important is how Henry portrays that marriage to the audience. Even though he is in the process of seeking an annulment from her, Henry demonstrates affection and confirms her affection for him in allowing and demanding the best in representation for her. He goes on to extol her virtues:

> Go thy ways, Kate.
> That man i'th' world who shall report he has
> A better wife, let him in naught be trusted
> For speaking false in that. Thou are alone—
> If thy rare qualities, sweet gentleness,
> Thy meekness saint-like, wife-like government,
> Obeying in commanding, and thy parts
> Sovereign and pious else, could speak thee out—
> The queen of earthly queens. (*H8* 2.4.130–8)

By publicly proclaiming her virtues in court, Henry affirms that she is indeed a good wife by the criteria that had been set before her, like the historical Katherine, in the conduct books and by Katherine herself in her dramatic speech before the Legatine court. She reminds Henry that "I have been to you a true and humble wife," echoing the call from "Good Wife," a poem that acted as a guide for women to lead virtuous lives, for the need for a wife to be loyal to her husband (*H8* 2.4.21). She adds that she was "all times to your [Henry's] will conformable," that she obeyed him in everything, save giving up her marriage (*H8* 2.4.22). With regard to Wolsey, Katherine claims that she attempted to show him love on Henry's behalf, even though "I knew he were mine enemy" (*H8* 2.4.27–9). Katherine, like Catalina, shows her righteous anger with Wolsey in several scenes, which demonstrates that while she believed she loved all of Henry's friends, and may have tried to keep Henry's best interests at heart, she did not treat Wolsey as a friend. In the scene at the Legatine court, she directs her anger straight at Wolsey:

KATHERINE: I am about to weep; but, thinking that
We are a queen, or long have dreamed so, certain

	The daughter of a king, my drops of tears
	I'll turn to sparks of fire.
WOLSEY:	Be patient yet.
KATHERINE:	I will, when you are humble—nay before,
	Or God will punish me. I do believe,
	Induced by potent circumstances, that
	You are mine enemy, and make my challenge
	You shall not be my judge. (*H8* 2.4.66–76)

While Wolsey seeks to remove Katherine, he does not intend to replace her with Anne, instead trying pique Henry's interest in a foreign princess such as the Duchess of Alençon (*H8* 3.2.85–101). Regardless, he prompts Katherine's exile from court, from Mary, and from her former life. This exile is a punishment by Shakespeare and Fletcher for her unwomanly anger toward Wolsey; since he was in Henry's good graces at this point, she was disrespecting Henry's wishes. She dies as a dowager princess, rather than as the queen she had been for most of her adult life. However, in her final scene, Shakespeare and Fletcher see fit to give Katherine a chance to demonstrate her compassion and to garner more sympathy for her plight. Katherine's interaction with Griffith in Act 4, scene 2 shows the audience her capacity for charity, and again demonstrates her virtue. After speaking her truth about the interactions she had with Wolsey, Griffith offers her a retelling of his virtues as "Men's evil manners live in brass, their virtues / We write in water" (*H8* 4.2.45–6). Katherine, while not exactly forgiving Wolsey, does make peace with her memory of him and of the wrongs he did her: "Whom I most hated living, thou hast made me, / With thy religious truth and modesty, / Now in his ashes honour. Peace be with him" (*H8* 4.2.73–5). Katherine demonstrates her capacity for compassion, and shortly afterward receives a miraculous vision or dream. This vision, and the comfort that Katherine derives from it, provide her a "happy ending" of sorts. While Shakespeare and Fletcher stay true to historical accounts in that their Katherine dies before seeing her daughter again, she is redeemed for the audience by the angelic vision. Through it, Katherine is given hope that she will be treated better in the afterlife than she was on this earth. After demonstrating her wifely virtues one last time by writing her letter to Henry, she dies in absolution.

On the stage, Katherine sets the gold standard for wifely virtues. Anne conforms to some of the expectations that Katherine placed on herself to be a good wife, but it is more difficult to analyze her relationship with Henry as they only appear together at their initial meeting. Anne is never shown on stage after her marriage. The audience sees her initial dance with Henry, when she receives the news she is the Marchioness of Pembroke, and her coronation ceremony, but she and Henry never interact as husband and wife.

Anne and Henry's lack of stage time together can make it difficult to gauge their relationship and how Anne conforms (or does not) to those wifely virtues. We know she had a child, which is, of course, important to a wife and queen, but how does Anne demonstrate all her supposed virtue? She is mentioned by several

characters in the play to be a virtuous young lady. However, when confronted with Henry's decision to make her the Marchioness of Pembroke, she acquiesces. She knows that this would be a stepping stone to marriage with Henry, so is her acceptance of the title demonstrative of her virtue or of her ambition? Where Calderón makes Ana's ambitious nature plain, Shakespeare and Fletcher are subtle in their treatment of Anne. She is said to be virtuous, and the ambiguity of the text only complicates that portrayal. Depending on how the actor gives their lines, Anne's dialogue with the Old Lady could be seen either as an ambitious young woman scheming to take Katherine's place as queen or as a sweet, virtuous young woman, who is thrust into a situation where she is conflicted by her loyalty to the queen, her acknowledgment of her station, and her need to obey the king.

Even though Katherine disobeys the king in an attempt to save her marriage, she and her Spanish counterpart are both depicted as virtuous women, wives, and queens. Anne's depiction as wife and queen in *Henry VIII* is more difficult to pin down, but Ana is an unquestionably terrible wife to Enrique. Ana's actions are a corruption of the wifely virtues to which Katherine, Catalina, and even Anne appear to adhere.

Conclusion

> A play, Ricardo, is
> A mirror to all men, in which
> The fool, the wise, the young, the old,
> The weak, the strong, the mild, the bold,
> The king, the prince, the governor,
> The girl, the bride, the lover, the wife,
> Can by example learn of honour
> And of life.[54]

Lope de Vega's *El castigo sin venganza*, quoted above, aptly demonstrates that the roles a woman plays in life and on the stage are many. Shakespeare and Fletcher and Calderón used the fictional counterparts of Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn to tell the story of "The merciful construction of good women" (*H8* Epilogue 10). Catherine of Aragon's fictional selves are both devout, saint-like, virtuous, motherly, considerate wives, and good queens, and because of their good natures, they are given softened punishments or redemption. Anne Boleyn's fictional selves are more complicated. Calderón's Ana is a true villain, a murderess who usurps a rightful queen's position and rules the king, leading the whole kingdom away from the true church, and is duly punished for her wicked behavior. Anne, outwardly virtuous but perhaps inwardly scheming and traitorous, is forgotten by play's end in favor of her daughter. By not showing Anne's fate, the playwrights cleverly dodge needing to give her a punishment or correction for her usurpation of

Katherine's position. Analyzing these queens' character arcs, by their virtues, their forgiveness, their transgressions, and the consequences of those transgressions, makes it clear that *Henry VIII* and *La Cisma* are both honor plays, even though *Henry VIII*'s action ends before Anne's final punishment.

Calderón, Shakespeare, and Fletcher created complicated and nuanced portrayals of early modern English queenship in their historical honor plays on the English and Spanish stages. The plays were performed for both royal and general audiences. Through their production, the playwrights sought to teach and to please these audiences. These honor plays are not only exaggerated, cautionary tales of what happens to women who transgress the expected social norms, which were communicated in the forms of conduct books and the theater, but also explorations of love, loyalty, and above all, honor.

Notes

1. Pedro Calderón, *The Schism in England* (*La Cisma de Inglaterra*), trans. and ed. Kenneth Muir and Ann L. Mackenzie (Warminster, England: Aris & Phillips Ltd., 1990), jornada segunda, ll. 1111–14. As Muir and Mackenzie's translation does not contain line numbers, quoted lines will be numbered from the Spanish version. They use Anglicized versions of names (e.g. Catherine, Anne, Mary, Jane), and when quoting directly from their translation, I have preserved this spelling choice. For clarity's sake, however, outside of quotations, this chapter refers to Katherine and Anne in *Henry VIII* and Catalina and Ana in *La cisma de Inglaterra*.
2. Pedro Calderón, *The Schism in England*, 11. Through the gathering of circumstantial evidence, Mackenzie asserts that this play was produced and performed before the king at one of his palace theaters, as well as in the documented stagings in public of later centuries. Her ideas on casting are derived from circumstantial information as well, but knowing the company that staged the play—Andrews de la Vega's—as well as the roster of actors within that company gives us a good idea on who originated which role.
3. According to Irving Ribner, "if a play appears to fulfill what we know the Elizabethans considered to be the legitimate purpose of history and if it is drawn from a chronicle source which we know that at least a large part of the contemporary audience accepted as factual, we may call it a history play." See Ribner, *The English History Play in the Age of Shakespeare* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1957), 25. According to Walter Cohen, history plays in Spain were different than those in England because the "dramatic energy" and moral instruction are the foremost concerns for the playwright, and "history becomes marginal." See Cohen, *Drama of a Nation: Public Theater in Renaissance England and Spain* (Ithaca: Cornell University, 1985), 218–19.
4. For how Katherine is used as a proxy for England's Catholic past while being portrayed in its Protestant present see Gaywyn Moore, "You Turn Me into Nothing: Reformation of Queenship on the Jacobean Stage," *Mediterranean Studies* 21.1 (2013): 27–56. She dissects Katherine's role as queen and contrasts it with what she argues is Anne's fulfillment of a biological imperative for Henry and satisfaction of his sexual needs. Hero Chalmers argues that Shakespeare utilized the character of Katherine to interrogate monarchical power, and relates

her representation in the play to Anna of Denmark's use of performance in masques to demonstrate royal power and to express royal prerogatives. See "'Break up the Court': Power, Female Performance and Courtly Ceremony in Henry VIII," *Shakespeare* 7.3 (2011): 257–68.

5. Comparative explorations of the queens in *Henry VIII* abound. Gaywyn Moore and Amy Appleford put *Henry VIII* into conversation with contemporary plays also featuring the historical Henry VIII's queens. Kim Noling compares Katherine and Anne's "coronation" scenes, and demonstrates how Anne's absence at the end of the play is necessary to create a space for the infant Elizabeth. Micheli asserts that audience response to the queens is central to the interpretation of the play as a whole. See Moore, "'You Turn Me into Nothing'"; Amy Appleford, "Shakespeare's Katherine of Aragon: Last Medieval Queen, First Recusant Martyr," *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 1 (2010): 149–72; Kim Noling, "Grubbing up the Stock: Dramatizing Queens in Henry VIII," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39.3 (1988): 291–306; Linda Micheli, "Sit By Us: Visual Imagery and the Two Queens in Henry VIII," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 38.4 (1987): 452–66.
6. Roy Norton tracks these character arcs and contextualizes them figuratively and literally as rising and falling, ascent and descent, comparing them to allusions within the play as celestial bodies or the physical acts of lifting up and lowering down. This is made plain in his discussion of Volseo's and Ana's deaths (Volseo jumps off a cliff and Ana's corpse is used as María's footstool). Roy Norton, "'La verdad que adoro es la que niego': Symbolism and Sophistry in Calderón's La cisma de Inglaterra," *Bulletin of the Comediantes* 68.1 (2016): 159–77.
7. Arden editor Gordon McMullan mentions performances in 1628 and under William Davenant's supervision in 1668. See "Introduction," William Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *King Henry VIII (All is True)*, ed. Gordon McMullan, Arden 3rd edition (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), 21–22.
8. Paula de Pando, "Unqueening the queen: the Spanish image of Anne Boleyn," *The Rituals and Rhetoric of Queenship: Medieval to Early Modern*, eds. Liz Oakley-Brown and Louise J. Wilkinson (Dublin: Four Courts, 2009), 186–98.
9. De Pando, "Unqueening the queen," 186–87.
10. Maria Cristina Quintero, *Gendering the Crown in Spanish Baroque Comedia* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 125. While Shakespeare's actors were all men and boys, the actors on the Spanish stage included women. "We should not forget," Dawn L. Smith asserts, "that the plays were written to be performed by acting companies that included women for a public composed of a large number of women. These sociological factors undoubtedly had an influence on shaping the repertoire." See "Introduction," in *The Perception of Women in Spanish Theatre of the Golden Age*, eds. Dawn L. Smith and Anita K. Stoll (Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Press, 1991), 17. Quintero also argues that "while it was true that the display of women opened them up to an erotized surveillance, the ostentatious display of the feminine body also had the potential to contest the sexist attitudes and conventions of this society" (13).
11. Ribadeneyra alludes in particular to the rumor, spread by Anne's enemies and popularized by Nicholas Sanders, that Anne was the product of a liaison between Thomas Boleyn's wife and Henry VIII, thus rendering their marriage incestuous. Pedro de Ribadeneyra, *Pedro de Ribadeneyra's "Ecclesiastical History of the Schism of the Kingdom of England": A Spanish Jesuit's History of the English Reformation*, trans. and ed. Spencer J. Weinreich (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 153.

12. Ribadeneyra, "Ecclesiastical History," 154.
13. Ribadeneyra, "Ecclesiastical History," 154.
14. Ribadeneyra, "Ecclesiastical History," 155. Another interesting parallel is that the "Flanders Mare" was an unflattering nickname for another of Henry's wives, Anne of Cleves.
15. Melveena McKendrick, *Woman and Society in the Spanish Drama of the Golden Age: A Study of the Mujer Varonil* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 261.
16. Alexander A. Parker, "The tragedy of honour: El medico de su honra" in *The Mind and Art of Calderón: Essays on the Comedias*, ed. Deborah Kong (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 213.
17. McKendrick, *Women and Society*, 261.
18. For examples of the differences between real life and the stage in terms of honor in early modern Spain, see Renato Barahona, "Between Ideals and Pragmatism: honor in Early Modern Spain," in *Approaches to Teaching Early Modern Spanish Drama*, edited by Laura R. Bass and Margaret R. Greer (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2006), 39–44.
19. Lucrece talks much of her virtue and her husband's honor, which leads to her decision to take her own life, claiming

    Yet am I guilty of thy honour's wrack;
    Yet for thy [Collatine's] honour did I entertain him.
    Coming from thee, I could not put him back,
    For it had been dishonor to disdain him.
    Besides, of weariness he did complain him,
    And talked of virtue: O, unlooked-for evil,
    When virtue is profaned in such a devil!

    In *Shakespeare's Poems*, eds. Katherine Duncan-Jones and H.R. Woudhuysen (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2007), ll. 841–47.
20. Othello first appeared in print in the First Quarto in 1622 and was in the First Folio in 1623.
21. Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 50.
22. Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance*, 51.
23. John Ford, *'Tis Pity She's a Whore*, ed. Marion Lomax (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995) 5.6.156.
24. I would be remiss in not citing Prof. Ian Borden for his theories on punishment, correction, and reward on the early modern stage. I was introduced to these ideas during the seminar "Challenging Gender in Renaissance Theatre," which took place in Spring 2017 at the University of Nebraska-Lincoln.
25. Mary K. Nelson argues that the world of *Henry VIII* "constructs Katherine of Aragon and Anne Boleyn as possessors of 'disabled wombs,'" because they could only produce surviving daughters. Because Henry perceived these women as "failures as mothers," they are constructed as disabled, which could have been seen as the physical manifestation of a spiritual deficiency, thus also putting the blame for lack of a male heir squarely on Katherine and Anne's shoulders. Mary K. Nelson, "Shakespeare's Henry VIII: Stigmatizing the 'Disabled' Womb," *Disability Studies Quarterly* 29.4 (2009).

26. Quintero, *Gendering the Crown*, 146.
27. This trope appears throughout conduct books in the late medieval and early modern period. See, for example, *The Good Wife Taught Her Daughter/ The Good Wyfe Wold a Pylgremage/ The Thewis of Gud Women*, trans. Tauno F. Mustanoja (Helsinki: Suomalaisen Kirjallisuuden Seuran, 1948); Christine de Pizan, *The Treasure of the City of Ladies or The Book of the Three Virtues*, trans. Sarah Lawson (New York: Penguin, 1985); Juan Luis Vives, *The Education of a Christian Woman: A Sixteenth-Century Manual*, trans. Charles Fantazzi (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000) 265–82.
28. For more specific advice from Vives to mothers, see *Education of a Christian Woman*.
29. Vives champions a learned mother, as seen in *Education of a Christian Woman*, 270–71. The song, "En un ifierno los dos" or "Now we are both in hell" is presented as an "ancient air, with fine and charming words." Calderón also foreshadows Enrique's future interest in Jane Seymour by his compliment of her singing and choice of song.
30. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada tercera, lines 2705–11.
31. Tauno F. Mustanoja, *The Good Wife*, 79.
32. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada segunda, stage direction after 1705, page 130.
33. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada segunda, lines 1911–17.
34. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada tercera, lines 2432–4.
35. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada tercera, lines 2429–31.
36. Henry's claim that Cranmer has "made me now a man" through his prophecy of Elizabeth's future greatness sets up Henry's incomplete honor arc with Anne. Thus, it is not only a reward for him (he is rewarded for setting aside Katherine in favor of Anne) but also a reminder to the audience of Anne's downfall and Henry's use of her execution to regain control of his reputation.
37. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada tercera, lines 2562–6. This quote is reminiscent of Shakespeare's bestial description of Margaret of Anjou, another queen of England who was raised in France, as "tiger's heart wrapped in woman's hide" in *3 Henry VI*, (*3H6*, 1.4.140).
38. For examples and analysis of some conduct books, see Suzanne Hull, *Chaste, Silent, and Obedient: English Books for Women 1475–1640* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1982).
39. See Hull, *Chaste, Silent, and Obedient*, 31–70, for an examination of books specifically aimed at helping women maintain households.
40. Appleford, "Shakespeare's Katherine," 152.
41. Appleford, "Shakespeare's Katherine," 155.
42. Gaywyn Moore, "Exhuming Henry VIII's Court: The Tudor Household on the Jacobean Stage" PhD diss., University of Kansas, 2011, ProQuest LLC (349897), 140.
43. Katherine Eggert, *Showing Like a Queen: Female Authority and Literary Experiment in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 54.
44. Alan Morris Cochrum, "'Becomes a Woman Best': Female Prophetic Figures in Shakespeare's Plays" (unpublished PhD diss., The University of Texas at Arlington, 2015), 89.
45. Cochrum, "'Becomes a Woman Best,'" 89.

46. In a study of the processions within the play, Marissa Greenberg demonstrates another way that Shakespeare and Fletcher foreshadowed Anne's eventual execution. By making the Duke of Buckingham's procession toward his execution the first procession of the play, the playwrights link the idea of procession with death. Much like her joyful coronation procession, Anne would make a much sadder procession to the Tower to await her execution in 1536. Marissa Greenberg, "Processions in History and Shakespeare and Fletcher's Henry VIII," *English Literary Renaissance* 45.2 (2015): 275–302.
47. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada segunda, lines 1095–96, jornada tercera, line 2301, and jornada segunda, jornada segunda, lines 1059–60.
48. See Carlos' description of her as a "divine lady," Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada primera, lines 490–91; Volseo points out that "For royal dignity and majesty / Never conceal their heavenly status," jornada primera, lines 644–65; after Catalina is angry with Volseo for keeping her from Enrique, Volseo describes her as "Catherine the Queen/ Ready to be compassionate to all / […] That her loyal heart— / Though terrible in anger—gentle to everyone," jornada primera, lines 685–90.
49. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada primera, lines 27–9, 34–5, and 60.
50. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada tercera, lines 2124–30.
51. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada tercera, lines 2156–8.
52. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada segunda, lines 1872–83.
53. Calderón, *The Schism in England*, jornada segunda, lines 1804–6.
54. Lope de Vega, "Punishment Without Revenge," *Lope de Vega: Three Major Plays*, trans. Gwynne Edwards (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), act one, lines 225–32.

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PART VIII

Performing Queenship

CHAPTER 24

Margaret of Anjou: Shakespeare's Adapted Heroine

Charlene V. Smith

Helen E. Maurer, author of *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England*, first encountered her subject in 1970 while watching *The Wars of the Roses* at the New York Shakespeare Festival (NYSF). Directed by Stuart Vaughan, *The Wars of the Roses* was a marathon performance of *Henry VI* condensed into two parts, followed by *Richard III*.[1] According to Maurer's description, Margaret (played by Barbara Caruso) "strode across a stage in Central Park in a long, swishing skirt as if she owned the place."[2] Thirty years later Maurer published a book on the historical figure, admitting that her interest stemmed from that night at the theater:

> I confess that the image was rather appealing. At a time when feminist sentiments were rising and I was personally becoming more aware and critical of the litany of gendered do's and don'ts, the expectations and limitations that I had grown up with but somehow managed to partially ignore, she seemed like someone who could grasp life on her own terms without a second thought.[3]

Modern critics and practitioners describe Margaret of Anjou, a character who appears in all four plays of Shakespeare's First Tetralogy (*Henry VI, Parts 1*, *2*, and *3*, and *Richard III*), in similar terms, as "Shakespeare['s …] first tragic heroine;" as "one of the strongest female roles that Shakespeare wrote;" as "one of Shakespeare's great female characters."[4] By 2012 Anna Kamaralli could say, "Margaret has long been recognized as one of the great challenges for the female actor."[5] Similarly in their 2006 survey of the *Henry VI* plays in performance, Stuart Hampton-Reeves and Carol Chillington Rutter state that "apart

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from Margaret, York is the most interesting part."[6] The offhandedness of their remark suggests that the opinion is undisputed.

Margaret's current popularity is primarily due to several high-profile productions of the *Henry VI* plays (sometimes in repertory with *Richard III*) since the 1950s, most significantly John Barton and Peter Hall's *The Wars of the Roses* (1963) at the Royal Shakespeare Company (RSC), famously starring Peggy Ashcroft as Margaret. Playwright and medievalist Robert Potter noted that in *The Wars of the Roses*, "it was [Margaret's] presence that knitted these shuffles up into one story."[7] With that realization, in 1977 Potter re-forged the four plays into one centered on her, unknowingly kicking off a trend. Since the late 1970s, the character of Margaret has become increasingly popular; at least twenty-five single-play adaptations now exist that make her the protagonist of the First Tetralogy.[8]

Though there are many differences among these adaptations, their purpose is the same. Peter Widdowson argues, "'a clear cultural-political thrust' is perhaps the most important defining feature of [adaptation]. Canonical works are 'revised and re-visioned as part of the process of restoring a voice, a history and an identity to those hitherto exploited, marginalized and silenced by dominant interests and ideologies.'"[9] The Margaret adapters follow this description by focusing on a previously marginalized character, but they do not see Margaret as marginalized by Shakespeare. Rather, they see her as marginalized by the Shakespeare performance industry, the economic and political considerations of which have caused Margaret to linger in obscurity. Jeffrey Sweet refers to Margaret as "one of the best kept secrets in Shakespeare" and created *The Falcon's Pitch* in order "to rescue her from relative obscurity."[10] Scott Sharplin gives a similar reason for his interest in making a Margaret play: she is "one of the strongest female roles in all of Shakespeare, but nobody knows about her because she's spread out through four plays."[11] Ensemble Shakespeare Theater describes her as "one of Shakespeare's most incredible characters that you've likely never heard of."[12] The adaptive strategy of these twenty-five plays is not to politically address a weakness or imbalance in Shakespeare's text, but in the way Shakespeare has been produced.

Though Margaret's status as a great Shakespeare heroine is widely acknowledged today, it is solely a modern phenomenon. The bulk of her role is found across the three *Henry VI* plays, which fell out of fashion in the seventeenth century. As a result, the character almost completely disappeared from the English stage for 350 years. After the Restoration, the *Henry VI* plays rarely appeared in London, and only in heavily adapted form.[13] These adaptations ran for just a few nights and were not revived. Due to the lack of performances of these early history plays, Margaret's centrality to this story has been hidden for most of theater history.

In contrast to the *Henry VI* plays, *Richard III* has enjoyed a vigorous stage history. But Margaret in *Richard III* has been dismissed by critics and directors alike; Alan Brien considered her a "moaning old wind-machine" and James Agate called her one of "the most triumphant bores in Shakespeare."[14]

Furthermore, Colley Cibber's 1700 revision—which excised Clarence, Hastings, and Margaret in order to add Richard-centric material from *Henry VI, Part 3*—remained the text of choice for two centuries.[15] Even today, Cibber's influence remains strong; for instance, the 2012 Globe production, starring Mark Rylance, cut Margaret completely. Practitioners and scholars have treated Margaret's role in *Richard III* as superfluous.

Margaret's status began to change after World War II. Several landmark productions in England proved the theatrical viability of the *Henry VI* plays and introduced audiences to a new Shakespearean heroine in Margaret. These productions treated the plays as a cycle, performing them in repertory in three parts, or conflating them into two and adding *Richard III* to form a new trilogy. Robert Potter, after seeing Barton and Hall's *The Wars of the Roses*, called himself an "eyewitness and partisan admirer of the emergence of Shakespeare's first historical tetralogy in its totality, and of its heroine Queen Margaret in particular."[16] After producing the three parts of *Henry VI* for Birmingham Repertory in the 1950s, Sir Barry Jackson asked "why no major actress [had] ever discovered the tremendous character of Margaret of Anjou, surely one of the greatest roles in the whole gallery."[17] The answer is clear: because actresses (and audiences) had never seen Margaret in her entirety before. As Dame Peggy Ashcroft realized after playing the role, "it takes four plays to make her one of the great female characters in Shakespeare."[18] Margaret's importance was visible once audiences could see a female actor embodying her through the storyline of four plays.

Though increased interest in Margaret has been a natural byproduct of these cyclical productions, this was not the intention of the directors and producers. Companies have undertaken productions of *Henry VI* almost exclusively to create a theatrical event, either through a marathon cyclical production, or as part of a canon completion project. The RSC in particular has had a special relationship to the *Henry VI* plays, returning to the trilogy during times of financial instability, accusations of artistic complacency, and shifting company priorities. As Robert Shaughnessy has argued, these plays stand for more than just a night at the theater: "history cycles have continued to perform for the RSC an economically and artistically regenerative role, forging a sense of unity, clarity and purpose, acting as a reminder that the company exists for something more profound and far-reaching than the repertory production of single plays: to carry the national burden of Shakespeare, his, and our, supposed mythical history."[19] Artistic directors of the RSC have frequently cut their teeth on *Henry VI*; in addition to Hall's 1963 productions, the plays have been staged by Terry Hands (1977), Adrian Noble (1988), and Michael Boyd (2000; remounted in 2006 along with the Second Tetralogy). The RSC returned to its First Tetralogy roots in 2015 when Trevor Nunn directed a new production of Barton and Hall's 1963 script. These major productions have reminded audiences and critics alike of the RSC's relevancy and importance to England's cultural landscape. The other major British staging of *Henry VI* was Michael Bogdanov and Michael Pennington's nationwide tour with the English

Shakespeare Company in 1986. Bogdanov and Pennington condensed *Henry VI* into two parts and toured it for three years as part of a cycle along with *Richard III* and the four plays of the Second Tetralogy. In England, *Henry VI* is most often staged as part of a larger cycle of history plays.

In contrast, North American companies almost always stage *Henry VI* out of a commitment to Shakespeare's canon.[20] In spite of this, American companies rarely stage *Henry VI* as three separate plays, preferring to condense the plot into two, or even one production. Condensed versions, often under new names, have recently been staged by Southwest Shakespeare Company in 2014 (*Blood Royal*), Chicago Shakespeare Theater in 2016 (*Tug of War*), Cincinnati Shakespeare Company in 2016–17 (*Henry VI: The Wars of the Roses*), and Seattle Shakespeare in 2017 (*Bring Down the House*). When performing all three parts of *Henry VI*, companies spread them out over separate seasons, often performing one part a year for three years, as was done by the Oregon Shakespeare Festival (OSF) (1953–5, 1964–6, and 1975–7) and the American Shakespeare Center in Virginia (2009–11 and 2015–17).

From the Restoration works to these most recent renamed conflations, adaptation has been the norm for the entire stage history of *Henry VI*. Barton's work on *The Wars of the Roses* was especially influential: "he was responsible for reviving the craft of wholesale Shakespearean stage adaptation and affording it a previously unheard-of legitimacy."[21] The success of *The Wars of the Roses*, with 1,400 new lines written by Barton, gave directors and producers the permission to change, cut, and adapt *Henry VI*. As Hampton-Reeves and Rutter argue in their monograph on these plays in performance, though the RSC billed Terry Hands' 1977 full productions as "the first performances of the unadapted texts since Shakespeare's lifetime,"[22] a form of adaptation still occurred "for trilogies are so rarely performed that they make their own statement about Shakespeare. Playing them 'all', playing them in sequence offers a form of adaptation by association."[23] When running productions of *Henry VI* simultaneously or successively, even when condensed down to two or three nights, theater companies are positioning Shakespeare's First Tetralogy as one long story, rather than four separate works. Thus Margaret of Anjou, now frequently described as "Shakespeare's first great heroine," is not Shakespeare's at all, because she exists solely through adaptation.[24]

One of the adaptive moves undertaken by every production of *Henry VI* is to reclaim this material as by Shakespeare. Shakespeare's authorship of the three parts of *Henry VI* has long been a subject of debate. Theories include that Shakespeare was sole author of all three plays or that Shakespeare revised earlier plays written by others, but current popular consensus posits that Shakespeare wrote the plays in collaboration with one or several other playwrights.[25] Scholars are divided as to whether the three parts of *Henry VI* were originally intended as a trilogy. *Parts 2* and *3* exist in early quarto editions under different titles, prompting many to argue that they were originally a two-part play and that *1 Henry VI, Part 1* was either a prequel or an earlier play later doctored to precede the duo.[26] These doubts are erased in the theater: the

published edition of *The Plantagenets* states on its title page that the work is "Adapted by the Royal Shakespeare Company from William Shakespeare's *Henry VI Parts I*, *II*, *III* and *Richard III*." The front cover is even more explicit: "The Plantagenets / William Shakespeare." Shakespeare is also given credit as sole author of *Henry VI* in the published editions of Barton and Hall's *The Wars of the Roses* and Edward Hall and Roger Warren's *Rose Rage*.

While these works are billed to the public as having been written by Shakespeare, directors and adapters at the same time use the supposition that he was not the sole author to authorize their own textual emendations. Adrian Noble confessed that he did not "even think that the majority of *Henry VI Part One* was written by Shakespeare," and Peter Hall is an apologist for his and Barton's adaptation: "We believe that there is a difference between interfering with the text of mature Shakespeare and the text of the *Henry VI*s. These plays are not only apprentice work, uneven in quality; we cannot be sure that Shakespeare was their sole author."[27] Though the authorship, chronology, and intent of these plays are up for debate, on the modern stage they are always presented in concrete terms: as a cycle of plays written by Shakespeare, intended to be watched chronologically and enjoyed as an interconnected work.

When taken as individual works, the *Henry VI* plays are built for an ensemble; line loads are more equitably shared than in Shakespeare's later plays. In *Henry VI, Part 1*, the largest part is John Talbot (391 lines) followed by Joan la Pucelle (255 lines).[28] In *Henry VI, Part 2*, York leads the count (388 lines); close behind him are Margaret (329 lines), Henry VI (309 lines), Humphrey of Gloucester (301 lines), and Suffolk (295 lines).[29] The parts are similarly distributed in *Henry VI, Part 3* between Warwick (447 lines), Edward (450 lines), and Richard (406 lines).[30] Margaret is the fifth-largest role in this play, with 288 lines.[31] As Judith Hinchcliff explains, "the episodic style of the plays discourages concentration on one particular character."[32] In the fragmented *Henry VI*s, no single character stands out. But when taken as a unit, Margaret dominates Shakespeare's First Tetralogy: her collective line count totals 873, the largest for a female character in the Shakespeare canon.

The role of Margaret takes on even greater significance when the three *Henry VI* plays are conflated into two plays, as other characters' storylines are more likely than hers to be cut. *Henry VI, Part 1*, having the least in common with the other two parts, is always cut the most. The plotlines of Joan la Pucelle and John Talbot tend to suffer, often severely trimmed or excised entirely. *Rose Rage*, for example, includes Talbot, but not Joan. While both appeared in Karin Coonrod's NYSF production (1996), their scenes were heavily cut, including Joan's reunion with her father and Talbot's with his son.[33] Both Joan and Talbot were eliminated when Douglas Seale repeated his productions at the Old Vic in 1957 and for Pam Brighton's 1980 Stratford (Canada) production.[34] Such trimming changes the balance of the plays, particularly *Henry VI, Part 1*, which has, according to David Riggs, "two principal antagonists, Talbot and Joan la Pucelle."[35] If Joan is cut from a production, she can no longer be

the principal female antagonist. As a result of these losses, other characters and storylines, such as that of Margaret, take on added prominence.

When directors and adapters reduce the three *Henry VI* plays into two, they are able to reset the beginning and end of each play. Most commonly, adapters conclude the first play at Act 4, scene 4 of *Henry VI, Part 2*, the lull in Cade's Rebellion during which Margaret cradles Suffolk's head after he has been murdered. Barton, Noble, and Bogdanov finished their first parts with this scene, giving Henry VI the final words, but Margaret the penultimate lines. Pat Patton ended his first half at OSF in 1991 here as well and highlighted the main players of the story through staging: "his production ended with a coda composed of lines spoken by Margaret (holding Suffolk's head and repeating 'Think therefore on revenge'—4.4.3), Henry VI (repeating 'And God shall be my hope'—see 4.4.55), and York."[36] Ending here gives Margaret's journey greater significance since audiences see the loss of her lover as the final moment in a play.

Some of Margaret's current popularity is also due to Peggy Ashcroft's legendary performance. Explaining the initial success of *Richard III* in the eighteenth century, Gary Taylor writes that the "twenty-four-year-old David Garrick catapulted both himself and *Richard the Third* into stardom, simultaneously. A role is the meeting place for an actor and a play; if the actor triumphs so does the play."[37] And so, one might add, does the character. For the rest of her life Peggy Ashcroft would be associated with the role of Margaret, and the role of Margaret with Peggy Ashcroft. In *Women Making Shakespeare* (2014), Russ McDonald's chapter is titled, simply, "Peggy of Anjou," conflating role and actress.[38] When Ashcroft died, her obituaries spoke to her relationship with the role; the Associated Press called the role "perhaps her greatest triumph."[39] Ashcroft achieved that triumph not only due to her own talents, but also because she had the opportunity of playing Margaret across the entire arc of the First Tetralogy.

With one actress playing Margaret across the trilogy or tetralogy, viewers see an integrated Margaret who becomes one of the central figures of the narrative and the leading female role, for "serial productions of the histories made parts which seemed limited in just one of the plays into rich and rewarding acting opportunities."[40] Mary Clarke noted that the cuts and staging of the plays at the Old Vic made "it less a play about the reign of King Henry than about the struggles of his wife, Margaret of Anjou, on behalf of the house of Lancaster."[41] Ben Brantley of the *New York Times*, reviewing Coonrod's NYSF productions, ends his list of successful performances with Margaret: "And above all, there is the mesmerizing Angie Phillips […] By the play's end she is, as much as York or Henry, its center."[42] The marketing image for Trevor Nunn's 2015 remount of *The Wars of the Roses* shows an empty throne and four faces—Joely Richardson's, as Margaret of Anjou, is the largest of the four.[43]

Though revealing a new major female character within the Shakespeare canon, cyclical productions of *Henry VI* have remained primarily a male affair. Robert Shaughnessy argues that through serial presentations by the RSC "his-

tory is transformed into epic ritual and myth; at the heart of these cycles is an endlessly replayed patriarchal narrative, a struggle between generations of fathers and sons projected on a national scale."[44] Or as Barbara Hodgdon put it, the history in these plays "centers on retelling and memorializing masculine deeds."[45] Not only are the stories themselves about men, but the artists in charge have overwhelmingly been male; at the RSC the "(male) artistic directors have repeatedly mobilized the plays to mark moments in their own professional and institutional histories."[46] In 1994, Katie Mitchell became the first woman to direct a *Henry VI* play at a major professional theater in England; her *Henry VI, Part 3* was mounted in the RSC's smallest venue in Stratford, the Other Place. Mitchell was preceded in Canada by Pam Brighton's 1980 conflation for the Stratford Festival and followed by Coonrod in America in 1996.[47] Brighton's *Henry VI* was a single night, the three plays condensed into four hours; Coonrod's was performed as a two-part play. No larger-scale cyclical theatrical production of *Henry VI* has yet been directed by a woman.[48]

Critics have taken issue with the portrayal of women in some *Henry VI* productions. Anna Kamaralli lambasts several directors, including Michael Boyd, for their reductive view of femininity and oversexualization of Joan and Margaret, arguing that both characters were portrayed as "clear-cut villains."[49] Randall Martin was likewise troubled by the characterization of Margaret in recent histories productions.[50] The rise of Margaret Thatcher influenced several productions, including Bogdanov's, whose anti-war production portrayed "a Margaret for a Margaret: Margaret of Anjou as Margaret Thatcher, both bringers of misery and suffering to England, according to Bogdanov's politics."[51] June Watson mirrored Thatcher in appearance and in voice, and delivered a "superlatively nasty performance."[52] Martin found that such characterizations stood in contrast to the character's true "psychological complexity, emotional range and rhetorical power."[53] For Kamaralli and Martin, fully portraying Margaret's complexity is important in order to demonstrate the "distinctiveness and individuality" of the women of the First Tetralogy, who inhabit "a framework that is unabashedly patriarchal."[54] Both see the character of Margaret as unfortunately reduced to a mere archetype in recent stagings of the histories.

The twenty-five Margaret-centric adaptions, however, were all created with a feminist intentionality lacking in previous *Henry VI* productions and conflations. Real Live Theatre's audition notice called their play as "a feminist retelling."[55] Ensemble Shakespeare Theatre described *Rose Queen* as "truly a feminist epic."[56] Elizabeth Schafer and Philippa Kelly publicized their adaptation (two staged readings of which happened to be directed by Kamaralli) as "Shakespeare's most feminist play."[57] In introducing the previously ignored character of Margaret to a new audience and centering the narrative on her, these modern adapters are performing what they see as an explicitly feminist act.

In contrast, Shakespeare's titles reveal the phallocentricity of his stories: "Shakespeare never allows a woman a play of her own […] no feminine name appears in his titles except as the second member of a male-female pair."[58] As

his titles suggest, the female roles in Shakespeare are always secondary to the male roles: "Antagonists and consorts, queens and queans, witches and saints: women play almost every conceivable role in Shakespeare's history plays. But there is one role that is always reserved for a man—that of the protagonist."[59] The Margaret adapters constructed a Shakespeare play with a female protagonist, using titles such as *Margaret*, *Queen Margaret*, and *Margaret of Anjou*. Tony Wright created his *Queen Margaret*, produced by Shakespeare Carolina, for this very reason: "there is no solo female title character in Shakespeare. […] I wanted a female character front and center."[60] The adapters' focus is revealed by the names of the plays; eighteen of the adaptations make Margaret the title character.

Many of the adaptors also chose feminist modes of casting and staging. Though Shakespeare's histories take place in a male-dominated world, Ralph Carhart split the casting of his *Queen Margaret*, produced in New York in 2001, in half: six women and six men. The actresses, playing mostly male roles, were cast strategically, in roles sympathetic to Margaret and the Lancastrian cause.[61] Carhart highlighted Margaret's female narrative by surrounding her with supportive female bodies. In contrast, Michael Sexton's *Margaret: A Tyger's Heart* emphasized Margaret's centrality through isolation: Sexton removed all other female characters, making Margaret the sole female body of the story. Elyzabeth Gorman titled her play *Margaret I*, but arranged the narrative around the women of the First Tetralogy, not just Margaret, but also Joan of Arc; Eleanor, the Duchess of Gloucester; and Queen Elizabeth. Toby Vera Bercovici used an all-female cast for *The Life and Death of Queen Margaret*, as did the staging of *Margaret of Anjou* by Schafer and Kelly directed by Rebecca McCutcheon. Two of the scripts, *Prophetess* and *Queen Undaunted*, are one-woman plays. Though the adapters made divergent choices, these decisions all underscore the importance of gender to Margaret's narrative.

Some of the adaptations, such as Potter's *Queen Margaret*, are composed to mimic a Shakespearean history play, but many of the adapters instead radically shifted the story's structure. With an all-female cast of eight, Bercovici staged the events in *The Life and Death of Queen Margaret* as though they were coming from Margaret's body and mind right before her final breath. Bercovici purposefully chose a circular structure for her and Morbyrne's adaptation, seeing it as traditionally female, in contrast to the male climax-based structure traditionally found in art.[62] Though Bercovici was the only adapter to explicitly link her structure to notions of gender, many of the Margaret adaptions are set up in a nonlinear way, employing frame narratives, flashbacks, voiceovers, or returns to the beginning.

At least seven of the adaptations use memory as an organizing principle. Both Sexton's *Margaret: A Tyger's Heart* and Jennifer Dick's *Queen Margaret* open with text from *Richard III*, using that play as a framing device. Both plays culminate with Margaret's cursing of Richard. Each script ends with Margaret's rage moving outward, in Sexton's script with the lines, "Live each of you the subjects to his hate, / And he to yours, and all of you to God's!"[63] and in

Dick's script Margaret turns to the audience to say, "Which of you trembles not that looks on me?"[64] By presenting the events of the play as memory, Dick and Sexton allowed their Margarets to have the final word.

Ashley Smith's *In Time of Roses* employs a circular structure by requiring two women to be cast as Margaret. The play begins with the younger actress embodying Margaret and the older actress giving commentary from the sidelines. The stage direction at the top states that the older Woman "will remain on stage throughout the first two acts, observing the action as memory."[65] The younger Girl speaks the last lines of the play, her presence reminding the audience of what Margaret has been. The dramaturg's note focuses on the ability of feelings to affect our perceptions of the past, concluding that "*In Time of Roses* is a story about, and told through, *memories*."[66] For *Margaret I*, Gorman sets up a frame of the women in the First Tetralogy looking back over their lives. Joan, Margaret, Eleanor, and Elizabeth narrate their stories while supporting each other. Through reliving their lives, the women seek to understand why they had to endure so much suffering. Though Jeffrey Sweet's *The Falcon's Pitch* appears fully linear, at the final moment of the play, as she is packing for exile in France, Margaret recalls her first meeting with Suffolk. She remembers him telling her "And so shall you [be free], / If happy England's royal king be free."[67] In Sharplin's *Prophetess*, Margaret tells her story to keep her son Prince Edward calm and quiet as they hide during a battle. By using memory, the adapters make it clear that the narrative belongs to Margaret; the story the audience sees is recolored through her thoughts.

Production and adaptation of *Henry VI* is always an act of recovery. Theater companies restore unfamiliar texts and engage in, as Nicholas Grene put it, a "theatrical recovery of the whole canon."[68] Likewise, these memory plays are actively involved in the recovery of Margaret's story. All the adaptations recover the character both in the sense of revealing her journey to an unfamiliar audience and also in the sense of reclaiming her reputation. But memory adaptations add another level to this action; by couching the narrative as events that have already happened, Margaret has to retrieve the past for the audience. Though memory is a common theatrical device, it is all the more appropriate for plays about Margaret since in *Richard III* she serves as the repository of the past, the reminder of what has come before.[69]

Part of the appeal of these Margaret adaptations is that they appear to make the old Shakespearean canon new again, a fact not lost on the producers and adapters. Peggy Ashcroft felt that the Barton/Hall *Wars of the Roses* effected this type of recovery, noting that "Margaret […] was a new part."[70] The Margaret adaptations not only give actresses a "new part" to play, they give audiences a new play to see. Ensemble Shakespeare Theater marketed *Rose Queen* as "an entirely new Shakespeare play."[71] Those Women Productions billed *Margaret of Anjou* as an "undiscovered (feminist!) Shakespeare play."[72] Shakespeare Carolina called *Queen Margaret* "a new play by William Shakespeare."[73] Director Tom Markus described Potter's *Queen Margaret* as "a brand new Shakespearean history play."[74] Shakespeare's Margaret is both 400 years old and our contemporary.

Many of the adapters wanted to make plays about Margaret because women have far fewer acting opportunities in classical theater than men do. While this gender imbalance may be a function of the all-male stage for which Shakespeare was writing, the production of his plays today continues this trend both in storytelling and casting. Real Live Theatre undertook *Queen Margaret* "because there is a serious lack of compelling and well-written women in Shakespeare's oeuvre, essentially leaving women out of some of the world's greatest plays."[75] As their marketing promised, "Now, Margaret gets to be the star of her own story."[76] In 1979, Joan Bell created *Vain Flourish of My Fortune* when she was trying to "find roles for women in classical theatre: there are too few."[77] Schafer and Kelly's *Margaret of Anjou* wanted to both reveal Margaret and celebrate Shakespeare; the marketing copy claimed that the script "could change the way we see Shakespeare; it proves that he wrote a female role that is an 'Everest' on a par with King Lear."[78] As *Prophetess* actress Vanessa Sabourin simply said, "She deserves her own play."[79] By creating "new" Shakespeare plays with a female protagonist, adapters are consciously providing more, larger acting opportunities for women.

In a way similar but reverse to how *Henry VI* producers attribute the plays to Shakespeare while using his disputed authorship as leverage to adapt, the Margaret adapters feel they are revealing Shakespeare's intent via the changes they are making. Even knowing how much Barton changed in *The Wars of the Roses*, Robert Potter still felt that "most of Margaret's strongest moments are authentically Shakespearean" and credits Hall, Barton, and Ashcroft with "first [teaching] us to perceive" Margaret's character.[80] In Potter's view, *The Wars of the Roses* did not change Shakespeare's Margaret or create a new Margaret, but rather allowed audiences to see Shakespeare's Margaret for the first time. Adapter Jemma Levy wrote about this paradox in her program note: "Shakespeare never wrote *Queen Margaret*. But he did: he gave her to us, in all her complex glory."[81] Similarly, Dan Morbyrne's program note states, "This is not the real Margaret or Shakespeare's Margaret [but] I do think she is a Margaret true to Shakespeare's vision."[82] These adapters have not attempted to challenge Shakespeare's story, but rather to prove to audiences that one of the greatest characters he ever wrote was a woman, whose existence had previously been hidden.

Stuart Hampton-Reeves and Carol Chillington Rutter have argued that the *Henry VI* plays are Shakespeare's most malleable texts:

> There is no standard adaptation, no one model that solves the plays' logistical and (arguably) artistic problems. […] From the beginning, the texts have been unusually mobile, their episodic structure making them peculiarly open to reinvention, more so than any other Shakespeare play. […] Companies can choose the stories they want to tell, conceal others for economy, expand parts where appropriate, and add their own verse to help the story along. The *Henry VI* plays were written to be adapted.[83]

This appealing malleability caused major theater companies to put their own stamp on cyclical productions of *Henry VI*, but typically without feminist intent. These productions unconsciously revealed a major female presence who stands out and in opposition to a phallocentric narrative: "Margaret sustains a feminine autonomy by resisting patriarchal definitions of femininity; she will not be subjugated or silenced, or defined by those around her, despite their persistent attempts to do so."[84] In 1981, Irene Dash suggested that Margaret's importance to these plays has been obscured since men, who control the means of production, would "hardly [be] inspire[d] [...] to venture a *Henry VI* cycle whose logical emphasis should be on Margaret."[85] The twenty-five Margaret adaptations created between 1977 and 2016 serve to answer Dash's critique; they were all undertaken specifically to be a staging of *Henry VI* centered on her, forging a female narrative from a male-dominated story.

When once Victorian writer Anna Jameson could insist that Margaret, due to her negative qualities, "is not one of Shakespeare's women," Peggy Ashcroft could reclaim the part for the playwright, asking "who indeed but Shakespeare could have drawn Margaret of Anjou?"[86] The articulation of Margaret's character was made possible in the twentieth century due to the theatrical presence of all four plays of the First Tetralogy and further amplified through single-play adaptations focused on her. These adaptations purposefully seek to "liberat[e] some of Shakespeare's most poignant feminist writing from a series of plays about men and their experience of history, and illuminat[e] that buried brilliance, amplifying and celebrating a female character who is complex, passionate, powerful, and one of the greatest antiheroes Shakespeare ever created."[87] Within the frequently produced Shakespearean canon, artists and audiences now have a new story to tell and watch, a new character to explore, and in an industry with an unfortunately high gender imbalance, a new, powerful, complex role for women to play. Now often referred to as "one of the great parts in Shakespeare,"[88] Margaret was only able to achieve this status through purposeful adaptive moves and the creative hands of writers and directors other than Shakespeare.

Notes

1. For more information on this production, see Foster Hirsch, "The New York Shakespeare Festival—1970," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 21, no. 4 (October 01, 1970): 477–80.
2. Helen E. Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou: Queenship and Power in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell, 2003), vii.
3. Maurer, *Margaret of Anjou*, vii.
4. Margaret Webster, *Shakespeare without Tears* (New York: Capricorn, 1975), 163; William Shakespeare, *King Henry VI Part 3*, eds. John D. Cox and Eric Rasmussen, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), 5; Ashley Smith, email message to the author, February 18, 2014.

5. Anna Kamaralli, *Shakespeare and the Shrew: Performing the Defiant Female Voice*, Palgrave Shakespeare Series (Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 32, Kindle.
6. Stuart Hampton-Reeves and Carol Chillington Rutter, *The Henry VI Plays*, Shakespeare in Performance (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 23.
7. Robert Potter, "The Rediscovery of Queen Margaret: *The Wars of the Roses*, 1963," *New Theatre Quarterly* 4, no. 14 (May 1988): 106.
8. *Queen Margaret* (Robert Potter, 1977, 2001); *Vain Flourish of My Fortune* (Joan Bell, 1979); *The Red Rose* (Tom Loback, 1996); *The Falcon's Pitch* (Jeffrey Sweet, 1998); *Margaret* (Julienne Kim, 2000); *Queen Margaret* (Ralph Carhart, 2001); *Prophetess* (Scott Sharplin, 2004); *Queen Margaret: Tiger's Heart Wrapped in a Woman's Hide* (Megan McDonough, 2005); *The Tragical History of Margaret, Queen of England* (John Michael MacDonald, 2006); *The Hystory of Queen Margaret* (Corrie Zoll, 2007); *Queen Margaret* (Jennifer Dick, 2010); *Margaret: A Tyger's Heart* (Michael Sexton, 2011); *Margaret: A Tiger's Heart* (Dave Benger, 2011); *Rose Mark'd Queen* (Devin Brain, 2011); *Queen Undaunted: Margaret of Anjou* (Jinny Webber, 2012); *In Time of Roses* (Ashley Smith, 2013); *Margaret I* (Elyzabeth Gorman, 2013, 2016, formerly called *The Margaret Project*); *Queen Margaret* (Tony Wright, 2013); *Queen Margaret* (Charles King, 2015); *The Life and Death of Queen Margaret* (Dan Morbyrne and Toby Vera Bercovici, 2016); *Margaret of Anjou* (Elizabeth Schafer and Philippa Kelly, 2016); *Shakespeare's Rose Queen* (Brian Elerding, 2016); *Margaret* (Kristine Ayers, 2016); *Queen Margaret* (Jemma Levy, 2016); *Margaret of Anjou* (Lauren Jansen-Parkes, 2016). At least three modern original plays, inspired by Shakespeare, but not specifically adapted from the First Tetralogy, also include Margaret as a character: *The Queens*, by Canadian playwright Normand Chaurette; *Her Majesty the King* by Sarah Overman, produced by Dramahaus in New York City in 2006; and *Margaret of Anjou*, written by Thomas H. Gilmore in 1973 as part of his Master of Arts thesis at California State University, Fullerton.
9. Peter Widdowson, "'Writing Back': Contemporary Re-visionary Fiction," *Textual Practice* 20, no. 3 (2006): 505–6, quoted in Martha Jane Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2009), 67.
10. Sweet, conversation with author, December 30, 2012.
11. Sharplin, conversation with author, January 11, 2013.
12. "Shakespeare's Rose Queen," Ensemble Shakespeare Theater (website), accessed April 4, 2017, http://www.ensembleshakes.org/rose-queen-ticket-page.
13. John Crowne's *The Misery of Civil War* (1680) and *Henry the Sixth, the First Part* (1681), Ambrose Philips' *Humfrey Duke of Gloucester* (1723), Theophilus Cibber's *An Historical Tragedy of the Civil Wars in the Reign of King Henry VI* (1723), and John Herman Merivale's *Richard, Duke of York* (1817). Though Margaret is a character in these adaptations, these adapters, as evident from the titles, focused on other characters and plotlines. For more information, see *Shakespeare Adaptations from the Restoration: Five Plays*, ed. Barbara A. Murray (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005) and Don-John Dugas, *Marketing the Bard: Shakespeare in Performance and Print, 1660–1740* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006).

14. Quoted in Richard Pearson, *A Band of Arrogant and United Heroes: The Story of the Royal Shakespeare Company Production of The Wars of the Roses* (London: Adelphi Press, 1990), 48; Agate, *Brief Chronicles: A Survey of the Plays of Shakespeare and the Elizabethans in Actual Performance* (New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971), 115.
15. Warren Chernaik, *The Cambridge Introduction to Shakespeare's History Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 46.
16. Potter, "Rediscovery of Queen Margaret," 105.
17. Barry Jackson, "On Producing *Henry VI*," in *Shakespeare Performance*, ed. Catherine M.S. Alexander, Cambridge Shakespeare Library 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 17.
18. Peggy Ashcroft, "King Henry VI Parts 1, 2, and 3," in *Introductions to Shakespeare: Being the Introductions to the Individual Plays in the Folio Society Edition: 1950–76*, ed. Charles Ede (London: M. Joseph, 1978), 22.
19. Robert Shaughnessy, *Representing Shakespeare: England, History and the RSC* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994), 39.
20. The Oregon Shakespeare Festival is America's oldest Shakespeare festival; they celebrated their 75th anniversary in 2010. In those years, the company has fully produced Shakespeare's canon (as it was currently defined) three times. Colorado Shakespeare Festival completed the canon in 1975; the NYSF in 1997; the Atlanta Shakespeare Company in 2011; Cincinnati Shakespeare Company in 2014; the American Shakespeare Center in Staunton, VA, in 2014; and the Utah Shakespeare Festival is in the midst of a project to perform the canon between 2012 and 2023.
21. Shaughnessy, *Representing Shakespeare*, 52.
22. Hampton-Reeves and Rutter, *Henry VI Plays*, 81.
23. Hampton-Reeves and Rutter, *Henry VI Plays*, 3.
24. Robert Gore-Langton, "Cutting and Thrusting: The Royal Shakespeare Company is Rewriting the Bard," *The Independent* (London, England), September 29, 1988, LexisNexis Academic.
25. For a detailed discussion, see Terence Schoone-Jongen, *Shakespeare's Companies: William Shakespeare's Early Career and the Acting Companies, 1577–1594* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing, 2008). Most recently, the 2016 edition of *The Oxford Shakespear*e credits Christopher Marlowe as co-author of *1 Henry VI.*
26. For more information see Edward Burns' introduction to *King Henry VI Part 1*, ed. Edward Burns, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2000).
27. Pearson, *Band of Arrogant*, 79; Barton and Hall, *Wars of the Roses*, vii.
28. T.J. King, *Casting Shakespeare's Plays: London Actors and Their Roles, 1590–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 159–60.
29. King, *Casting*, 148.
30. King, *Casting*, 155.
31. King, *Casting*, 155.
32. Judith Hinchcliffe, *King Henry VI, an Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1984), xv.
33. H.R. Coursen, "Theme and Design in Recent Productions of *Henry VI*," in *Henry VI: Critical Essays*, ed. Thomas Pendleton (New York: Routledge, 2001), 215.
34. *Shakespeare around the Globe: A Guide to Notable Postwar Revivals*, ed. Samuel L. Leiter (New York: Greenwood Press, 1986), 235.

35. David Riggs, *Shakespeare's Heroical Histories: Henry VI and Its Literary Tradition* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), 100.
36. Dessen, *Rescripting Shakespeare*, 170–1.
37. Gary Taylor, *Reinventing Shakespeare: A Cultural History, from the Restoration to the Present* (New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989), 22.
38. Russ McDonald, "Peggy of Anjou," in *Women Making Shakespeare: Text, Reception, Performance*, eds. Gordon McMullan, Lena Cowen Orlin, and Virginia Mason Vaughan (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 263.
39. "Britain's Peggy Ashcroft Dies at 83," *Pantagraph* (Bloomington, IL), June 15, 1991, Factiva.
40. Nicholas Grene, *Shakespeare's Serial History Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 33.
41. Mary Clarke, *Shakespeare at the Old Vic: Hamlet, King Henry VI, Parts I, II and III. Measure for Measure, A Midsummer Night's Dream, King Lear, Twelfth Night, King Henry VIII* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1958).
42. Brantley, "Battles for the Throne at a Galloping Pace," *New York Times*, December 19, 1996, Factiva.
43. Richardson's mother, Vanessa Redgrave, also played Margaret of Anjou earlier in her career.
44. Shaughnessy, *Representing Shakespeare*, 38.
45. Barbara Hodgdon, "Making It New: Katie Mitchell Refashions Shakespeare-History," in *Transforming Shakespeare: Contemporary Women's Re-visions in Literature and Performance*, ed. Marianne Novy (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999), 25.
46. Hodgdon, "Making It New," 14.
47. Cox and Rasmussen, "Introduction," 31.
48. Notably, Jane Howell directed films of all three parts of *Henry VI* and *Richard III* for the BBC's *The Shakespeare Plays*. In a para-textual move, Jane Howell brought Margaret back for the final moments of her film of *Richard III*, "conclud[ing] the sequence with a long pan up a stack of dead, maimed, shirtless bodies to wild-haired Margaret, a Queen of Death, who sits atop the pile laughing and cradling the mangled body of Richard"; Susan Willis, *The BBC Shakespeare Plays: Making the Televised Canon* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1991), 179.
49. Anna Kamaralli, "Daunted at a Woman's Sight?: The Use and Abuse of Female Presence in Performances of the Histories as Cycles," in *Shakespeare's English Histories and Their Afterlives*, ed. Peter Holland, *Shakespeare Survey* 63 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 174–5.
50. Randall Martin, "'A Woman's Generall, What Should We Feare?': Queen Margaret Thatcherized in Recent Productions of *3 Henry VI*," in *Shakespeare and His Contemporaries in Performance*, ed. Edward J. Esche (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), 321–38.
51. William Shakespeare, *King Henry VI Part 2*, ed. Ronald Knowles, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2001), 27.
52. Chernaik, *Cambridge Introduction*, 26.
53. Martin, "'A Woman's Generall,'" 321.
54. Kamaralli, "Daunted at a Woman's Sight," 172.
55. "Pioneer Valley Theatre News October 29, 2015," *Pioneer Valley Theatre* (blog), http://www.pioneervalleytheatre.com/2015/10/pioneer-valley-theatre-news-october-29.html.

56. Elerding, "The Rose Queen," *Hometown Pasadena*, February 7, 2016, http://hometown-pasadena.com/events/the-rose-queen/119794.
57. "First Public Reading of 'Shakespeare's Most Feminist Play,'" Royal Holloway University of London (website), March 1, 2016, https://www.royalholloway.ac.uk/aboutus/newsandevents/news/newsarticles/margaretofanjou.aspx.
58. Clara Claiborne Park, "As We Like It: How a Girl Can Be Smart and Still Popular," in *The Woman's Part: Feminist Criticism of Shakespeare*, eds. Carolyn Ruth Swift Lenz, Gayle Greene, and Carol Thomas Neely (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1983), 101.
59. Jean E. Howard and Phyllis Rackin, *Engendering a Nation: A Feminist Account of Shakespeare's English Histories* (London: Routledge, 1997), 44.
60. Tony Wright, email message to author, March 5, 2014.
61. Ralph Carhart, conversation with author, March 13, 2013.
62. Bercovici, conversation with author, January 21, 2016.
63. Sextion, "Margaret: A Tyger's Heart" (unpublished manuscript, October 31, 2011), PDF, 108.
64. Dick, conversation with author, January 2, 2013.
65. Smith, "In Time of Roses" (unpublished manuscript, April 13, 2011), PDF, 1.
66. Alex Miletich IV and Emily Wilson, "Reconstructing the Past: A Look into the Nature of Memory" (Program for *In Time of Roses,* Clarice Smith Performing Arts Center, University of Maryland, April 26–May 4, 2013), 21 (emphasis in the original).
67. Sweet, "The Falcon's Pitch" (unpublished manuscript, November 1, 2006), Rich Text Document.
68. Grene, *Shakespeare's Serial History Plays*, 32.
69. See Brian Walsh, *Shakespeare, the Queen's Men, and the Elizabethan Performance of History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).
70. David Addenbrooke, *The Royal Shakespeare Company: The Peter Hall Years* (London: William Kemper, 1974), 201.
71. "Shakespeare's Rose Queen."
72. Sam Hurwitt, "Review: 'New' Shakespeare Play Strikes Feminist Chord," *The Mercury News* (San Jose, CA), September 08, 2016, http://www.mercurynews.com/2016/09/08/review-new-shakespeare-play-strikes-feminist-chord/.
73. "Queen Margaret," *Charlotte Now*, April 22, 2016, http://www.charlottenow.com/queen_margaret-e-15847/.
74. Markus, "Director's Note," quoted in Robert Potter, "Queen Margaret" (unpublished manuscript, August 2001), PDF.
75. "RLT's Staged Reading of 'Queen Margaret,'" *Brown Paper Tickets*, http://www.brownpapertickets.com/event/2161461.
76. "RLT's Staged Reading."
77. Richard and Joan Bell, email to author, February 11, 2013.
78. "First Public Reading."
79. Liz Nicholls, "Bard's Ruthless Margaret Gets Her Own Play," *Edmonton Journal*, February 5, 2004, Factiva, C2.
80. Potter, "Rediscovery of Queen Margaret," 106, 113.
81. Levy, "Note From the Artistic Director / Adaptor-Playwright" (Program for *Queen Margaret,* Muse of Fire Theatre Company, July 23–August 20, 2016).
82. Morbyrne, "Co-Adaptor's Note" (Program for *The Life and Death of Queen Margaret*, Real Live Theatre, July 29–August 6, 2016).

83. Hampton-Reeves and Rutter, *Henry VI Plays*, 17–18.
84. Naomi C. Lieber and Lisa Scancella Shea, "Shakespeare's Queen Margaret: Unruly or Unruled?" in *Henry VI: Critical Essays*, 79.
85. Irene Dash, *Wooing, Wedding, and Power: Women in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1981), 159.
86. Anna Jameson, *Shakespeare's Heroines: Characteristics of Women, Moral, Poetical, & Historical* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1832), Google Books, 334; Ashcroft, "King Henry VI," 22.
87. "RLT's Staged Reading of 'Queen Margaret,'" Brown Paper Tickets (website), http://www.brownpapertickets.com/event/2161461.
88. David Daniell, "Opening Up the Text: Shakespeare's *Henry VI* Plays in Performance," in *Drama and Society*, ed. James Redmond (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 268.

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CHAPTER 25

The Bard, the Bride, and the Muse Bemused: Katherine of Valois on Film in Shakespeare's *Henry V*

William B. Robison

O, for a muse of fire, that would ascend the brightest heaven of invention…
William Shakespeare, Henry V

Begin thou, unforgetting Clio, for all the ages are in thy keeping and all the storied annals of the past.
Publius Papinius Statius, Thebaid

Clio, the muse of history, is as infected with lies as a street whore with syphilis.
Arthur Schopenhauer, Parerga und Paralipomena

Katherine of Valois has not fared especially well as one of Shakespeare's queens. Although she was descended from the earliest French kings, stood at the center of Anglo-French diplomacy after the Hundred Years' War resumed in 1415, influenced politics in England even after her death, and is the ancestor of every English monarch from the Tudors to Elizabeth II, in the popular mind she is confined to the small corner of the stage whither Shakespeare relegated her in *The Life of Henry the Fifth* (*c.* 1599).[1] The playwright, notoriously unconcerned with historical accuracy, had his own agenda with his Second Tetralogy of English history plays, and Katherine emerges from her angular niche to take center stage only twice, in circumstances largely born of his imagination—in

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Act 3, scene 4 for a comic English lesson, and in Act 5, scene 2 when Henry woos her. Filmic adaptations further minimize her place in history, for filmmakers—who have their own agendas—typically truncate the play at her expense.[2]

Nor is her supporting actress role limited to theater and film. Historians and literary critics have more sources than Shakespeare—who drew on Holinshed's *Chronicles*, Hall's *Chronicle*, and the anonymous play *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* (*c.* 1594)—but material on Katherine is limited. She has no full-length scholarly biography, and there are only scattered references in studies of Henry V, other royal relatives, and the war.[3] On the whole, criticism is less concerned with Katherine than the king and his band of brothers, authorial intent and later interpretations, layers of meaning in text and performance, the play's language and structure, staging and film techniques, and ideological debates about politicization, propaganda, nationalism, imperialism, colonialism, violence, subversion, and so on.[4] Even some scholars of gender and sexuality give her short shrift.[5] Only novelists make her the main character, but in their hands she frequently becomes a stereotypical bodice-ripping fantasy figure.[6]

There are multiple received Katherines—in texts, on stage and screen, and in critical characterizations—and all bear the mark of the Bard more than Clio. Because theatrical productions survive only in memory and reviewers' commentary and because the literary criticism on Shakespeare is so voluminous, this chapter will focus on film, which is permanent, more accessible, and likelier to influence popular perceptions. Therefore, after a brief overview of Katherine's life and role in the play, it will consider the aesthetic quality, historicity, and presentism of each filmic adaptation and how they relate to the text and to what historians know about the Lancastrian era.

Born in Paris on October 27, 1401, Katherine grew up amid crisis. Her father Charles VI suffered bouts of insanity from 1392 on, and her mother Isabeau (Isabella) of Bavaria vacillated between sides in the Armagnac-Burgundian Civil War (1407–35) that led to the murder of Katherine's uncle Louis, Duke of Orleans in 1407 and cousin John, Duke of Burgundy in 1419, plus the alliance between the latter's son Philip and Henry V in 1420. Recent historians have largely debunked tales of Isabeau's promiscuity and neglect of her children; still, Katherine's youth must have been frightening, and from early on she was a pawn in international politics. Henry IV proposed she marry his son in 1409, Henry V revived the offer in 1413, negotiations halted after Agincourt in 1415 but resumed in 1418, the couple met at Meulan in 1419, and in the Treaty of Troyes of 1420 Charles made Henry his heir, disinherited the Dauphin, and approved the wedding, which occurred on June 2. Crowned at Westminster on February 23, 1421, Katherine gave birth to a son on December 6. Tragically, Henry died on August 31, 1422 and Charles on October 21, leaving the infant Henry VI as King of England and France.[7]

Though the new monarch lived in the 1420s with his mother, who appeared with him on formal occasions, power lay with his uncles, John, Duke of Bedford as Regent of France, and Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester as Protector and Defender of the Realm in England, and great-uncles, Cardinal Henry Beaufort

and Thomas, Duke of Exeter, as councilors. Katherine again was in the midst of a political feud, as Bedford and Gloucester distrusted both each other and Beaufort and Exeter. In 1425, rumors linked her with the Cardinal's nineteen-year-old nephew Edmund Beaufort (later 1st Duke of Somerset), which is probably why the 1427–8 parliament passed a statute forbidding marriage to a queen without royal consent. However, around 1428–32 she married Welsh courtier Owen Tudor, unable "to curb fully her carnal passions" according to one hostile observer. A more judicious assessment is that she was a woman in a male-dominated political world, lonely in a foreign country with only a few French ladies in her largely English household, yet unwilling to return to her dangerous homeland and choosing to exercise as much control over her life as possible. She bore Tudor at least three children, Edmund and Jasper, whose half-brother Henry VI made them respectively Earls of Richmond and Pembroke in 1452, and a short-lived daughter. Edmund married Margaret Beaufort in 1455 and was the father of Henry VII. Katherine died at Bermondsey Abbey in Surrey on January 3, 1437.[8]

Shakespeare incorporates two narrow slices of Katherine's life in *Henry V*, with no indication of her background or continuing role for fifteen years after Henry's death. *Henry IV, Part 2* hints that Prince Hal will marry Katherine; however, Elizabethan audiences may have expected more of her in *Henry V* as they did with Falstaff, who disappointingly does little and dies early.[9] Most of *Henry V* takes place in 1415. After the Chorus' prologue, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Ely urge Henry to take the French throne, ambassadors deliver the Dauphin's insulting gift of tennis balls, and the king foils the Southampton Plot, successfully besieges Harfleur, and defeats the French at Agincourt. Intermingled with war are considerable comedy and commentary, plus Henry's exhortation at Harfleur and St. Crispin's Day speech at Agincourt. The English lesson occurs after Harfleur, and an unacknowledged five-year gap precedes the wooing at Troyes. The play emphasizes politics and war over marriage, and most films diminish Katherine's relative presence by adding battle scenes impossible to stage in a theater, making her first scene less relevant and her second anticlimactic. She also speaks French, distancing herself from English-speaking audiences. Though accomplished actresses portray Katherine, it is hard to give her due weight even in an era more gender-conscious than her own and that of Shakespeare.[10]

At the beginning of Act 3, the Chorus reveals that Charles has tried to forestall the attack on Harfleur by offering Katherine's hand to Henry, which did historically occur. Henry's refusal is an apparent contradiction to making her a "capital demand" in Act 5; however, careful reading shows he rejects not the marriage but an insufficient dowry.

> Suppose th'ambassador from the French comes back
> Tells Harry that the King doth offer him
> Katherine his daughter and with her, to dowry
> Some petty and unprofitable dukedoms
> The offer likes not. (*H5* 3.1.28–32)

What Henry wants is Katherine and France. That is close to the mark, for though Henry had sought since 1409 to marry Katherine, in 1415 he demanded enforcement of the Treaty of Brétigny (1360)—that is, Anjou, Aquitaine, Maine, Normandy, Ponthieu, Poitou, Touraine—guaranteed by such a marriage.[11]

However, Act 3, scene 4, in which Katherine first appears, is pure invention. Alice, the princess' lady-in-waiting, teaches her the English words for hand, fingers, nails, arm, elbow, neck, and chin, which they pronounce with comical incorrectness.[12] The hilarity peaks when Alice translates *le pied et la robe* as "De foot, madame, et de coun" (a mispronunciation of gown), which Katherine hears as *foutre* (fuck) and *con* (cunt) (*H5* 3.4.45–54).[13] On the surface, the scene functions as comic relief between the intense battles of Harfleur and Agincourt. However, some critics suggest its placement just after Henry threatens the rape of Harfleur's women gives it sinister overtones and/or that Katherine's learning English signifies acquiescence in or reluctant resignation to Henry's impending sexual conquest.[14] In fact, Henry treated the citizens of the besieged town with considerable kindness, especially compared to the Black Prince's ruthless fourteenth-century *chevauchées*.[15] Nevertheless, criticism of this scene in the play has influenced scholarly commentary on the filmic adaptations discussed below.

In Act 5, scene 2, Henry exchanges courtesies with Charles and Isabella, Burgundy laments France's war-torn state, and all exit except Henry, Katherine, and Alice. Henry plays the simple soldier, denies being the enemy of France, proclaims his love, and insists on kissing a reluctant Katherine. Charles returns and agrees to the marriage.[16] In reality, Henry had been negotiating to marry Katherine for some time; they had met previously, he went to see her and her parents at a Franciscan friary in Troyes on May 20, they spoke together briefly and kissed, and Charles did not attend the formal signing of the treaty on May 21.[17] Still, numerous critics regard Henry's "conquest" of Katherine as a metaphor for his subjugation of France and both actions as typical of English imperialism and colonialism, and again this has spilled over into commentary on films based on the play.

In the Epilogue, the Chorus notes that Henry's life was brief and points out the impending disaster of Henry VI's reign but does not mention Katherine's fate. Thus ends her brief role in the English history plays. *Henry VI, Part 1* begins with Henry V's funeral, but she does not appear, nor is she mentioned thereafter.[18] Taken together, Katherine's presence in *Henry V* and absence from the First Tetralogy are puzzling. On one hand (a point I owe to Kavita Finn), Shakespeare in the First Tetralogy is otherwise obsessed with bloodlines but introduces Henry Tudor with little context and no reference to his genealogy. On the other, given that the language scene does nothing to advance the plot and the wooing scene seems tacked on after Agincourt, it seems fairly obvious that Shakespeare included her in *Henry V* primarily as a nod to the Tudors. Yet that begs the question of why he did not do the same with the First Tetralogy. Most scholars now accept that with the Second Tetralogy, Shakespeare sought to advance the fortunes of Elizabeth's favorite, Robert

Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, but where or how Katherine fits into that, if it all, is impossible to determine. Perhaps Shakespeare could not figure out what to do with her. Even Peter Lake, in his massive and brilliant study *How Shakespeare Put Politics on the Stage*, hardly mentions Katherine except to note that Henry's wooing represents one of his many rhetorical styles and that neither she nor her father had much to say about her marriage.[19]

On that uncertain note we turn to film and television. There are nine feature-length adaptations of *Henry V*.[20] Three were made for the cinema, three aired as part of BBC serial presentations, one is a stand-alone BBC production, and two are filmed staged plays. Despite the differences in format, it will be most useful to consider them in chronological order. Laurence Olivier directed and starred in the first feature film, *The Chronicle History of King Henry the Fift with His Battell Fought at Agincourt in France*, in 1944 with Renée Asherson as Katherine. He made the movie at Winston Churchill's behest to boost British morale during World War II, and it features obvious parallels between Henry's 1415 Normandy invasion and D-Day. Some critics dismiss the film too cavalierly as mere nationalist propaganda, perhaps not sufficiently mindful that Britain was fighting Hitler or of the far more malignant role of Leni Riefenstahl's *Triumph of the Will*. Moreover, as Anthony Davies notes, Oliver's film is "a cinematic adaptation which operates on too many levels to be patronizingly dismissed or glibly celebrated."[21] Still, by cutting lines that detract from Henry's heroic nature (including the speech at Harfleur) and downplaying the mud and blood of battle, Olivier makes the king's relationship to Katherine more benign. In any case, the film, which is more about war than the royal marriage, has achieved iconic status and influenced all subsequent versions.

Olivier's film forestalled rival onscreen productions for sixteen years. The next version is part of *An Age of Kings* (1960), an excellent BBC television series incorporating both tetralogies into fifteen episodes developed by Peter Dew and directed by Michael Hayes. *Henry V* is the basis for Episodes 7 and 8, "Signs of War" and "Band of Brothers," with Robert Hardy as Henry and Judi Dench as Katherine. Though produced in the midst of the Cold War, it is less propagandistic and more faithful to Shakespeare's text. Shot in black and white with a fairly minimalist set, it retains some of the ambience of the theater.[22]

After an even longer gap of almost two decades came 1979's *The Life of Henry Fift*, one of the weaker stand-alone productions in the BBC's *The Shakespeare Collection*, directed by David Giles with David Gwillim as Henry and Jocelyne Boisseau as Katherine. This version is not very successful in portraying the English king as a warrior, for as Ace Pilkington notes, Gwillim "suggests a young lover and not a playacting conqueror."[23] However, his scenes with Boisseau are not a romantic tour de force.

Another decade passed before the release of Kenneth Branagh's *Henry V* in 1989, the second feature film and the only version similar in stature to Olivier's (not surprisingly, Olivier and Branagh's films have received much more critical attention than other versions). Branagh portrays the king alongside Emma

Thompson (his wife in reality in 1989) as Katherine. His much grittier film restores several passages that Oliver cut and can be seen as an anti-war response to Vietnam and the Falklands.[24] It features far more dramatic battle scenes, with mud and blood aplenty, and the ambiguities in Henry's character are more apparent than in Olivier's film, with inevitable consequences for the way viewers perceive his relationship to Katherine.

Just a year later in 1990 came Michael Bogdanov's *Henry V*, part of the BBC series *The Wars of the Roses*, with Michael Pennington as Henry and Francesca Ryan as Katherine. Filmed before a live audience with the English wearing modern dress army uniforms and the French nineteenth-century formal wear, it is also considered anti-war. The unfurling of a banner reading "Fuck the Frogs" is so blatantly anti-French as to be subversive of English nationalism. Arguably, the same is true of Katherine's scenes.[25]

After another lengthy hiatus, the twenty-first century brought a spate of new adaptations. In 2007, Peter Babakitis directed and starred in *William Shakespeare's Henry V*, an experimental film with Gwyneth Horobin as Katherine that was shown at film conventions and festivals but not released for the cinema. Babakitis' film, bizarre though it may be, is not without its fans. Sarah Hatchuel credits Babakitis with combining digital stylization and docudrama to fragment his "filmic material" and dehumanize Henry, while in "The Making of *Henry V*" the director claims his purpose is to "bear witness" to the Middle Ages via the documentary style and replicate through digitalization the effect of medieval art. However, that is likely to be lost on most viewers. While Hatchuel argues that his use of jump cuts and variations in color, lighting, and sound quality "fragments time and space, creating different zones and dimensions, sometimes verging on the supernatural," the combination of these annoying techniques with bad acting and accents simply makes it appear amateurish. Not least to suffer is Katherine.[26]

The acting and staging are far better in Sharrock's *Henry V*, part of the first season of the BBC series *The Hollow Crown*, which aired in 2012. Unusually, the episode begins with Henry's funeral, which normally occurs at the opening of *Henry VI, Part 1*, and Katherine is present, which is not the case in the play. Overall this version is rather subdued, which works well when Tom Hiddleston's Henry gives a despairing variation of the St. Crispin's Day speech to a small group of soldiers but is less effective when he is wooing Mélanie Thiérry's Katherine.[27]

Finally, two versions are filmed stage plays released on DVD. Dominic Dromgoole's *Henry V*, a 2013 release in the *Globe on Screen* series, is dynamic and engaging, and both Jamie Parker as the king and the very animated Olivia Ross as his bride are quite funny in both of Katherine's scenes.[28]

Gregory Doran's *Henry V*, which appeared in 2016 in the Royal Shakespeare Company's *Shakespeare: King and Country*, features a similarly lively Jennifer Kirby as Katherine, and though Alex Hassell as Henry is a bit more serious, the two still evoke a great deal of laughter.[29]

Though all nine filmic adaptations truncate the wooing scene, none cut the English lesson.[30] Olivier's version of the latter provides a comic change of mood but no belly laughs. Though the film opens with the actors onstage at the Globe, it quickly shifts to painted scenery resembling a medieval Book of Hours that, combined with William Walton's score, is reminiscent of the *Wizard of Oz*. The language scene occurs against this background. Ivy St. Helier, nun-like in black as Alice, emerges onto a parapet, followed by an almost prayerful Asherson as Katherine in pink. Mounted men in the courtyard doff their caps and exit. The women enter a garden, Alice locks the door (perhaps symbolically protecting the princess' virginity), and Katherine cuts flowers as the lesson proceeds in cheerful fashion. Alice is perturbed by the misconstrued words "foot" and "coun," but Katherine is amused, the conversation ends on a pleasant note, and their facial expressions and body language indicate nothing amiss. Returning across the parapet, Katherine sees another rider enter the courtyard and gazes longingly into the distance. Departing from the text, Olivier has Katherine and Alice dine with Charles VI (Harcourt Williams) and his nobles, who shock them by referring to Norman "bastards." Why they find this more offensive than the earlier profanity is unexplained, though perhaps it is because of the presence of men.

In *An Age of Kings*, Dench's Katherine is studying a bilingual phrase book when Yvonne Coulette's Alice enters, and they perform most of the scene seated, with Alice looking up words for additional comic effect. Both are dressed in light colors in this black and white production. Dench plays Katherine as amused and a bit coy, taking almost childish delight in her success. Alice is uneasy with the problematic terminology, but Katherine does a quick double take, covers her mouth, laughs, and repeats the list of terms, gesturing suggestively at her lower abdomen. It is not flagrantly vulgar, but Dench gives it a bawdy twist that likely would have been impossible on television a few years earlier.

Katherine's scenes in *The Life of Henry Fift* are emotionally flat except for Anna Quayle's animated Alice, though this is not especially problematic with the English lesson. It occurs in a bower outdoors, where Boisseau's Katherine reacts with subdued wonderment to each word she learns, and both she and Alice respond with amusement to her mispronunciation of "elbow." Alice translates *le pied et la robe* in a matter-of-fact manner, and Katherine exhibits mild puzzlement as she works out the implications. This version offers neither outrage nor uncontrollable mirth, but it works.

Branagh's scene 3.4 takes place in a cheerful, well-lit room. Thompson as Katherine and Geraldine McEwan as Alice bring a lively, playful, teasing attitude to the English lesson. Alice seems amused and barely suppresses a smile after the troublesome translation of *le pied et la robe*. Katherine enjoys herself more and more as the lesson proceeds—pulling faces, comically altering her voice, dancing about the room, and hiding behind the bed curtains while extending her arm to mime "hand," "fingers," and "nails." By the time Alice utters the words "foot" and "coun," Katherine is seated on the floor and quickly is bent double with infectious laughter. She delightedly repeats the taboo terms

as she heads toward the door, but when she opens it, the sight of her grim-faced father (Paul Scofield) and his entourage wipes the smile from her face. The scene then changes to Charles VI with his head buried in his hands.[31]

By contrast, Bogdanov's treatment elicits little laughter. Charles VI (Clyde Pollitt) orders Ryan's Katherine to learn English, and she is angry despite Ann Penfold's good cheer as Alice. Dressed in white, she sulks, reacts angrily when Alice corrects her mispronunciation of "elbow" and is outraged at the apparently obscene translation of *le pied et la robe*, though eventually she shrugs, recites her words, and storms off to dinner. Perhaps this is meant to suggest that she is unhappy about her impending marriage, but that is not made explicit.

In Babakitis' film, the English lesson is funny for the wrong reasons. It takes place outside, opens with the princess practicing archery, has Horobin's Katherine and Erin-Kate Whitcomb's Alice batting at each other with arrows, and ends with Alice rolling her eyes.

In Sharrock's *Henry V*, the English lesson occurs indoors at night, there is a fire, and Geraldine Chaplin's Alice is seated and doing needlework as Mélanie Thierry's Katherine moves about the room. When they reach "foot" and "coun," recognition slowly dawns on Katherine, who gradually smiles and then is consumed with mirth, while Alice has her mouth wide with surprise but nonetheless laughs heartily, as will the audience.

In Dromgoole's *Shakespeare's Globe: Henry V* (2013), the English lesson is a particular delight. Olivia Ross as Katherine is bursting with energy and enthusiasm, runs and skips about the stage, and clearly enjoys herself. Lisa Stevenson as Alice exaggerates the pronunciation of each English word, provoking loud laughter. When they get to the problematic portion of the lesson, Alice briefly looks pained but then slowly and clearly enunciates the terms. Both she and Katherine emphasize the 't' normally (and correctly) missing from *con*. Katherine gapes, talks excitedly, and—as both women burst into laughter—jumps up and down while clapping her hands and skips in a circle repeating the terms. The only ominous note is the sound of drums and a martial fanfare of trumpets, announcing the arrival of the French king.

Doran's *Shakespeare: King and Country: Henry V* (2016) is performed on a bare stage. Jennifer Kirby as Katherine is almost as animated as Ross, while Leigh Quinn as Alice, with modern clothing and glasses perched on the end of her nose, resembles a schoolmistress. Uniquely, this production includes an extra-textual character in both scenes, Evelyn Miller as a lady-in-waiting who acts as a foil to Katherine. Miller, who is black, is dressed all in black, though not in period costume, with only a cross on a chain for ornamentation. She does not speak, but during the English lesson she and Leigh Quinn as Alice mime the various body parts as Katherine lists them, and she laughs out loud at the word *con*, which Kirby also emphasizes. As the stage goes dark, someone—likely Kirby but perhaps Miller—can be heard repeating the word. Miller's character is the butt of Katherine's frustration—the princess kicks her at one point—and is a subtle reminder that France was not just a victim of imperialism but also a practitioner.

All nine adaptations make substantial cuts to the wooing scene. Olivier cuts 176 lines, Branagh 170, Sharrock 169, Doran 132, Hayes 119, Babakitis 89, Bogdanov 89, Giles 83, and Dromgoole 80. Hayes, Giles, and Babakitis omit Isabella's welcoming speech (*H5* 5.2.12–20), and Branagh gives it to Henry. Olivier, Branagh, Bogdanov, Sharrock, and Doran cut segments of Burgundy's lament over the deterioration of France (*H5* 5.2.23–67), and Doran reassigns it to Isabella. All but Giles eliminate parts of Henry's exchange with Charles and Isabella before their exit (*H5* 5.2.68–98). Only Giles and Babakitis keep all of Henry's self-effacing "Marry, if you would put me to verses" speech (*H5* 5.2.133–68). Sharrock cuts almost all of Henry's attempt to speak French (*H5* 5.2.178–218), while Olivier, Hayes, Branagh, Babakitis, and Dromgoole excise segments wherein Henry tells Katherine she must be a "soldier-breeder." Babakitis alone retains all of Henry's speech beginning "Now fie upon my false French" and ending "wilt thou have me?" (*H5* 5.2.218–43). Olivier, Hayes, Branagh, Sharrock, Dromgoole, and Doran attenuate Henry's bolder assertion beginning, "O Kate, nice customs curtsy to kings" (*H5* 5.2.266–77). Only Dromgoole and Babakitis retain any of the sexual innuendoes comparing Katherine to the "maiden walls" of French towns (*H5* 5.2.284–323). All cut part of Exeter, Westmorland, and Charles' exchange before Henry requests, "give me your daughter" (*H5* 5.2.326–40), Olivier deletes everything after the Lords' "Amen" (*H5* 5.2.351–68), Branagh and Doran cut Henry's final speech (*H5* 5.2.364–8), and Dromgoole omits the Epilogue.[32]

By cutting almost half of the final scene, Olivier softens the king's insistence on marriage. After Henry tells Burgundy (Valentine Dyall), "you must buy that peace with full accord to our just demands," Olivier eliminates the duke's reply, "The King hath heard them, to the which as yet / There is no answer made," and Henry's rejoinder, "Well then, the peace / Which you before so urged lies in his answer" (*H5* 5.2.70–1, 73–6). When Henry tells Isabella (Janet Burnell), "Yet leave our cousin Katherine here with us," he omits two lines that make her another of the spoils of war: "She is our capital demand, comprised / Within the fore-rank of our articles" (*H5* 5.2.95–7). Also missing are sexual references: "I get thee with scambling [struggling], and thou / must therefore needs prove a good soldier-breeder," "the liberty that follows our places / stops the mouth of all find-faults, as I will do yours / for upholding the fine fashion of your country in / denying me a kiss," and Burgundy and Charles' innuendo-rich exchange (*H5* 5.2.202–3, 269–72, 282–318). After Charles wishes for peace and all say "Amen," Henry and Katherine appear in wedding attire, and the scene shifts back to the Globe, where the play began and where the bride is now a boy in a dress, as would have been the case in Shakespeare's day (*H5* 5.2.350).

An Age of Kings has fewer cuts than Olivier. It eliminates the welcoming speech by the French queen (Stephanie Bidmead) but includes more from Burgundy (Edgar Wreford). Hardy, less mannered as Henry, is slightly sinister when telling the French queen that Katherine "is our principal [capital] demand" but is charming thereafter (*H5* 5.2.96). He removes his crown and

leads Katherine into another room, where she is apprehensive until Alice follows, comically interrupting him. Vacillating between coquettishness and scorn, Dench as Katherine increasingly seems to enjoy being courted. When Henry attempts to speak French, his *Je quand* (*H5* 5.2.181) sounds like *con*, eliciting a shocked look from the princess, but his further efforts send her into peals of laughter. Sexual tension builds throughout the scene—Henry takes her hand, nearly embraces her, sits very close, gently says her father will be pleased by their marriage, and she smilingly replies. She initially evades his kiss, but when she relents, it is lingering and passionate. They hold hands while Charles (Alan Rowe) enjoins them to raise up heirs to him and during the queen's blessing, after which Henry replaces his crown. However, they part to mount separate stairs, accompanied by foreboding music, and kneel in the background as the Chorus (William Squire) emerges in the foreground to deliver his lines while placing his hand on a coffin surmounted by Henry's crown and sword. The next episode opens with Henry in that coffin.

The final scene in *The Life of Henry Fift*, which requires more passion than its low-key English lesson, is similarly subdued. Gwillim is unconvincing as a warrior come courting, his wooing lacks romantic ardor, and the scene is framed so viewers see little of Katherine's reaction, which is also muted when she is visible. There is no tension, sexual or otherwise, between the two, and Boisseau's Katherine shows no sign of either being swept off her feet or victimized.

Branagh's wooing scene begins with Henry and Charles taking positions at opposite ends of a long table, with Burgundy (Harold Innocent) in the middle. When the others leave and Henry asks that Katherine stay, it is her father who says, with obvious sadness, "She hath good leave." Katherine takes her father's chair, and Alice stands behind her and removes her veil, but she does not face Henry. Initially, Katherine is solemn and ill at ease, though Alice looks amused. When Henry urges, "Give me your answer and so clap hands and a bargain," she pointedly declines his extended hand (*H5* 5.2.129–31). She does not meet his eye until he declares, "to say to thee that I shall die is / true but for thy love, by the Lord, no; yet I love thee / too," at which she seems startled (*H5* 5.2.151–3). Even then, however, she remains pensive until Henry tries to speak French and she begins to laugh. Thereafter she is more receptive, and their eventual kisses are mutual.

In Bogdanov's version, neither Pennington's Henry nor Ryan's Katherine is particularly pleasant. By turns the cocky, supercilious Henry appears bored, contemptuous, and sarcastic. Katherine is in black as though for a funeral, and her veil appears more a sign of mourning than modesty. She wears a sour expression that alters only to a slight smirk when Henry attempts to speak French, and though she comes close to a real smile when telling him she will follow her father's will, she shows no reaction to his kiss. When Henry, his nobles, and the French discuss the treaty articles, she sits in a chair in front of them, looking almost as though she were on trial. After Charles recognizes Henry as his heir, the Dauphin (Andrew Jarvis) angrily storms out. There is no pretense of a happy ending for anyone.

The wooing scene, though not meant to cause laughter in Babakitis' adaptation, is guaranteed to do so. Babakitis' Henry and Horobin's Katherine never appear in the same frame, the whole scene seems spliced-together, and the acting is dreadful. Moreover, if "spatial isolation of the King" allows Babakitis to dehumanize Henry, presumably to subvert his traditionally heroic image, it does the same to Katherine, who appears vapid and silly.[33]

The concluding scene in Sharrock's *Henry V* takes place in a chamber where there is again a large fire, with Henry and Charles (Lambert Wilson) at opposite ends of a long table with Burgundy (Richard Griffiths) in the middle, as in Branagh's film. Absent the French queen, Charles delivers her welcoming speech and the line, "She hath good leave." Katherine and Alice are dressed in light colors, the princess' eyes downcast and chest heaving until Henry asks, "How say you lady?" She then rises and replies, "*Sauf votre honneur*, me understand well" (*H5* 5.2.132), whereupon Henry removes his crown and places it on her chair until her father returns. The scene develops slowly, with all three walking about and Alice matching Henry step for step. Katherine begins to giggle when he delivers his foreshortened French lines. For some reason Henry directs to Alice, not Katherine, the lines

> Now beshrew my father's ambition! He was thinking of civil wars when he got me: therefore was I created with a stubborn outside, with an aspect of iron, that when I come to woo ladies I fright them. (*H5* 5.2.222–6)

Katherine laughs again, both when he tells her, "the elder / I wax the better I shall appear" and during the whole time she is trying (not hard) to avoid his kiss (*H5* 5.2.226–7). Burgundy voices the blessing the queen usually gives. Katherine looks happy, but then the scene briefly shifts back to her mourning at Henry's funeral before the Chorus delivers his Epilogue.

Dromgoole's filmed stage production plays the wooing scene straight until Katherine's family and the nobles exit to discuss the treaty, but then the comedy begins. Parker as Henry derives comic effect even from the unlikely line, "Yet leave our cousin Katherine here with us" (*H5* 5.2.95). From this point on, almost every line gets laughs. Parker stammers nervously, mugs for the audience, smiles in a self-satisfied manner when he achieves a bon mot, and is genuinely funny. With the line "I am glad you can speak no better English" (*H5* 5.2.123–4), he removes his crown and cloak. Each time he starts toward the princess, Alice dramatically interposes herself between them. He looks chagrined after the unintentionally risqué line "I should quickly leap into a wife" (*H5* 5.2.139–40). During his attempts to speak French, it is difficult to tell if Ross' laughter is acting or real. There is even a moment when Alice flirts with Henry when explaining why French maidens do not kiss before marriage. When Charles (David Hargreaves) returns, Henry fumbles with his crown and puts his cloak on inside out. The sexual banter among Burgundy (Paul Rider), Charles (David Hargreaves), and Henry is funny rather than misogynistic. There is no Epilogue; rather, after the queen's blessing, the cast sings "Christmas

is Drawing Near at Hand," substituting "The day of peace" for "Christmas," following which they dance to raucous music.

In the final scene of Doran's production, Alex Hassell is more serious as Henry than Parker. Burgundy is missing, and Isabella (Jane Lapotaire) delivers his lament surrounded by male warriors, which emphasizes her motherly appeal for peace. At first it appears that the wooing will maintain a solemn tone. Katherine initially responds with sarcasm approaching outright hostility, but Henry is taken aback, and his awkwardness makes the audience laugh. Gradually he wins over the princess, who perhaps is playing hard to get, for when they reach the first kiss, she actually leaps at Henry, kissing him passionately, causing him to rock backward, and investing his line, "You have witchcraft in your lips, Kate" (273) with humor. Alice plays her usual role, while Miller's character hovers in the background, reacting to whatever happens. Though the Chorus performs the Epilogue, the others remain on stage, and there is a celebratory feel about the ending.

One inescapable conclusion of analyzing the nine filmic adaptations of *Henry V* is that Katherine is virtually a blank slate for Shakespeare and his interpreters (not to mention novelists). History preserves so little information about Katherine's personality, desires, and intentions that writers, directors, and actors can make her conform to their purposes. She may be demure (Asherson), risqué (Dench), subdued (Boisseau), animated (Thompson), angry (Ryan), silly (Horobin), amused (Thierry), exuberant (Ross), or edgy (Kirby). But while always conflicted about Henry, she ends up married no matter what, and that further complicates matters. Her eventual husband commits outrages in the play that appear in some films and not others but that have no basis in reality, such as abandoning Falstaff and the threat of rape at Harfleur, or that are taken out of historical context—for instance, the Southampton plotters he executed were guilty of treason and intended to kill *him*, Bardolph is based on a real person hanged for robbing a French church, Henry ordered the killing of French prisoners in the heat of battle while they still posed a threat, and many of them actually survived.[34]

Clearly, Shakespeare's sources were imperfect, his intentions were not those of a present-day historian, *Henry V* is drama and not history, and much of what occurs in his original text is the product of his imagination or a distortion of what actually happened in the past. On top of that, the motives and preconceptions of filmmakers vary substantially among individuals and over time, and no film merely replicates the original form, meaning, or import of the play. Neither do modern audiences resemble those that witnessed performances in Elizabethan England, nor have all viewers between 1944 and the present arrived at the cinema or in front of the television or DVD player with same assumptions, attitudes, and knowledge of history, literature, and film. Though cinema and television—wittingly or unwittingly—encourage audiences to judge Henry's character or his relationship with Katherine, to do so on the basis of filmic adaptations of Shakespeare's play is highly problematic. Consequently, modern scholars must exercise caution in dealing with Henry,

Katherine, and the Anglo-French politics of the early fifteenth century, Shakespeare and his contemporaries in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and filmmakers in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

One problem is that scholars with overlapping interests do not always share a common methodology or even the same definitions. For example, from a historian's point of view, the terms nation, nationalism, imperialism, and colonialism are anachronistic as applied Katherine and Shakespeare's eras. However, the same terminology is a useful and much-used part of the critical lexicon applied to Shakespeare's play and films based on it. Most scholars manage to negotiate the challenges that this presents for their own purposes, but when teaching others it is crucial that both historians and critics make very clear the distinction between the historical reality of Katherine's day, the limited evidence thereof, the late Elizabethan portrayal of her life on stage, and the various depictions on the large and small screens between 1944 and 2016, while at the same time helping students to understand how gender, power, and privilege influence our understanding of the past and the present.

It is tricky to impute tangible reality to nationalism while regarding nations as "imagined communities," per Benedict Anderson. Imperialism is problematic, for both England (or Great Britain) and France have been imperialistic states for most of their history, and the latter was not so much a victim in 1415 as the momentary loser in a string of conflicts that began in 1066 and ended in 1815. A related issue is that while patriarchy was real and pervasive in late medieval and early modern Europe, patriarchs lorded it over younger and lower status men as well as women, and class was as great a stratifying force as gender. If one can construe Henry's victory at Agincourt as a "masculine" conquest of a "feminized" France, it is just as easy to see it in terms of class conflict, with English yeomen defeating French aristocrats. Finally, it poses a similar logical problem to attribute simultaneously to particular women both meaningful agency and unqualified victimhood.[35]

All nine adaptations suggest that Katherine had little choice but to marry Henry, but that is unclear historically. While it is certainly possible to regard the theatric and filmic Katherine as one of the spoils of war, especially given the language Shakespeare's Henry employs, the way to cement a treaty in the Middle Ages and well into the modern era was by dynastic marriage linking the ruling families of kingdoms agreeing to peace. To be sure, there is distasteful element of exploitation in this practice, but those exploited included both daughters and sons of royalty, who typically had little say in their marriages, and both women and men acquiesced in using their children as diplomatic tools. Henry IV planned to wed his son to Katherine before he ascended the throne as Henry V, and Charles VI went along with the eventual marriage. Katherine's mother Isabeau was an instrument of diplomacy when she married Charles and in turn agreed to Katherine's marriage to Henry in reality, as she does in the play. No doubt, Katherine knew from an early age that she would play such a role.

Some commentators go so far as to equate Henry's wooing of Katherine with rape.[36] For example, Deborah Cartmell refers to "Shakespeare's jaundiced portrait of Henry in which the sexual conquest (or rape) of Katherine is compared to his conquest of France."[37] Katherine Eggert even suggests the English lesson, in which she tries to learn her conqueror's language, is figurative rape and that voicing the terms *la foutre* and *con* represents a loss of sexual innocence; however, that fails to explain why she laughs.[38] Jean Howard and Phyllis Rackin devote much of *Engendering a Nation* to linking patriarchy, nationalism, imperialism, military conquest, rape, and Katherine's double entendres. But at the risk of belaboring the obvious, not everything humans do is about sex or sexualized power, despite the post-Freudian temptation to think in such terms. Humans go to war for many reasons, some noble and others not so. While rape is all too often a byproduct, as it frequently was in the Hundred Years' War, and is sometimes a deliberate weapon, as the fictional Henry threatens at Harfleur, it was not a motive for the real Henry's invasion of France, nor is it plausible to equate Henry's marriage to Katherine with rape. For fifteenth-century royalty and nobility, marriage was not primarily about sex; rather, it was a legal contract governing descent of property.

Conversely, Michael Anderegg calls Branagh's Henry "modest and awkward," Sarah Hatchuel suggests that Branagh "tends to liberate and emancipate Katherine," Donald Hedrick makes a strong case against seeing Katherine as a victim, and Kenneth Rothwell sees both of her scenes in a positive light.[39] While one can read the long series of sexual innuendoes that Burgundy, Charles, and Henry exchange (*H5* 5.2.282–323) as repulsively chauvinistic, it is also possible to play them comically as Dromgoole does. More importantly, rape—a despicable, dehumanizing, and brutally violent crime—was in medieval England a carefully defined criminal offense that was rigorously prosecuted and severely punished. The fifteenth century was often violent and misogynist, but it was not equivalent to the rape-filled fantasy of *Game of Thrones*.[40]

It is impossible, of course, to know how Katherine felt about wedding the English king. The sources are unclear, and Shakespeare leaves the matter ambiguous. Any interpretation in the nine filmic adaptations might approximate the truth. Perhaps Katherine was angry and unwilling, felt exploited and dehumanized, resisted, or was ruefully resigned to her fate. But considering that she grew up around a father frequently insane, a mother compelled to play a devious political game, and courtiers engaged on both sides of the Armagnac-Burgundian civil war, historians cannot categorically rule out that she welcomed "escape" with a "handsome prince." One need not make Henry a rapist and Katherine a victim to condemn the criminal brutality of rape or recognize the irrational and morally indefensible nature of misogyny. In any case, there is nothing to indicate that Katherine wished to return to France after Henry V's death, and if the stories about Edmund Beaufort are true, she apparently enjoyed gratifying her "carnal urges" before and after entering into marriage—to all appearances voluntarily—with Owen Tudor.

It is understandable, if regrettable, that Katherine de Valois is less well known today than Margaret of Anjou, Elizabeth Woodville, Margaret Beaufort, Elizabeth of York, or the wives, sisters, and daughters of Henry VIII. What is harder to fathom is why some scholars have little regard for *Henry V*, which is actually quite popular with audiences. Whatever else the purpose of Shakespeare's plays, they were intended to be entertainment, and it is impossible for this author to agree with those who regard *Henry V* as second rate or are dismissive of all filmic adaptations. One may find fault with Henry's contradictory nature, as Norman Rabkin has explicated with his irreconcilable rabbit and duck. But real people are often inconsistent, as was the historical Henry, and his Shakespearean alter ego is both entertaining and troublingly ambiguous. Katherine's own brief moments in the spotlight are engaging, and while little about her as one of Shakespeare's queens is demonstrably factual, the ambiguity of her position and desires in the play parallels historians' uncertainty about her role in reality.

Henry V is also a reminder of that unique combination of power and powerlessness that characterized medieval and early modern queens—especially non-regnant consorts like Katherine but also even ruling monarchs like Elizabeth I—who were royal in an era that treated royalty as semi-divine, but still female in male-dominated world, as well as "inferior" daughters of Eve. *Henry V* also calls attention to the limits on female agency and how a woman like Katherine might resort to what were once dismissively termed "feminine wiles" to challenge late medieval social strictures, just as Elizabeth arguably did in her day. Though the Bard and his filmic interpreters consign Katherine to a corner of the stage, it is a stage on which a Shakespeare play is being performed, and that elevates her visibility and makes her worth watching. Who but a handful of historians would know about her otherwise? Perhaps, then, Shakespeare has not done his queen, or women in general, a complete disservice.[41]

Notes

1. For consistency, the spelling "Katherine" is used throughout. The edition used here is William Shakespeare, *King Henry V*, ed. T.W. Craik, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015).
2. Useful studies of Shakespeare and history that address *Henry V* include Lily B. Campbell, *Shakespeare's Histories: Mirrors of Elizabethan Policy* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1947), ch. 15; Nicholas Grene, *Shakespeare's Serial History Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), ch. 6–8; Howard Erskine Hill, *Poetry and the Realm of Politics: Shakespeare to Dryden* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), ch. 3; Lisa Jardine, *Reading Shakespeare Historically* (London: Routledge, 1997), 3–14; Peter Lake, *How Shakespeare Put Politics on the Stage: Power and Succession in the History Plays* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), Part V; Charles W.R.D. Moseley, *Shakespeare's History Plays, Richard II to Henry V: The Making of a King* (London: Penguin Books, 1988), ch. 10; John Julius Norwich, *Shakespeare's Kings* (London: Viking, 1999), ch. 8–10; Paola Pugliatti, *Shakespeare the Historian* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan,

1996), 137–53; Phyllis Rackin, *Stages of History: Shakespeare's English Chronicles* (New York: Routledge, 1991), 28–30, 69–72, 77–86, 98–104, 114–15, 136–42, 149–50, 164–76, 197–200, 221–29, 238–47; David Saccio, *Shakespeare's English Kings: History, Chronicle, Drama*, 2nd ed. (Oxford University Press, 2000), Part IV.

3. Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1577, 1587); Edward Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Families of Lancastre and Yorke* (1548, 1550); *The Famous Victories of Henry the Fifth* (*c.* 1594); Michael Jones, "Catherine (1401–1437)", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2008 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/4890, accessed 10 December 2016] is the best short account; Mary McGrigor, *The Sister Queens: Isabella and Catherine de Valois* (Stroud: History Press, 2016), Lisa Hilton, *Queens Consort: England's Medieval Queens* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2009), and Elizabeth Norton, *England's Queens: The Biography* (Stroud: Amberley, 2011), add little to existing historiography; Agnes and Elisabeth Strickland, *Lives of the Queens of England from the Norman Conquest* (Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea, 1852) is quite dated.
4. Craik, *King Henry V*, 69–80. Film criticism is cited as appropriate below. For an introduction to literary criticism on *Henry V*, see Edward Berry, "Twentieth-century Shakespeare criticism: the histories," in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare Studies,* ed. Stanley Wells, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 249–56; Harold Bloom and Albert Rolls, eds., *Henry V* (New York: Facts on File, 2010); Kevin Ewert, *Henry V: A Guide to the Text and Its Theatrical Life* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006); Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989); Russ McDonald, ed., *Shakespeare: An Anthology of Theory and Criticism 1945–2000* (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2004); Matthew Woodcock, *Shakespeare—Henry V: A Reader's Guide to Essential Criticism* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); *World Shakespeare Bibliography Online*, http://www.worldshakesbib.org/; and the annual survey in *Shakespeare Quarterly,* http://www.folger.edu/shakespeare-quarterly. Many articles and books about Shakespeare are missing here because they mention Katherine only in passing or not at all.
5. E.g., there is no mention of Katherine in Tina Packer, *Women of Will: Following the Feminine in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York: Knopf, 2015) or Phyllis Rackin, "Women's roles in the Elizabethan history plays," in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays,* ed. Michael Hattaway (Cambridge University Press, 2002), 71–88, though for counter-examples see Katherine Eggert, *Showing Like a Queen: Female Authority and Literary Experiment in Spenser, Shakespeare, and Milton* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), Kavita Mudan Finn, *The Last Plantagenet Consorts: Gender, Genre, and Historiography, 1440–1627* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), and Rackin's collaboration with Jean Howard, *Engendering A Nation: A Feminist Account of Shakespeare's English Histories* (London: Routledge, 2002).
6. E.g., Vanora Bennett, *The Queen's Lover* (New York: William Morrow, 2010); Mari Griffith, *Root of the Tudor Rose* (Abercynon: Accent Press, 2015); Joanna Hickson, *The Agincourt Bride* (London: Harper, 2013) and *The Tudor Bride* (London: Harper, 2014); Rosemary Hawley Jarman, *Crown in Candlelight*

(New York: HarperCollins, 1978); Dedwydd Jones, *The Lily and the Dragon* (Llanwrst: Gwasg Carreg Gwalch, 2002); Anne O'Brien, *The Forbidden Queen* (Ontario: MIRA, 2013); Jean Plaidy, *The Queen's Secret* (New York: Putnam, 1990); Martha Rofheart, *Fortune Made His Sword* (New York: Putnam, 1972).

7. C.T. Allmand, "Henry V (1386–1422)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, Sept 2010 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12952]; *Henry V* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 66–73, 131–37, 140–45, 150–58; Michael Jones, "Catherine (1401–1437)." Jan 2008 [4890]; for more on the French court, see R.C. Famiglietti, *Royal intrigue: crisis at the court of Charles VI, 1392–1420* (Brooklyn: AMS Press, 1986); on the recent rehabilitation of Isabeau, see Tracy Adams, *The Life and Afterlife of Isabeau of Bavaria* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010) and Rachel Gibbons, "Isabeau of Bavaria, Queen of France (1385–1422): The Creation of An Historical Villainess," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series 6 (1996): 51–73.
8. R.A. Griffiths, "Henry VI (1421–1471)," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004, online edn, May 2015 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12953, accessed Dec. 10, 2016], *The reign of King Henry VI: the exercise of royal authority, 1422–1461* (London: A&C Black Publishers Ltd, 1981), ch. 1, 3, and "Tudor, Owen (*c.*1400–1461)," Jan 2008 [27797]; G.L. Harriss, "Beaufort, Henry (1375?–1447)," Jan 2008 [1859], "Humphrey, duke of Gloucester (1390–1447)," May 2011 [14155], and "Beaufort, Thomas, duke of Exeter (1377?–1426)," Jan 2008 [1864]; Michael Jones, "Catherine (1401–1437)," Jan 2008 [4890]; Colin Richmond, "Beaufort, Edmund, first duke of Somerset (*c.*1406–1455)," Oct 2008 [1855]; Jenny Stratford, "John, duke of Bedford (1389–1435)," Sept 2011 [14844]; R. S. Thomas, "Tudor, Edmund, first earl of Richmond (*c.*1430–1456)," Jan 2008 [27795] and "Tudor, Jasper, duke of Bedford (*c.*1431–1495)," Oct 2008 [27796]; Bertram Wolffe, *Henry VI* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), ch. 1.
9. James C. Bulman, ed., *King Henry IV*, Part 2, 3rd ed. (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2016), 429.
10. Craik, *King Henry V*, passim.
11. Allmand, *Henry V*, 66–73.
12. Craik, *King Henry V*, 221–24.
13. In modern parlance, "cunt" is a vile insult in both the United States and the United Kingdom. Its earliest use was for female genitalia, but circa 1400 an English translation of Lanfranc of Milan's *Chirurgia Magna* (*Science of Chirurgie*, 1296) uses it as a clinical term. While risqué enough to occasion laughter in Shakespeare's day, its earliest documented use as a term of abuse for women is in 1663 in the diary of Samuel Pepys, who—in a creepy coincidence—once kissed the lips of Katherine's exhumed corpse. See "cunt, n." *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, March 2017, Oxford University Press [http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/45874?redirected From=cunt, accessed March 15, 2017].
14. See, for example, Howard and Rackin, *Engendering A Nation*, especially ch. 1, 12.
15. Allmand, *Henry V*, 80–82.
16. Craik, *King Henry V*, 344–71.

17. Allmand, *Henry V*, ch. 7, especially 143–45.
18. William Shakespeare, *King Henry VI, Part 1*, ed. Edward Burns, Arden 3rd ed. (London: Bloomsbury, 2000), Act 1, scene 1.
19. For the most recent scholarship linking Essex and *Henry V*, see Lake, *How Shakespeare Put Politics on the Stage*. But even if Henry is an analogue for Essex, that does not mean modern observers must see his every action as imputable to the Earl. Henry's barbaric threats before Harfleur might easily come from a late sixteenth-century Irishman as stereotyped by Elizabethan Englishmen. Moreover, the Irish were not the only people at war with England in around 1599. Henry at Harfleur bears a striking resemblance to Spanish soldiers as characterized (or caricatured) in the Black Legend. On the possible purposes of Katherine and other minor characters, see also Peter B. Erickson, "'Thy Fault/ My Father Made': The Anxious Pursuit of Fame in 'Henry V,'" *Modern Language Studies* 10/1 (1979–80): 10–25.
20. Other films and television shows feature Henry without including Katherine: *England's Warrior King* (1915); *Regal Cavalcade* (1935); *The Gordon Honor* 2.1: *The Prisoner's Candlestick* (1956); *The Life and Death of Sir John Falstaff* (1959); *The Worker* 1.5: *A Democratic Democratism* (1965); *Whatever Next?* 2:3 (1970); *Connections* 1.3: *Distant Voices* (1978); *Renaissance Man* aka *By the Book* (1994); *Great Performances* 26.2: *Henry V at Shakespeare's Globe* (1997); *The Nearly Complete and Utter History of Everything* (1999); *The Complete Walk: Henry V* (2016). Some small-screen adaptations that included her do not survive: *England's Shakespeare* (BBC, 1937) with Yvonne Arnaud; *BBC Sunday Night Theatre: The Life of King Henry V* (1951) with Varvara Pitoëff; *Henry V* (BBC, 1953) with Kay Hammond; *BBC Television World Theatre: The Life of Henry V* (1957), with Patricia Cree exists in an imperfect copy at the British Film Institute; apparently not extant is the fourth episode of Associated Television's *Conflict* (1967) with Rowena Cooper; *Henry V* (2014) is a six-minute comic American short with Roxanne Sinclair as Katherine but locating a copy has proved impossible. See http://www.imdb.com/character/ch0116941/; British Film Institute National Archive, http://www.screenonline.org.uk/tv/id/1048671/.
21. *Henry V* aka *The Chronicle History of King Henry the Fifth with His Battell Fought at Agincourt in France* (1944), DVD: Sony 2010; http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0036910/; Anthony Davies, "Shakespeare on Film and Television: A Retrospect," in *Shakespeare and the Moving Image: The Plays on Film and Television*, eds. Davies and Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 3. Because Oliver's film is the oldest filmic production of *Henry V*, the body of criticism is large and diverse, e.g., James Agee and Bosley Crowther's comments in Charles W. Eckert, ed., *Focus on Shakespearean Films* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1972), 54–63; Michael Anderegg, *Cinematic Shakespeare* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 34–41; Judith Buchanan, *Shakespeare on Film* (New York: Routledge, 2005), ch. 7; Lorne Michael Buchman, *Still in Movement: Shakespeare on Screen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991); John Collick, *Shakespeare, Cinema, and Society* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), 47–51; Davies, *Filming Shakespeare's Plays: The Adaptations of Laurence Olivier, Orson Welles, Peter Brook, and Akira Kurosawa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), ch. 2, and "The Shakespeare films of Laurence Olivier," in *The Cambridge Companion to*

Shakespeare on Film, ed. Russell Jackson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 164–70; Peter Donaldson, *Shakespearean Films/Shakespearean Directors* (Boston: Unwin Hyman, 1990), 1–30; Maurice Hindle, *Studying Shakespeare on Film* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 140–47; Russell Jackson, *Shakespeare Films in the Making: Vision, Production, and Reception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), ch. 2; Jack Jorgens, *Shakespeare on Film* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977), ch. 8; Robert Manvell, *Shakespeare and the Film* (New York: A. S. Barnes and Company, 1979), 37–40; Ace G. Pilkington, *Screening Shakespeare from Richard II to Henry V* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1991), ch. 6; Kenneth S. Rothwell, *A History of Shakespeare on Screen: A Century of Film and Television*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 52–56; Dale Silviria, *Laurence Olivier and the Art of Filmmaking* (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1985), 131–41.

22. *An Age of Kings* (1960), DVD: BBC 2009; http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0239157/. On this series, see Emma Smith, "Shakespeare serialized: *An Age of Kings*," in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Popular Culture*, ed. Robert Shaughnessy (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 134–49.
23. *The Life of Henry Fift* (1979), DVD: *The Shakespeare Collection*, BBC 2003; http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0079289/; Ace Pilkington, *Screening Shakespeare from Richard II to Henry V*, ch. 5 (quote page 99). Unfortunately, Susan Willis, *The BBC Shakespeare Plays: Making the Televised Canon* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), does not address Boisseau as Katherine; however, see also "Shakespeare on the Big Screen, the Small Box, and In Between," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 20 (1990): 65–81.
24. *Henry V* (1989), DVD: MGM 2000; http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0097499/. It is no surprise that Olivier and Branagh have attracted the most critical commentary. For further and equally diverse discussion of Branagh's *Henry V*, see Pascale Aebischer, "Shakespeare, Sex, and Violence: Negotiating Masculinities in Branagh's Henry V and Taymor's Titus," in *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare on Screen*, ed. Diana E. Henderson (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), 112–32. Michael Anderegg, *Cinematic Shakespeare* (New York: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 119–24; Judith Buchanan, *Shakespeare on Film* (New York: Routledge, 2005), ch. 7; Mark Thornton Burnett, "'We Are the Makers of Manners': The Branagh Phenomenon," in *Shakespeare After Mass Media*, ed. Richard Burt (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 83–87; Samuel Crowl, *The Films of Kenneth Branagh* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2006), ch. 2, "Flamboyant Realist: Kenneth Branagh," Jackson, *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Film*, ch. 13, and *Shakespeare at the Cineplex* (Athens: Ohio University Press) ch. 1–2, *Shakespeare Observed: Studies in Performance on Stage and Screen* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1992), ch. 10; Douglas E. Green, "Shakespeare, Branagh, and the 'Queer Traitor': Close Encounters in the Shakespearean Classroom," in *The Reel Shakespeare: Alternative Cinema and Theory*, eds. Courtney Lehmann and Lisa Starks (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Press, 2002), 191–211; Donald K. Hedrick, "War is Mud: Branagh's *Dirty Harry V* and the Types of Political Ambiguity," in *Shakespeare, the Movie II: Popularizing the Plays on Film, TV, and Video*, eds. Richard Burt and Lynda E. Boose (New York: Routledge, 2003), 213–30;

Hindle, *Studying Shakespeare on Film*, 147–52; Courtney Lehmann, *Shakespeare Remains: Theater to Film, Early Modern to Postmodern* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2002), ch. 6; Rothwell, *A History of Shakespeare on Screen: A Century of Film and Television*, 246–50.

25. *The Wars of the Roses* 1.4: *Henry V* (Films Media Group, 1990), fod.infobase.com/PortalPlaylists.aspx?wID=239572&xtid=2773, accessed March 13, 2017. For more on the series, see Michael Bogdanov and Michael Pennington, *The English Shakespeare Company: The Story of the Wars of the Roses* (London: Nick Hern Books, 1990); David Carnegie, "So the Falklands. So Agincourt. 'Fuck the Frogs': Michael Bogdanov's English Shakespeare Company's Wars of the Roses," in *Shakespeare and War,* eds. Ros King and Paul J. C.M. Franssen (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), 213–25; Crowl, *Shakespeare Observed*, ch. 9.
26. *William Shakespeare's Henry V* (2007), https://www.amazon.com/William-Shakespeares-Henry-Peter-Babakitis/dp/B001HE1RJG; http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1261975/; "The Making of Henry V," https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sZKYBwqznw8 and following segments; Sarah Hatchuel, "'Into a Thousand Parts Divide One Man': Dehumanised Metafiction and Fragmented Documentary in Peter Babakitis' *Henry V*," in *Screening Shakespeare in the Twenty-First Century*, eds. Mark Thornton and Ramona Ray (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 146–62, and "The Rewriting of a Medieval Battle in Elizabethan Drama and on Film: The Battle of Agincourt in William Shakespeare's, Laurence Olivier's, Kenneth Branagh's, and Peter Babakitis's *Henry V*," in *Images of War and War of Images*, eds. Gérard Hugues and Karine Hildenbrand (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 3–16.
27. *The Hollow Crown* 1.4: *Henry V* (2012), DVD: Universal Studios Home Entertainment 2013.; http://www.imdb.com/title/tt2262456/. Criticism has yet to catch up with the most recent productions; however, reviews are abundant, e.g., Neil Genzingler in the *New York Times*, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/20/arts/television/hollow-crown-serves-up-shakespeare-and-royal-contrasts.html?mcubz=0; Ben Lawrence in *The Telegraph*, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/tvandradio/9415849/The-Hollow-Crown-Henry-V-BBC-Two-review.html; Mark Lawson in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/tvandradioblog/2012/jun/29/the-hollow-crown-shakespeare-bbc2; and others.
28. *Shakespeare's Globe: Henry V* (2012), DVD: Bayview Entertainment 2015; http://www.imdb.com/title/tt3900116/. Reviews of the stage production include Dominic Cavendish in *The Telegraph*, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/culture/theatre/theatre-reviews/9329868/Henry-V-Shakespeares-Globe-review.html; Lyn Gardner in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2012/jun/14/henry-v-review; Paul Taylor in *The Independent*, http://www.independent.co.uk/arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/reviews/henry-v-shakespeares-globe-london-7854958.html; and others.
29. *Shakespeare: King and Country 1.4: Henry V*, DVD: Opus Arte (2016). Reviews of the stage production include Domenic Cavendish in *The Telegraph*, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/theatre/what-to-see/henry-v-royal-shakespeare-company-review/; Susannah Clapp in *The Guardian*, https://www.theguardian.com/stage/2015/nov/22/henry-v-barbican-review-rsc-oliver-ford-davies-steals-show; Paul Taylor in *The Independent*, http://www.independent.co.uk/

arts-entertainment/theatre-dance/reviews/henry-v-royal-shakespeare-theatre-stratford-upon-avon-review-a-production-of-huge-flair-and-bite-a6670251.html; and others.

30. Based on comparison of the nine adaptations with the text in Craik, *King Henry V*, 221–24.
31. Cartmell, *Interpreting Shakespeare on Film* 102, takes a more favorable view of Olivier's handling of the scene than Branagh's: "Renee Asherson […] like a damsel in distress, is liberated […] Emma Thompson's Katherine opens the door to discover […] her careworn father." Howard and Rackin, *Engendering a Nation*, ch. 1, are similarly critical of Branagh.
32. Based on comparison of the nine adaptations with the text in Craik, *King Henry V*, 344–64.
33. Hatchuel, "'Into a Thousand Parts Divide One Man,'" 146–62.
34. On the prisoners, see Allmand, *Henry V*, 93–9; Anne Curry, *Agincourt: A New History* (Stroud: The History Press, 2010), 291–7; John Sutherland and Cedric Watts, *Henry V: War Criminal? and Other Shakespeare Puzzles* (Oxford University Press, 2000), 108–16. Arguably Henry's treatment of John Oldcastle was worse than any of his offenses in the play.
35. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (New York: Verso, 1983); Jonathan Baldo, "Wars of Memory in Henry V," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 47/2 (1996): 132–59.
36. Aebischer, "Shakespeare, Sex, and Violence," 116–17; Joel B. Altman, "'Vile Participation': The Amplification of Violence in the Theater of Henry V," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 42/1 (1991), especially 19, 33; Donaldson, *Shakespearean Films/Shakespearean Directors*, 14–15; Michael Manheim, "The English history plays on screen," in Davies and Wells, eds., *Shakespeare and the Moving Image*, 121, 126; Carol Chillington Rutter, "Looking at Shakespeare's women on film," in Jackson, *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare on Film*, ch. 14. Lance Wilcox, "Katharine of France as Victim and Bride," *Shakespeare Studies* 17 (1985): 61–76; Marilyn Williamson, "The Courtship of Katherine and the Second Tetralogy," *Criticism: A Quarterly for Literature and Arts* 17 (1975): 326–34.
37. Cartmell, *Interpreting Shakespeare on Film*, 98.
38. Katherine Eggert, "Nostalgia and the Not Yet Late Queen: Refusing Female Rule in Henry V," *ELH*, 61/3 (1994): 523–50. Suggesting (p. 532) that Katherine's beginning her list with "hand" relates to the "bloody hand" earlier in the text seems a bit much. Though the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were obsessed with symbols, e.g. Elizabeth I's armada portrait or the livery worn by noble retainers, they were quite open about it. Regarding body parts, the first things this writer sees when looking down are his hands, fingers, and nails, followed by his arm and elbow.
39. Anderegg, *Cinematic Shakespeare*, 122; Sarah Hatchuel, *Shakespeare: From Stage to Screen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 176; Donald Hedrick, "Affect, History, 'Henry V,'" *PMLA*, 118/3 (2003): 470–87; Rothwell, *A History of Shakespeare on Screen*), 249–50.
40. On rape, Caroline Dunn, *Stolen Women in Medieval England: Rape, Abduction, and Adultery, 1100–1500* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Jeremy Goldberg, *Communal Discord, Child Abduction, and Rape in the Later Middle Ages* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007); Sean McGlynn, "Violence

and the Law in Medieval England," *History Today* 58/4 (2008): 53–59; Corinne Saunders, *Rape and Ravishment in the Literature of Medieval England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2001).

41. A Google search of "Henry V" shows how often reviewers ignore or downplay Katherine. Norman Rabkin, "Rabbits, Ducks, and Henry V," *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 28/3 (1977): 279–96; Grene, *Shakespeare's Serial History Plays*, 238–45, reads Henry's contradictions as irony.

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CHAPTER 26

The "Squeaking Cleopatra Boy": Performance of the Queen's Two Bodies on the Early Modern Stage

Amy Kenny

It is no secret that Octavius Caesar disapproved of Cleopatra. He blamed the Egyptian queen for Antony's deterioration as a warrior and used his distaste of her to underscore his own Roman values. In one particularly cantankerous passage, Caesar bewails, "I'th' market-place, on a tribunal silvered, / Cleopatra and himself in chairs of gold / Were publicly enthroned; at the feet sat / [...] / all the unlawful issue that their lust / Since then hath made between them."[1] His objection to the queen's formal performance of monarchy and sensuality characterizes it as vulgar and obnoxious because of its unrestricted display of opulence. At the heart of this speech is a critical interpretation of Cleopatra as a publicized expression of sexualized power. Her exhibition of wealth and prestige to commoners in the marketplace demonstrates a visual representation of these attributes and allows the audience to interpret her through them. This spectacle offers a microcosm of the signifiers of monarchy, eroticism, and gender that Cleopatra embodies throughout the tragedy, and invites the audience to examine the Egyptian queen through this lens.

Crucial to understanding her is a conflation of sexual and political; her body epitomizes the lust Caesar admonishes and the power emblematic of her throne. Yet, this is just one of the multidimensional characteristics Cleopatra adopts throughout the play, as she often embodies a convergence of distinctive identities, mediated by one actor simultaneously representing them on stage.

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Rather than affirming one prominent self for Cleopatra, Shakespeare repeatedly destabilizes the way in which the audience perceives and interprets her character by highlighting the signifiers of her representation as performative and cultivated, not intrinsic and immovable. Shakespeare frequently draws the audience's attention to the costumes and cosmetics used to connote early modern notions of femininity in order to evoke the queen's character. Her brazen salaciousness garners criticism from Roman soldiers, who focus on the constructed presentation of her gender and sexuality. Caesar observes Antony is "not more manlike than Cleopatra" when attempting to misalign his comrade and insult Cleopatra's womanliness, compelling the audience to acknowledge the performativity of gender (*A&C* 1.4.5–6). His derogatory remark highlights gendered notions of behavior and asks the audience to consider how characters endorse or defy these interpretive models on stage. Throughout the play, Shakespeare continually accentuates the performance and concept of gender as malleable and evolving in different contexts, subject to audience analysis.

This chapter explores the mechanics of performing queenship on the early modern stage by tracing the physical appearance of boy players to demonstrate the fragile embodiment of femaleness when portraying monarchy in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*. Whereas previous scholarship has generally examined the eroticism of boy actors, or how their bodies undermine gendered binaries, this study uses those findings to discuss the semiotics of performing queenship on the early modern stage.[2] While on stage, boy actors were conduits of liminality: performing a specific gendered identity (woman) while undermining the hierarchical Chain of Being through the representation of fluid gender representation and sensuality. The paradoxical relationship of the young, inexperienced boy player and the persuasive, accomplished Cleopatra provides a ripe space in which to investigate the enigmatic conflation and segregation of the body politic and the body natural. In considering the embodiment of queenship on stage, I will analyze how this duality comments on the queen's body natural, subject to decay and infirmity, and body politic, accentuated by its corporate perpetuity in the Egyptian queen. I investigate the exhibition of femininity through costume, cosmetics, and gesture to establish the evocation of queens in the playhouse and use this as a lens through which to explore the queen's two bodies in *Antony and Cleopatra*. My reading will demonstrate how the boy player's physical appearance and vocal pitch become significant to our understanding of the signifiers associated with Cleopatra's character, in generating a pliable representation of a queen. I will first discuss the notion of the monarch's two bodies, before outlining a historical perspective on boy players to consider the visual representation of femininity and codes of signification on the early modern stage. It is my contention that the tension between the body of the actor and that of the character offers a parallelism of liminality for the body politic and body natural when examined through gendered semiotics.

Two Bodies

Ernst Kantorowicz's oft-cited notion of the monarch's two bodies—the body natural and the body politic—lays the framework for this discussion of Cleopatra's body as an intermediary space, subject to deterioration and disease, yet immortal and comprised of the commonwealth. He situates the body politic as "a body cannot be seen or handled, consisting of policy and government, and constituted for the direction of the people, and the management of the public weal, and this body is utterly void of infancy, and old age, and other natural defects and imbecilities."[3] Articulating the monarch's body as a double one, housing both the corporeal and invisible body of the realm, highlights the permanence of the ruler's sovereignty, regardless of which individual houses the kingdom. The theory also pioneers the way in which the monarch's body is mediated by a number of different interpretive lenses, never fully explicated as one, singular entity. Cleopatra is called "Egypt" to connote her role as head of state, and in doing so, the play frequently conflates her body natural with the body politic. She often personifies the dualism of the monarch's two bodies, both natural and politic simultaneously represented in her figure. As Claire Kinney notes, this "equation of the woman so completely with her state conflates the monarch's 'two bodies' and breaks down, or rather denies, the barrier between her public and private selves."[4] Cleopatra has no private self, no perceptible body natural that acts as distinctive from her body politic. Everything is a performance to her, even the relationship she shares with Antony, as she is conscious of her audience.

Cleopatra is the embodiment of theatricality throughout the play. She has the largest female role in Shakespeare's canon, and second largest in the early modern period, by only a handful of lines.[5] Throughout the play, characters associate her theatricality with her femininity, both of which are expressed through Cleopatra's brazen sexuality. The Egyptian queen is characterized as melodramatic and unstable, insinuated in Enobarbus' criticism of her "infinite variety" (*A&C* 2.2.241). He also informs the audience, "I saw her once / Hop forty paces through the public street; / And having lost her breath, she spoke, and panted, / That she did make defect perfection, / And, breathless, power breathe forth" (*A&C* 2.2.233–7). His account of Cleopatra is predicated on her ability to perform, influence, and deceive. Enobarbus views Cleopatra as an actress, one capable of manipulating her spectators, suitors, and citizens at will. Likewise, Antony acknowledges her dynamic, wavering selfhood, when he labels her a "wrangling queen! Whom everything becomes—to chide, to laugh, / To weep; whose every passion fully strives / To make itself, in thee, fair and admired" (*A&C* 1.1.49–51). His statement establishes Cleopatra's skillful control of others around her, similar to how actors command their emotions on the stage. Since Cleopatra's character is always self-consciously performing, she is arbitrated to the audience, who comprehend a depiction of her, rather than an intimate portrayal of her interiority.

All too aware of how monarchs must perform for their people, Cleopatra is eternally invested in the public display of emotions rather than the private experience of them. Early on in the play, she instructs Antony: "Belong to Egypt: good now, play one scene / Of excellent dissembling; and let it look / Like perfect honor" (*A&C* 1.3.78–80). Central to her request is a deep yearning to control Antony's behavior, yet her contention implies her ability to fabricate the self for an audience through "excellent dissembling." Cleopatra understands how she can emote for effect, even without experiencing those sentiments internally. Early modern notions of women often characterized them as changeable, beautiful, and resourceful, all of which can be seen in Cleopatra's classification by the Romans. Her power is construed in and through her theatricality, reminding the audience of the manipulation existent in the playhouse.

Cleopatra uses her performativity to garner affection and manipulate those around her, yet this cognitive theatricality speaks to a larger issue about the artifice of theater and the limits of semiotics of representation on stage. If a male actor can persuasively perform the signifiers of femininity, the performance interrogates the expressions of gender as a fixed concept. As Judith Butler argues, "there is no gender identity behind the expressions of gender; that identity is performatively constituted by the very 'expressions' that are said to be its results."[6] Therefore, the performativity of gender erodes the concept of a fixed gendered identity by illustrating its limitations and fabrication. Cleopatra constructs a performance of herself through a series of visual and behavioral codes attributed to gender. The meta-theatrical way her character presents gender erodes the concept of innate attributes and emphasizes the audience's complicity in illusion-making. As the play progresses, the audience becomes more conscious of the fictive representation on stage, underlining the duality of the female character flaunted and the body of the male actor used to cultivate that character.

"Quick Comedians Extemporally Will Stage Us"

In order to cultivate female characters on the early modern stage, acting companies hired four adolescent boys, since 70% of early modern plays contain no more than four speaking parts for women.[7] Boy players were associated with the number of female parts, as *Sir Thomas More* (1595) demonstrates, when More proclaims, "Then I see there's but few women in the play," after noticing only one boy player.[8] Conflating the number of boy players and female roles is indicative of how the two were correlated in early modern thought. Most boy players entered bonds with an acting company between the ages of ten and thirteen because their small statures and high-pitched voices were not considered masculinized. When entering the company, they committed to several years of acting training before progressing to apprentices at seventeen when their voices matured.[9] In early modern society, women were considered the weaker, feebler versions of their perfect male counterparts. As such, boys were expected to embody a slighter, more delicate frame as an external signifier of

womanhood. Hamlet's observation that the boy player has grown too tall because "your ladyship is nearer to heaven than when I saw you last by the altitude of a chopine," a platform shoe, shows the ingrained expectation of a shorter standing to portray a female character.[10] Similarly, in *A Mad World, My Masters* by Thomas Middleton, boy players are searched for and categorized by stature; and John Marston's *Antonio and Mellida* advises, "frame your exterior shape to haughty form of elate majesty" when a boy actor must portray Antonio instead of his standard female roles.[11] *The Actor's Remonstrance* also complains: "our boys, ere we shall have liberty to act again, will be grown out of use, like cracked organ pipes and have faces as old as our flags."[12] These meta-theatrical comments demonstrate that a delicate physique was preferred for boy players cast in female parts, as it connoted a gendered ideology about how women *should* appear in early modern discourse.

They also hint at the desire for a female character to use a high-pitched voice to underscore her femininity.[13] Hamlet expresses this necessity when instructing the players: "Pray God your voice be not crak'd within the ring" (*Ham.* 2.2.366–7). This association is made again in *Twelfth Night*, when Orsino declares, "thy small pipe is as the maiden's organ, shrill and sound," noting the higher register of the female voice.[14] Boy actors were no longer cast in female roles once they physically and vocally developed, suggesting the importance of a diminutive build, height, and vocal pitch to cultivate female signifiers during performance. These casting practices accentuate the embodiment of gender as dependent on and subject to early modern indicators of femaleness. Given the plays' stress on constructing a distinct womanlike persona, it is evident that the boy actor's body was marked by difference while on stage. His body becomes Othered in its representation of a female character, in order to heighten the distinction between male and female characters during performance.

"Of Excellent Dissembling"

Boy actors transformed themselves on stage to evoke a female presence through the use of cultural signifiers. Thomas Platter's account from his visit to the Globe theater in 1599 recalls how the actors "danced together admirably and exceedingly gracefully, according to their custom, two in each group dressed in men's and two in women's apparel."[15] His comment highlights clothing to create the embodiment of femininity on stage. Gendered costumes were tantamount to the construction of character to early modern audiences, as clothing was far more culturally resonant due to sumptuary laws dictating fabric, style, and color choices. The flouting of such laws led anti-theatricalists such as Phillip Stubbes to rage against the theater for modifying typical gender and class decorum. In *The Anatomy of Abuses*, he declares, "Our Apparel was given us as a sign distinctive to discern betwixt sex and sex, and therefore one to wear the Apparel of another sex, is to participate with the same, and to adulterate the verity of his own kind."[16] Predictably, Stubbes disagrees with theatrical practice of boys performing women's parts, yet his rationale stresses the nature of

clothes as equivalent to gendered physiognomies themselves, not part of the expression of them. Early modern society was predicated on the idea that women were subordinate to men, thus cross-dressing was problematic because it disrupted this social hierarchy. Stubbes' tract illustrates that cross-dressing produced a number of cultural anxieties about gender and performance, as it suggested gender was malleable and subject to representation, not intrinsic or distinctive.

The fluidity of gendered behavior is flaunted when Antony cross-dresses as part of an erotic spectacle between the lovers. Recalling the event, Cleopatra admits, "I laugh'd him out of patience; and that night; / I laugh'd him into patience; and next morn, / Ere the ninth hour, I drunk him to his bed; / Then put my tires and mantles on him, whilst / I wore his sword Philippan" (*A&C* 2.5.21–5). This intimate portrayal of Antony and Cleopatra's bedroom antics highlights a gender reversal between lovers. While Cleopatra personifies hypermasculinity in out-drinking Antony and confiscating his sword, Antony is feminized by donning Cleopatra's costume. Here, the narrative focuses on the performativity and inconstancy of gender, able to fluctuate and recodify over any body. Cleopatra's appropriation of the phallus and Antony's adoption of womanly garb emphasizes how the signifiers of representation can suggest an identity incompatible with the underlying reality. Even though Antony wears a headdress and woman's cloak, the audience still perceives him as a man, cross-dressing for erotic and comedic effect, providing a framework in which we can interpret the boy actor performing Cleopatra. Costume and props contribute to making meaning on stage but are concurrently undermined by the very nature of their use. In evoking masculinity or femininity, these signifiers destabilize the essentialist notion of gender they are demonstrating to the audience, as they can be usurped or discarded at any moment. Visually, Cleopatra is understood as a woman, while using masculine symbols of power and authority to express her sexuality, which subvert the semiotics of gendered behavior.

Furthermore, Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones have shown how "clothes have the power to imprint their wearers because they are a form of material memory [… which] can be imagined as retaining the identity and form of the wearer."[17] Consequently, the concern Stubbes expresses about cross-dressing not only regards the tension around gendered representation, but also acknowledges the lasting impact of this performance on the actor. If a boy player can mime femaleness in wearing women's clothes, he is also subject to an internal shift in his own expression of selfhood outside of the theater. Undergirding this reproach of cross-dressing is a more complex concern about the enduring impression on the wearer of a gendered wardrobe, since clothes offer a form of material memory in this early modern philosophy.

An analogous concern emerges in the critique of cosmetics on the stage, as anti-theatricalists feared the boy player's beauty was too alluring, warning theatergoers: "you beware of beautiful boys transformed into women by putting on their raiment, their feature, looks, and factions. For men may be ravished with love of stones, of dead stuff, framed by cunning gravers to beautiful

women's likeness."[18] Such apprehension highlights the believability and success of the performance in creating character through a series of impactful displays of femininity. Yet, it simultaneously underscores that the construct of beauty was similar for pre-pubescent boys and adult women at this time. Fair, radiant skin, rosy cheeks, and curly golden hair were all considered parameters of attractiveness for women and male adolescents. Therefore, "the boy actor […] performs an ideal of beauty that can be expressed through either pre-adolescent male or female features."[19] Using crushed pearl, white lead, and egg glaze to cosmetize femininity, the boy actor was considered appealing to an early modern audience because he visually transmitted the key elements of female desirability. Accordingly, Cleopatra's unabashed eroticism creates a confluence of allure that made anti-theatricalists uncomfortable precisely because it eroded the gender binary and interrogated the multifaceted nature of desire.

"I Have Nothing of Woman in Me"

Femininity was not only assembled through appearance, but specific qualities and conduct that actors were taught to replicate. Boy players learned women's gestures, stride, and body language to evoke a female presence on stage. John Rainolds records that the boy actor playing Achilles was instructed "how to play the woman in gait, in speech, in gesture" even though he regarded the practice as unseemly.[20] Insinuated here is an identification and interpretation of particular movements and body language as gendered, rendering the boy actor's body as an inscriptive surface on which to fashion any identity. Rainolds acknowledges how actors learn "to counterfeit her actions, her wanton kiss, her impudent face" to authenticate their characters.[21] His use of the word "counterfeit" suggests a negative connotation associated with boy players that constructed their performance as a form of deceit. Unsurprisingly, anti-theatricalists were troubled that gendered behavior was effortlessly mimicked by actors, contradicting the innate construct of gender that early modern people were encouraged to believe. Modern actors at the reconstructed Globe on Bankside in London have found that the costumes dictate more than just performance aesthetic and contribute to movement and body language on stage. Actor Ellie Percy recalls working with corsets for the first time: "you just have to be quite disciplined about making sure you breathe. One of my costumes was too high and about three breaths in […] it sort of catches your ribs up and then you can't get them back."[22] Her experience reveals how she inhaled and exhaled in a precise manner because of the restrictions imposed by her Elizabethan corset, which inevitably impacted the delivery of the lines spoken on stage. Corsets and internal boning structures were specific to female costumes; thus, speech, breath, and the pace of lines could only be performed in a certain way, unique to boy actors playing women's roles on stage. This element of performance is yet another method of fashioning female identity for the early modern audience that is marked by difference from the male actors.

Given this understanding of representation, the boy player becomes a prime agent of indeterminacy, enacting a female character while physically commenting on the illusion presented to the audience. By acknowledging the semiotics at play in his performance, the boy actor calls the notion of a stable identity and gender into question. Consequently, the audience is asked to utilize a multi-consciousness of the "player-as-character and of the boy, even the alluring boy, a self-conscious performer attempting to transcend the age, ability, and gender limits of his 'boyness.'"[23] Lisa Jardine argues the boy actor beneath the female character is always visible and titillating, which underscores the audience's awareness of the multilayered notion of gender while the actor is performing. Consequently, the theater becomes the vehicle for destabilizing gendered notions of identity and the self, since audiences are able to engage a dual consciousness of the boy actor and Cleopatra as both/neither male and female while appearing on stage. The artifice of character, created through costume, cosmetics, and gesture probes at a much larger question about the stability of the signified on the early modern stage. If actors can convincingly portray any gender, class, or character, notions of social hierarchy and gender normativity are quickly undercut and obliterated. It is through this very theatricality that Cleopatra is able to solidify her character and present herself as a conduit of performativity.

"Harping on What I Am, Not What He Knew I Was"

It is important to note that transgressing sumptuary laws, which solidified these collective identifiers, did not "signal social disruption, but actually constituted it."[24] If someone usurped another social class in dress, that behavior eroded distinctions that were considered fundamental to the framework of society. The relationship between signifier (clothes) and signified (class) demonstrates the consequence of social codes imposing gender and class behavior during the period. It also allows the audience to consider the disparity between signifying and embodying an identity through clothing choices. One can appropriate another class through adopting its signifiers, but one cannot actually usurp that class beyond the representation of it. This tension is implicit in Polonius' statement "the apparel oft proclaims the man" (*Ham* 1.3.72). The word "proclaims" is often misquoted as "makes" in contemporary discussion, which exposes our own interpretive lens when reciting this phrase, to suggest clothes create someone's position. Rather, the line actually articulates that clothing declares an externalized identity to the world, and thus has no bearing on cultivation of the internal self. While clothes can signify one's station, Polonius suggests that ultimately they cannot substantiate it. Thus, the quotation demonstrates how signifiers do not necessarily embody the signified; rather, they work to announce a projection of the signified to the world.

In order to consider the relationship between the male body of the actor and the female character's display of sexuality, I will now turn to semiotics. In doing so, I aim to examine the representational on stage, and consider how the

difference between the signifier and what is signified in constructing a female character allows for a greater consideration about the body presented to the audience for interpretation. Semiotics offers a discourse that ultimately illustrates how the performance of gender renders it collapsible and unsolidified. Performing a female character utilizes gendered stereotypes as part of the representation of it, and consequently calls into question the inherent, binary nature of gender that early modern people often touted as universal.

I have already shown that in order for a male actor to represent a female character on stage, he would use semiotics to embody a stereotypical notion of femininity. Cosmetics, costume, gesture, and gait all created an iconography that was projected onto the actor's body. This chapter has charted the use of these components to convey a physical and psychological representation of Cleopatra, all of which are dependent on the audience recognizing particular gendered codes. In presenting a "female" posture and gait, the male actor mimes qualities associated with femininity, a gesture that is steeped in essentialist notions of behavior as intrinsically orchestrated. Fictive constructions of a female character amalgamate these stereotypes of how women behave, dress, and appear in order to make the illusion seem more realistic and believable. Yet, in doing so, the signifiers (costume, cosmetics, gait) of female behavior are at odds with the signified (the male body of the actor) because they represent something that is socially fabricated, rooted in an artificial sense of femininity, rather than the thing itself.

While signifiers are ontologically arbitrary, they are not socially arbitrary, and therefore display a socio-historical construction of femaleness to the audience. For example, early modern people attributed beauty to a light complexion, glowing cheeks, and rosy lips. While these individual features are arbitrary in nature, they adopt cultural import a posteriori through the construct of femininity as predicated on this form of Renaissance beauty. Thus, in presenting a pale, cosmetized face, the actor implements these specific cultural signifiers to portray a sense of femininity the audience deemed acceptable. By solely using these visual codes of representation to solidify the female character, the actor draws attention to the body beneath the makeup, suggesting that without the signifiers of femaleness, there is nothing to corroborate the femininity of the character. This complex system of relying on signifiers to demonstrate the signified highlights how these codes allude to something absent from the stage. The signifiers should portray the signified, yet they undermine it as performative by asking the audience to rely solely on the representation of gender, rather than a female body.

Representing what is not there reflects a tension at the very core of performance. Arguably, every actor attempts to signify a character—a king, fairy, soldier, or senior—that they is not. Inherent to the actor's role is portraying a fictive reality through a nexus of signifiers the audience can easily understand and interpret in the context of the performance. Robert Weimann has addressed this issue elsewhere in his discussion of regal emblems by asserting the "wholeness of the sign involves complete continuity—or rather, the ignoring of

discontinuity—between what materially signifies and what is spiritually signified by it."[25] Accordingly, in order for signifiers to accurately represent the signified, linguistic continuity and social stability must be perceived with no distinction made between the two. The audience must accept the indicators as continuous and authentic, otherwise the semiotics of representation break down within the performance. Foucault discusses the concept of representation in the Renaissance as "the signifying element has no content, no function, and no determination other than what it represents: it is entirely ordered upon and transparent to it."[26] In this system, the signifier becomes a demonstration of the signified, insofar as it can be authenticated through resemblance to an audience. By setting up the system as reliant on the signifier truthfully portraying the signified through resemblance, not a symbolic or emblematic encoding, Foucault intimates there must be no perceptible distinction between the two entities. This suggests that in order to imitate femininity on stage, the male actor must resemble the female character to the extent that the audience is unaware of, or at the very least not focusing on, the discrepancy between the two bodies.

However, Shakespeare often deliberately addresses the dissimilarity between gendered signifiers and what they signify on stage. The male body is not erased in representing a female character, as his anatomy is frequently highlighted in the text for comedic effect. Shakespeare repeatedly draws attention to gender as performative, which undercuts the stability of his society's prescriptive behavior surrounding gender. For example, a fundamental component of the comedy in *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night* relies on the audience acknowledging the body of the male actor to highlight the Rosalind/Ganymede and Viola/Cesario dichotomy. Shakespeare often emphasizes the tension between the fictive and material bodies to offer a comedic exchange predicated on the dramatic irony of the actor's portrayal of a female role. *The Taming of the Shrew* scripts instructions for the player to perform a woman's part: "I know the boy will well usurp the grace, voice, gait and action of a gentlewoman."[27] The Lord's comment stresses the consequence of performing a believable construction of a woman's actions and demeanor, yet in doing so underscores the tension between the real and illusory in the present performance. Sardonically suggesting the boy use an onion to induce tears, the gentleman lifts the veil on cross-dressing performance practice to reveal the audience's reliance on signifiers of "feminine" behavior. Similarly, Cleopatra often focuses on her performance of her gender and monarchy, which allows the audience to question the validity of the signifiers presented by the male actor on stage.

This tension of representation is present between the fair, rosy-cheeked boy actor and the "tawny front" of Cleopatra (*A&C* 1.1.6). Her skin color is underscored in the text as North African, symptomatic of the Romans' Othering of her character. While this characterization focuses on the Romans' negative connotation of her race, it also proposes another incompatibility between Cleopatra's character and the boy actor depicting her on stage. Identifying her skin as "tawny" accentuates the hue of her complexion to the audience, similar to the "tawnie Moor" of the Prince of Morocco in *The Merchant of Venice*.[28]

This line draws attention to what is (not) embodied for the audience and undermines the fictive portrayal of Cleopatra before their eyes. Later in the play, Cleopatra requests: "Think on me / That I am with Phoebus' amorous pinches black" (*A&C* 1.5.28-29). Again, her skin color is emphasized to signify her race and status as an outsider to Roman society; yet in the performance of the play, it offers an additional layered tension in the semiotics of presenting Cleopatra on stage. The actor's skin color does not in fact embody Cleopatra's race, as it rather attempts to project femaleness to the audience through glistening, ivory cosmetics.

"Let Women Die"

Even Cleopatra's death scene is characterized by theatricality and grandeur instead of the intimacy and privacy seen elsewhere in Shakespeare's canon. This creates a parallelism between the lack of two distinct bodies; the conflation of body politic and body natural provides a microcosm for the nonexistence of peculiarity between boy actor and female character. The contradictory reality of Cleopatra's body demonstrates the tension between the signifiers and what they indicate on stage. It calls into question the semiotics of performance by offering a dualistic sense of Cleopatra's body. If the actor portraying Cleopatra cannot completely embody her gender or monarchy, he only employs signifiers that are utterly meaningless without their underlying import. Thus, the boy actor portraying Cleopatra creates a liminal space where the audience is aware of the fictive character represented and the body of the actor underneath.

In this scene, Cleopatra stages an explicit tableau, rather than experiencing her final moments of life. She narrates her death to the audience:

> Come, thou mortal wretch, *To an asp, which she applies to her breast*
> With thy sharp teeth this knot intrinsicate
> Of life at once untie: poor venomous fool
> Be angry, and dispatch. O, couldst thou speak,
> That I might hear thee call great Caesar ass
> Unpolicied! (*A&C* 5.2.302–7)

Here, she focuses on her breasts in killing herself, verbally and visually emphasizing female anatomy to the audience. The use of the asp conflates eroticism and death, culminating in the climax of her sexual relationship with Antony. As many critics have noted, in "her final speech the asp is both the phallic instrument of their spiritualized sexual union and the baby at her breast, the issue of their earthly love."[29] In Shakespeare's source material, Plutarch uses the asp on Cleopatra's arm as one of many possibilities in terms of her manner of death.[30] Shakespeare relocates the asp to her breasts, deliberately drawing attention to the representation of the female body. Cleopatra personifies the asp as nursing in her remark: "Peace, peace! Dost thou not see my baby at my breast, / That sucks the nurse asleep?" (*A&C* 5.2.308–9). Association with breastfeeding

turns death into sustenance for the asp, further accentuating the prominence and weight of her anatomy during this scene. By concentrating on the female body the male actor does not possess, the play creates another paradox surrounding the gendered body of the actor and the way in which gender is signified and critiqued by the play.

Later in this scene, Cleopatra highlights her enactment by worrying, "Antony / Shall be brought drunken forth, and I shall see / Some squeaking Cleopatra boy my greatness / I'th' the posture of a whore" (*A&C* 5.2.217–20). Peter Stallybrass suggests this line does not imply "the inadequacy of what is being shown. […] Instead, it is a tribute to the effectiveness of the convention being used that made no bones about it committing the means of performance."[31] However, Phyllis Rankin argues this "squeaking boy" defies the possibilities of faithful representation because the actor must remind the audience he cannot truly represent Cleopatra's femininity.[32] A series of gendered signifiers are present and exposed, yet broken down in the liminal space of the body of the actor. The fact that the audience understands Cleopatra as both the female character and male actor representing her on stage allows her body to cultivate an intermediary space, acting as signifier and signified simultaneously. The actor's body becomes a signifier of the feminine queen; yet insofar as his body does not embody femaleness, it deconstructs the signifier as an illusion. While the male actor evokes a feminine presence on stage, he does not embody womanliness, and becomes a site of complex negotiation between what exists and what is conjured.

Conclusions

Antony and Cleopatra opens with Philo lamenting Antony's fawning over the "gipsy" and "strumpet" Cleopatra (*A&C* 1.1.10, 12). Crucial to understanding the Egyptian queen is this Othering, as she represents a body and ideology foreign to the Roman soldiers. Since her role as Egypt's queen and woman on stage is defined by her physical difference to the other characters, this barrier is wrought with tension in using a male performer to depict her. By situating the fictive Cleopatra in a space where she occupies two bodies, Shakespeare marks her role by difference, highlighting her materiality as the nexus of the outsider predicated on the Romans' understanding of her. The construction of her character relies on signifiers of femininity, which are rooted in early modern stereotypes that do not necessarily relate to authentic behavior. Coding these performances as gendered behavior emphasizes the gendered semiotics of construction at play in the performance. This chapter has traced how these signifiers surface in the play with respect to Cleopatra's cross-dressing, cosmetics, and behavior to further situate her character as defined through liminality and representation.

Foucault's notion of representation is grounded in the similitude between signifier and signified. In order to establish continuity between the boy actor and the female character, the audience has to perceive no distinction between

the two entities, yet Shakespeare calls our attention to this image-making by breaking down gendered coding throughout the play. In considering the embodiment of queenship on stage, this chapter has sought to explore the duality of representation of Cleopatra's character. The conflation of the body politic and body natural offers a parallel structure on which to map her multi-faceted identity on stage, presenting the audience with an intermediary body that erodes classification. In drawing attention to the gap between illusory and physical bodies, the play asks the audience to consider how the semiotics of performance undermines gendered distinction and behavior. The high vocal pitch, white cosmetized face, and female costume of the boy actor playing Cleopatra all contribute to breaking down notions of gender and social class during the early modern period.

Notes

1. William Shakespeare, *Antony and Cleopatra*, ed. John Wilders, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), 3.6.3–8.
2. For more on eroticizing boy actors, see Lisa Jardine's *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Sussex: Harvester Press, 1983); Mary Bly's *Queer Virgins and Virgin Queans on the Early Modern Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); and Stephen Orgel's "Nobody's Perfect: Or, Why Did the English Stage Take Boys for Women?," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 88 (1989): 7–29. Another approach to examining boy actors considers how they disrupt gendered binaries, as in Marjorie Garber's *Vested Interests: Cross-Dressing and Cultural Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Catherine Belsey, "Disrupting Sexual Difference: Meaning and Gender in the Comedies," in *Alternative Shakespeares*, ed. John Drakakis (New York: Methuen, 1985), 169–93; Stephen Greenblatt, "Fiction and Friction," in *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 66–93; Phyllis Rackin, "Androgyny, Mimesis, and the Marriage of the Boy Heroine on the English Renaissance Stage," *PMLA* 102 (1987): 29–41; and Michael Shapiro, *Gender in Play on the Shakespearean Stage: Boy Heroines and Female Pages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).
3. Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Medieval Political Theory*, preface by William Chester Jordan (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2016), 7.
4. Clare Kinney, "The Queen's Two Bodies and the Divided Emperor," in *The Renaissance Englishwoman in Print: Counterbalancing the Canon*, eds. Anne M. Haselkorn and Betty S. Travitsky (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1990), 178.
5. See appendix of David Mann, *Shakespeare's Women: Performance and Conception* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 240–245. Cleopatra has 591 lines, while Alice in *Arden of Faversham* has 593.
6. Mark Franko, "Majestic Drag: Monarchical Performativity and the King's Body Theatrical," *TDR* 47.2 (2003): 74.

7. David Mann notes that 70% of the surviving 205 plays between 1500 and 1614 have "either four female speaking roles or fewer, and in almost all of the remainder the extra roles could be doubled by the original four performers" (31).
8. William Shakespeare, *Sir Thomas More*, ed. John Jowett, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2011), 3.2.72–74.
9. Records indicate that some players began performing men's roles as early as sixteen, while others continued to play female roles until the age of twenty-one. See Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 113. David Mann, *Shakespeare's Women*, 33–4. See also *Coriolanus* 2.2.87–98.
10. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet*, eds. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2006), 2.2.364–65.
11. John Marston, *Antonio and Mellida*, ed. W. Reavley Gair (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), Ind. 2.7–8.
12. Cited in John Dover Wilson, ed., *Life in Shakespeare's England: A Book of Elizabethan Prose* (New York: Cosimo, 2008), 187.
13. Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage*, 46.
14. William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, ed. Keir Elam, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2009), 1.432–33.
15. Cited by Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage*, 11.
16. Phillip Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses* (London: E. C., 1583), 49.
17. *Renaissance Clothing and the Materials of Memory*, eds. Peter Stallybrass and Ann Rosalind Jones (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 200–1.
18. John Rainolds, *Overthrow of Stage Plays*, preface by Arthur Freeman, facsimile of 1599 edition (New York: Garland: 1974), 34.
19. Farah Karim-Cooper, "Performing Beauty on the Renaissance Stage," in *Shakespeare in Stages: New Theatre History*, eds. Christine Dymkowski and Christie Carson (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 2010), 105.
20. John Rainolds, *Overthrow of Stage Plays*, 17.
21. John Rainolds, *Overthrow of Stage Plays*, 17.
22. Ellie Percy, interview with Amy Kenny about *All's Well that Ends Well*. 8 July 2011.
23. Katherine E. Kelly, "The Queen's Two Bodies: Shakespeare's Boy Actresses in Breeches," *Theatre Journal* 42:1 (1990): 85.
24. Claire Sponsler, *Drama and Resistance: Bodies, Goods, and Theatricality in Late Medieval England* (Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 20.
25. Robert Weimann, *Authority and Representation in Early Modern Discourse*, ed. David Hillman (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996), 72.
26. Michael Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (New York City: Routledge Classics, 2002), 71.
27. William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. Barbara Hodgdon, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2010), Ind.129–30.
28. William Shakespeare, *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. John Drakakis, Arden 3rd Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), 2.1.1.
29. Constance Brown Kuriyama, "The Mother of the World: A Psychoanalytic Interpretation of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*," *English Literary Renaissance* 7:3 (1977): 330. While critics generally agree on the symbolism of the sucking asp, they tend to diverge on how this scene was enacted for

Shakespeare's audiences. David Mann cites numerous instances where female breasts are exposed in early modern plays and concludes that prosthetics are an important costume piece, while Robert I. Lubin and Stephen Orgel disagree on the basis that the ideal of aristocratic womanhood was more boyish than curvaceous, and therefore prosthetic breasts would not have been necessary to evoke a female body at this time. It is not of interest to this chapter whether prosthetics were used to create this scene; rather I am attentive to the representation of femininity on stage, and what it signifies in relationship to the body of the boy actor.

30. See Geoffrey Bullough, ed., *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, vol. 5 (New York City: Columbia University Press, 1964).
31. Peter Stallybrass, "Transvestism and the 'body beneath': speculating on the boy actor," in *Erotic Politics: Desire on the Renaissance Stage*, ed. Susan Zimmerman (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), 71.
32. Phyllis Rankin, "Shakespeare's Boy Cleopatra, the Decorum of Nature, and the Golden World of Poetry," *PMLA* 87:2 (1972): 207.

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Afterword

This book emerged from a discussion about the lack of a concentrated study on queens and queenship in Shakespeare's works. It was Professor Carole Levin who suggested that the two of us join forces to achieve what we originally thought would be a typical edited volume on Shakespeare. Over sixty proposals later we realized that this was a topic that not only we had been thinking about, but that represents some of the most current and timely threads of research. The resulting efforts are twenty-five well-organized, highly researched chapters that will shape the way queens in Shakespeare are written about hereafter.

We realize that a collection such as this one can in no way be comprehensive, but we do believe that its length and breadth make it a significant starting point for future studies on queens, queenship, and early modern theater. We are aware that the chapters included will not be satisfactory to all readers. Our choice, for instance, to include several essays on Margaret of Anjou speaks to the recent upsurge in historical and literary studies that highlight her fascinating and contradictory role in shaping conceptions of queenship in late medieval and early modern England. We also acknowledge that only a few chapters address Shakespeare's later plays. To that point, we envision that this volume will inspire more essays and studies on queens and Shakespeare, especially as relates to intertextuality, not only among plays and performances but also in other written, printed, and performed adaptations and transformations.[1] We hope that our curation, by topic rather than play genre or cycle, will inspire future studies of literary queens to look beyond traditional methods of analysis and embrace a more interdisciplinary approach.

Finally, we ask that any omissions do not detract from the volume as a whole, as it embodies an excellent collection of research and analysis from scholars across the globe.

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Note

1. See, for instance, the increasing interest in Shakespeare adaptation studies, beginning with Douglas Lanier's *Shakespeare and Popular Culture* (Oxford, 2002) and including more recent contributions such as Kevin Wetmore and Adam Hansen, *Shakespearean Echoes* (2015) and Kavita Mudan Finn's work on Shakespeare and online fan culture in *Shakespeare* (2016), *Critical Survey* (2016), and *The Journal of Fandom Studies* (2017).

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[1] Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.

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