

The
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A Shakespeare Journal



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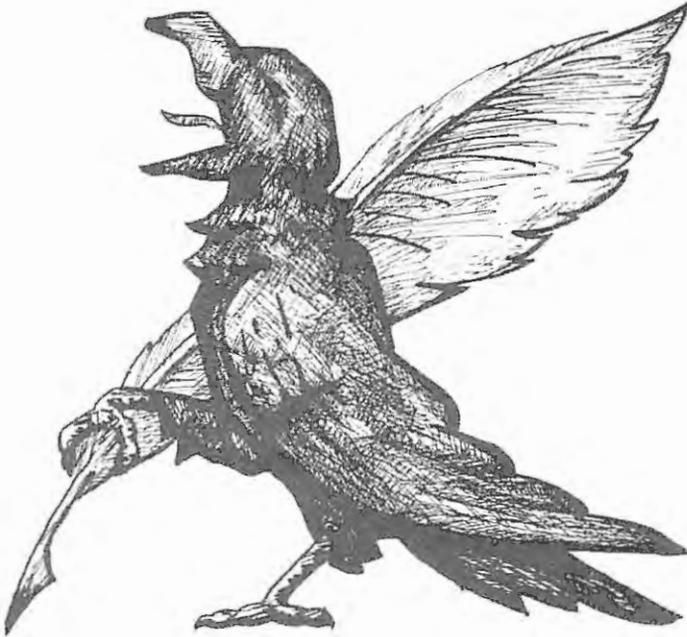
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Dear Readers,

Welcome to Volume XXX (2011), an open issue featuring new Shakespeare scholarship, compelling performance reviews, and an impressive book review section.

The issue boasts three strong essays which shed light on previously neglected religious, economic, political, and martial dimensions of several of Shakespeare's plays. Maurice Hunt's "Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* and 'the pregnant enemy': The Devil in *What You Will*" closely investigates allusions to the devil in connection with both Viola and Malvolio, arguing that Viola's role is ultimately to play the redeemer, not the devil, and uncovering new details about Shakespeare's allusions to the Annunciation. Unhae Langis's contribution is also concerned with religious identities. "Usury and Political Friendship in *The Merchant of Venice*" argues that Christian hypocrisy in the play is contextualized by the English moneylenders for whom Shylock stands in and is scapegoated. Shylock emerges in Langis's analysis as a figure who, far from embodying corrupt usury, figures England's "emerging mercantilism." Donald R. Riccomini's "Governance and the Warrior Ethic in *Macbeth* and *Henry V*" likewise illuminates a transitional period, in this case in the relation between the individual soldier and governing powers. By tracing important changes in how Shakespeare's soldiers conceive of their formal and ethical responsibilities, Riccomini's essay offers a new way to understand the passage from feudalism to statism.

Our performance reviews once again survey many of the major venues for Shakespearean theater. With consummate rigor and good humor, our reviewers tackle, variously, the 2011 season at London's Globe Theatre, the 2010 season of the Oregon Shakespeare Festival, *Julius Caesar* at the 2011 Alabama Shakespeare Festival, and four productions, treated in two separate reviews, from Canada's Stratford Festival.

I am especially excited about our book review section for this issue, spearheaded by our new book review editor, Will Stockton. Professor Stockton joined the Clemson faculty in 2010. He is the author of *Playing Dirty: Sexuality and Waste in Early Modern Comedy* (University of Minnesota Press, 2011) and the co-editor, with Vin Nardizzi and Stephen Guy-Bray, of *Queer Renaissance Historiography: Backward Gaze* (Ashgate, 2009). He has brought his considerable scholarly accomplishment and acumen to bear on selecting some of the most influential and provocative new works in Shakespeare studies and persuading a number of respected scholars in the field to write reviews of them. The result, I hope you'll agree, is wonderful reading.

We look forward to our 2012 issue on "Shakespeare's Female Icons," guest edited by Professor Francesca Royster of DePaul University, and to developing more issues on innovative topics in the years to come. Thank you for your support of *The Upstart Crow*.

Elizabeth Rivlin
Editor

SHAKESPEARE'S *TWELFTH NIGHT* AND "THE PREGNANT ENEMY":
THE DEVIL IN *WHAT YOU WILL*

Maurice Hunt, *Baylor University*

The devil is mentioned at least twenty times in Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*,¹ a not surprising frequency, perhaps, when one considers the festive reputation this comedy has enjoyed. One might think that festivity would not easily welcome the devil. But many of the diabolical allusions in this middle comedy treated in the last chapter of C. L. Barber's influential *Shakespeare's Festive Comedy* belie this assumption.² Lighthearted, or casual, references to the devil could be said to punctuate the Mardi Gras-like atmosphere of Countess Olivia's household, one reminiscent of religious and social inversions and revelry of the eve before the Feast of the Epiphany. According to Barber, these indulgences entail a movement through release to the clarification of values usually threatened by social tensions.³ "Let him be the devil an he will, I care not" (1.5.124), beery Sir Toby says in a festive spirit concerning Viola/Cesario at Olivia's gate.⁴ In a similar vein, he tells Maria that he will follow her "[t]o the gates of Tartar, thou most excellent devil of wit" (2.5.199-200). But more clearly serious allusions to the devil in *Twelfth Night*—one in particular upon which I focus in this essay—are not easily accommodated to the festive atmosphere of the play described by Leslie Hotson, John Hollander, Chris Hassel, and others associated with Barber's argument (even though a few may have preceded it).⁵ Some commentators have qualified Barber's argument. François Laroque has remarked that *Twelfth Night* "contains very few allusions to the particular rites that marked the celebration of the end of the twelve-day [Christmas] festival, although the whole comedy is certainly bathed in a generally festive—albeit rather woeful—atmosphere."⁶ And Leah Marcus has pointed out that "Barber's model of a carnival season giving way to Lent . . . is based on continental examples."⁷ "Popular carnival as [Barber] describes it was as a rule not celebrated in Britain, though Shrove Tuesday itself was sometimes the occasion for feasting, drinking and rioting by apprentices."⁸ The seriousness of several devil allusions in this comedy coheres with the anti-festive shadows often cast across the play. Thad Logan, Dale Priest, and John Astington, among others, have described elements of "the dark side of the carnival world" in *Twelfth Night*.⁹

The memorable, and the most puzzling, of the apparently serious references to the devil in *Twelfth Night* occurs when Viola, disguised as the male page Cesario, realizes that Olivia has fallen in love with "him" and exclaims: "Disguise, I see thou art a wickedness, / Wherein the pregnant enemy does much" (2.2.27-28). "How will this fadge?" she asks herself.

My master [Orsino] loves her dearly,
And I, poor monster, fond as much on him,
And she, mistaken, seems to dote on me. (2.2.33-35)

Keir Elam, the editor of the recent Arden Shakespeare *Twelfth Night*, glosses the phrase “pregnant enemy” as “the devil, or as [Samuel] Johnson puts it, ‘the dexterous fiend, or enemy of mankind’: *pregnant* here means ‘ready,’ ‘receptive’ (*OED* *a.3d*).”¹⁰ Almost all post-eighteenth-century editors have essentially adopted this interpretation.¹¹ Supporting it, but rarely mentioned, is a phrase in Feste’s admonition to the supposedly demon-possessed Malvolio: “What, man, defy the devil! Consider, he’s *an enemy to mankind*” (3.4.94-95, my italics). Editors gloss the word “pregnant” as “ready,” “receptive,” or a variant such as “inclined” because the word bears this meaning in other Shakespeare plays. Hamlet speaks of courtiers who “crook the pregnant hinges of the knee” (3.2.54); Edgar in *King Lear* says he is “pregnant to good pity” (4.6.218); and the Chorus Gower in *Pericles* explains that Dionyza has “the pregnant instrument of wrath / Pressed for [a] blow” (Scene 15, 44-45).

The *OED* usage of “pregnant” that Elam cites, which reads “[a]pt to receive or be influenced; receptive; disposed; inclined; ready,” classifies it as “Obs. (chiefly in Shaks.).” No citations of the word in this obsolete sense appear before those taken from Shakespeare’s plays. The only other *OED* quotation of this usage is taken from a 1628 sermon by John Donne. Interestingly, the *OED* does not list Viola’s utterance about “the pregnant enemy” as illustrative of this rather idiosyncratic usage. Instead, it lists another speech of Viola’s, wherein she tells Olivia that her “matter” has no “voice” “but to your own most pregnant and vouchsafed ear” (3.1.86-87). Ironically, it is this later usage of “pregnant,” which identifies a motif in *Twelfth Night* involving pregnancy in its common gynecological sense, current in Shakespeare’s day,¹² that prompts my reading of “the pregnant enemy” of humankind—the devil—as capable of conceiving and delivering issue, usually of a monstrous kind.

The evidence for this reading of the devil’s capacity during the Renaissance is considerable. The Italian Cardinal Robert Bellarmine, a champion of the Catholic Counter-Reformation well-known in England (and to whose writings on the oaths of supremacy and allegiance to Queen Elizabeth and King James Shakespeare in *Cymbeline* may have been responding)¹³ had asserted that “‘the Antichrist will be born of the devil and a woman, in the same manner as those who are said to be born by incubus devils,’ evidence for whose activities could be found in St. Augustine: ‘For [the devil] . . . is well able, having assumed in body the form of a woman, to engage with a man in the carnal act and to receive seed, and then in the very same way to engage in the like act with a woman, cast the seed received from the man into the woman’s womb and so bring forth a man by this means.’”¹⁴ Nothing in *Twelfth Night*, of course, is this perverse or grotesque. But Bellarmine leads us to John Milton, who in turn will lead us to a biblical passage that will bring us back to Shakespeare’s comedy and to the notion of a devil pregnant with child. Bellarmine adumbrates the incestuous nature of the devil’s pregnancy that Milton would stress in Book 2 of *Paradise Lost*. There, Sin tells of her birth from the left side of Lucifer’s head, and then recounts how he, enamored of the image of himself that he saw in his daughter, copulated with her, “till [her] womb / Pregnant by [Satan]” delivered their son, Death. This offspring raped his mother, producing the “yelling Monsters” who endlessly creep back into her womb to be born again (*PL* 2.746-810, esp. 778-79, 795).¹⁵ Kent Lehnhof has explained the centrality of this genealogy to *Paradise Lost* as a whole. “Using his mouth

as an instrument of generation, Satan impregnates Eve through her ear, causing her to conceive . . . 'a Woful Race' subject to Sin, Death, and Satan (*PL* 10.984).¹⁶ God rectifies this incestuous act, Lehnhof claims, by having the Virgin Mary, the Second Eve, conceive the Christ child through divine spirit entering her ear (more on this process of the Annunciation below). Milton's account of Sin's birth partly derives from the Classical myth of the goddess Athena's birth from Zeus's head, but it also stems from some verses in the Bible: James 1:13-15: "Let no man say when he is tempted, I am tempted of God: for God can not be tempted with euil, nether tempteth he any man. But euerie man is tempted, when he is drawne away by his owne concupiscence, and is enticed. Then when lust hath conceiued, it bringeth forth the sinne, and sinne when it is finished [full-grown], bringeth forth the death."¹⁷

The marginal gloss on this passage in *The Geneva Bible* explains that James focuses upon "inwarde temptations," those involving "disordered appetites" by which a person tempts him- or herself as though he or she were a sexual object. The result is the engendering and birth of sin within the self. Angelo in Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* refers to this process when he says that "in [his] heart" he feels "the strong and swelling euil of [his] conception" (2.4.6-7). By the word "conception," he means not so much his foul imagination of Isabella as his self-conceiving of sin and the "swelling" pregnancy of evil in the womb of his heart. Angelo almost immediately associates this self-impregnation with the devil. "Let's write 'good angel' on the devil's horn— / 'Tis now the devil's crest" (2.4.16-17), he exclaims. As his pun upon his name indicates, Angelo conflates himself with the devil at this moment. The same process, illuminated by the passage from James, occurs within Iago in *Othello*. Shakespeare repeatedly associates Iago with the devil in this tragedy, e.g., 1.1.155, 2.3.325-27, and 5.2.292-94. "It is engendered," Iago exclaims—with reference to his mind—conceiving his plot to get Othello to believe that Desdemona commits adultery with Cassio. "Hell and night / Must bring this monstrous birth to the world's light" (1.3.385-86). Whether auditors regard this "monstrous birth" as an issue involving miscegenation, race, or homosexuality (3.3.418-31)—or all of these plus others, Iago introduces the subject of diabolical parthenogenesis into *Othello*.¹⁸

Iago has proved a pregnant devil, a tragic counterpart to "the pregnant enemy" in *Twelfth Night*. How and why the devil proves non-threatening in keeping with the comedy of this play becomes the subject of the rest of this essay. The answer involves the Annunciation. Shakespeare alludes to the Annunciation in the following dialogue:

OLIVIA. Sure you have some hideous matter to deliver when the courtesy of it is so fearful. Speak your office.

VIOLA. It alone concerns your ear. I bring no overture of war, no taxation of homage. I hold the olive in my hand: my words are as full of peace as matter.

OLIVIA. Yet you began rudely. What are you? What would you?

VIOLA. The rudeness that hath appeared in me have I learned from my entertainment. What I am and what I would are as secret as maidenhead: to your ears, divinity; to any other's, profanation.

OLIVIA. [to Maria and Attendants] Give us the place alone, we will hear this divinity. (1.5.201-13)

The key detail justifying the interpretation of this dialogue in terms of the Annunciation involves the olive branch which Viola may literally—but likely figuratively—hold in her hand. Medieval and Renaissance painters of the Annunciation sometimes depicted the Archangel Gabriel presenting an olive branch rather than a lily stalk to the Virgin Mary, who was about to hear that God had chosen her to conceive and bear the Christ child.¹⁹ As an icon in paintings of the Annunciation, the olive conveys the peacefulness of Gabriel's visit as well as the ultimate peace promised by the Savior whom Mary would bear.

When Mary saw the angel Gabriel, according to Luke, "she was troubled at his saying, & thought what manner of salutation that shulde be" (1:29). Likewise, as a messenger, Viola/Gabriel appears to have "some hideous matter" to deliver to an anxious virgin who is called "madonna" nine times in *Twelfth Night*: Olivia. Many Renaissance artists, including Leonardo da Vinci, rendered the Annunciation as occurring in a garden, the *hortus conclusus* signifying Mary's virginity. "Let the garden door be shut and leave me to my hearing" (3.1.90-91), Olivia commands at the beginning of Viola's second visit. Gabriel's purpose involved telling Mary, "thou shalt conceiue in thy wombe, and beare a sonne, and shalt call his name Iesvs" (Luke 1:31). Viola's message that "alone concerns [Olivia's] ear" pertains to Orsino's wooing of the lady, a plea which, if granted, would result in marriage and (presumably) conception and childbirth. When Mary, betrothed to Joseph, questions how a virgin can conceive, Gabriel simply states, "The holie Gost shal come vpon thee, & the power of the most High shal ouersadowe thee" (Luke 1:35). The Fathers of the Church, however, were more specific about the virgin conception. In their sermons, both Saint Augustine and Saint Bernard developed the idea of *conceptio per aurem*—conception through Mary's ear. "*Deus per angelum loquebatur, et virgo auribus impregnabatur*," Augustine wrote in an appendix to a sermon titled "*In Natali Domini*." "God spoke through an angel, and a virgin was impregnated through her ears."²⁰ For many of the Church Fathers, including Saints Agobard, Proclus, Ephrem of Syria, and Ruffinus of Aquileia,²¹ Gabriel's word became the vehicle for the Holy Ghost, entering Mary's ear and eventually her womb. Kent Lehnhof notes, concerning the Annunciation, that "the Breviary of the Maronites proclaims: 'The Father's Word entered through the ear of the Blessed One' and that a hymn believed to have been written by either Thomas à Becket or St. Bonaventure intones: 'Rejoice Virgin, Mother of Christ, / Who conceived by the ear, / By Gabriel's message.'"²² In medieval and Renaissance paintings of the Annunciation, such as those of Simone Martini, Filippo Lippi in the Florentine convent of San Marco, Gaddi in the Santa Maria Novella, and Benozzo Gozzoli in the Pisan Campo Santa,²³ the inseminating vehicle was usually represented by a beam of bright light, in the midst of which almost always a dove (but sometimes an embryonic Christ-child) could be seen, descending from heaven and narrowing onto Mary's ear as she was seated in her garden listening to Gabriel.²⁴

In Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night*, the "divinity" that Viola has for Olivia's ear is of course Orsino's love suit. And yet Shakespeare alludes to the Annunciation through

their dialogue. This allusion resonates in Viola's characterization of Olivia's "most pregnant and vouchsafed ear" (3.1.87). Considered in this context, the adjective "pregnant" means more than "ready" or "receptive." It provokes recollection of the Immaculate Conception—the conception of Mary without any stain of original sin—a doctrine that amounts to the remedy for the devil's self-impregnation and birth of sin, potentially for every man and woman inwardly emulating this self-destructive process. (A remedy not only in the sense of Christ's conception but also in the sense that sinless Mary may be the effective intercessor with God on humankind's behalf.) *Twelfth Night* points toward, indeed prepares for, Twelfth Day, the Feast of the Epiphany, which celebrates the moment in the Nativity when Christ's divinity became apparent. But what about Shakespeare's play itself? Does the association of the devil and pregnancy figure in the representation of any character of *Twelfth Night*?

Maria asserts that Olivia's steward Malvolio is "a kind of Puritan," but goes on to say that "[t]he devil a Puritan that he is, or anything constantly but a time-pleaser; an affectioned ass that cons state without book and utters it by great swathes" (2.3.142-44). According to Maria, Malvolio is an opportunist with Puritan traits. Commentators on the play have shown that these traits are many, involving Malvolio's anti-festive nature; precision in matters of conduct; somber, pretentious Latinate diction; self-righteousness; and hostility to bear-baiting. Maria's utterance—"the devil a Puritan that he is"—seems to be a declarative statement when Malvolio conforms so closely to the stereotypes of the stage Puritan.²⁵ As such, she says in effect that Malvolio is the devil. When Feste says farewell to Malvolio at the end of act 4, scene 2, he says, "Adieu, goodman devil" (4.2.128), a phrase in which the word "goodman" amounts to a stereotypical synonym for the righteous Puritan. "Puritan devil" is Feste's accusation. William Holden and Paul Siegel have documented early modern English playwrights' stereotyping of the Puritan as a devil, apparently with the approval of a significant number of mainline and conservative Protestant playgoers.²⁶ Harold Fisch has remarked that "'the Devil is a Puritan' had become [an English] cant phrase" during the latter sixteenth century.²⁷ To Olivia, Malvolio and the devil become synonymous when his behavior toward her, cross-gartered in yellow stockings, conforming to the details of the letter she supposedly sent to him, causes her to think that he is mad, devil-possessed. Sir Toby, Feste, and the other characters whom Malvolio has antagonized capitalize on Olivia's opinion by referring to the devil many times when taunting him confined in a dark room, e.g., 3.4.81-83, 88, 94-95, 107-8, 112-14. "La you, an you speak ill of the devil, how he takes it at heart" (3.4.97-98), Maria concludes.

Stephen Greenblatt has stressed the fraudulent nature of Malvolio's exorcism in *Twelfth Night*, concluding that Shakespeare in this play and in *King Lear* emptied the Elizabethan belief in devil possession and exorcism of its value.²⁸ But Greenblatt seems to miss the point here. Malvolio's sin was Lucifer's, overweening ambition, in this case, to be in effect a count through a loveless marriage to Olivia. To realize his ambition, the "sane" Malvolio's bizarre behavior appears as "mad" as any madman's—and as devil-possessed as that of any Elizabethan madman.²⁹ The following dialogue suggests one of his odder actions. When Malvolio quotes phrases from Maria's letter to Olivia—"Be not afraid of greatness," "Some are born great," "Some

achieve greatness” (3.4.37, 39, 41)—she of course has no idea of what he is referring to. His final quotation—“Some have greatness thrust upon them” (3.4.43)—causes her fearfully to exclaim, “Heaven restore thee!” (3.4.44). Her cry suggests that Malvolio has accompanied his utterance with a gesture. In Shakespeare’s time, the word “greatness” could connote “pregnancy.” In his *Thesaurus* (1565), Thomas Cooper had defined *gravidas* (pregnancy) as “greatnesse with childe, or with yonge.”³⁰ Malvolio’s behavior in stepping closer to Olivia, thrusting forth his hips as he pronounces that “[s]ome have greatness thrust upon them,” constitutes in her mind a sexual advance.³¹ Malvolio’s ambition for a moment gets the better of his autoeroticism and he shows Olivia how he would physically requite her supposed passion for him.

Malvolio thus convinces her that he is devil-possessed by enacting one of the devil’s defining traits: his impregnation of witches and other women he victimizes. “My body shall / Pay recompense if you will grant my suit” (5.3.18-19), Joan la Pucelle in Shakespeare’s *1 Henry VI* tells the Fiends whom she has conjured but who now threaten to abandon her. And Prospero in *The Tempest* asserts that Caliban was begotten “by the devil himself / Upon [his] wicked dam,” Sycorax (1.2.322-23). James Sharpe has described the extent of the early modern English belief in the sexual congress between devils and women.³² It is the threat of the “devil” Malvolio as impregnator, as instigator of forbidden sexual relations, that provides the link with the devilish sexual effect of Viola’s costuming herself as the male Cesario.

When Viola says, “Disguise, I see thou art a wickedness, / Wherein the pregnant enemy does much,” Shakespeare introduces into *Twelfth Night* one of the few critical references in the canon to the transvestite theatrical convention upon which he depended for a living, boys playing female roles on the early modern English stage. Moreover, Viola casts her criticism in the very terms that Puritans had used in their campaign to end playing in London and elsewhere—that the devil was behind actors’ disguising themselves, notably their disguising themselves as women. Robert Kimbrough believes that Shakespeare was mocking the Puritans’ opinion in Viola’s remark about the wickedness of disguise,³³ but their threat of theater closure was real and Viola appears genuinely distressed.³⁴ Keir Elam notes that Viola’s “allusion to the devil [in the above-quoted verses] implicitly compares her transvestism to Satan’s disguising himself as a serpent in Genesis.”³⁵ Satan might plausibly be thought of as the original actor. Jonas Barish has shown how early Christians such as Tertullian and Saint Augustine assumed that the theater had diabolical origins, and that the devil used theatrical spectacles to enslave audiences.³⁶ Such opinions derived partly from the belief that the Enemy had invented disguise. Stephen Gosson had written in *Plays Confuted in Five Actions* (1582), the principal Puritan anti-theatrical tract of Shakespeare’s age, “[t]hat Stage Playes are the doctrine and inuention of the Deuill, may bee gathered by Tertullian, who noteth verie well that the Deuill foressenge the ruine of his kingdom, both inuented these shewes, and inspired men with deuises to set them out the better thereby to enlarge his dominion and pull vs from God.”³⁷ Dramatic transvestism was an abomination, according to the Puritans, because it stimulated playgoers to feel lustful desire, notably homosexual desire.³⁸ Gosson had written “that in Stage Playes for a boy to put one the attyre, the gesture, the passions of woman . . . is by outwarde signes to shewe [himself] otherwise then [he is]. . . . The diuel is not igno-

rant how mightely these outward spectacles effeminate, & soften ye hearts of men, vice is learned with beholding, sense is tickled, desire pricked, and those impressions of mind are secretly conueyed ouer to ye gazers, which ye plaiers do counterfeit on ye stage."³⁹ The devil is not ignorant of how much transvestite spectacles supposedly corrupt because he is, by many accounts, the creator of both disguise and the theater.

Viola implies that her male disguise has been diabolical in provoking within Olivia a passion for a woman. She believes that Olivia's passion is to some degree diabolical because same-sex. In this sense, her complaint resembles that of a narrow, anti-theatrical Puritan. Her belief that she provokes an unorthodox passion is one reason she calls herself a "monster":⁴⁰

..... My master loves her dearly,
And I, poor monster, fond as much on him,
And she, mistaken, seems to dote on me. (2.2.33-35)

Shakespeare underscores Viola's association of herself and the devil by having characters in the play call her a devil. Hearing that a young gentleman at the gate—Cesario—wishes to speak to Olivia, Sir Toby says, "Let him be the devil an he will, I care not. Give me faith, say I" (1.5.124-25). Keir Elam notes that Toby "may allude playfully to the Protestant doctrine whereby man is justified by grace through faith, as opposed to works."⁴¹ Toby may thus be saying "I'm on the side of *faith* (not the [Roman Catholic] *devil*),"⁴² but the seriousness of Viola's comparison of her misleading transvestism to the devil's malevolent use of disguise undercuts the playfulness of Toby's words. Considered in my argument's context, Sir Toby's remark appears not as casual as initially supposed. "Fare thee well," Olivia tells Cesario/Viola as she falls deeper in love with him/her: "A fiend like thee might bear my soul to hell" (3.4.211-12). "Why, man, he's a very devil" (3.4.267), Sir Toby tells Sir Andrew concerning Cesario as he plots the duel between the two. "I have persuaded [Andrew] the youth's a devil" (3.4.285), Olivia's uncle tells Fabian. "This shall end without the perdition of souls" (3.4.281-82), Sir Toby tells Andrew at one point. But only the intervention of Antonio to abort the duel assures that outcome. Until that epiphany of manliness occurs, the fatal possibility of the duel persists: a potential ironically supported by Sir Toby's characterization of Viola as a devil. Later, Sir Andrew says of Cesario (actually Sebastian), "We took him for a coward, but he's the very devil incarnate" (5.1.176-77).

Antonio gives playgoers the key to understanding why Viola disguised as Cesario can never be a devilish "monster." Antonio, thinking that Viola/Cesario is Sebastian, and angered that his supposed friend will not give him back all the money he has given him so that he might bail himself, moralizes:

Thou hast, Sebastian, done good feature shame.
In nature there's no blemish but the mind:
None can be called deformed but the unkind.
Virtue is beauty, but the beauteous evil
Are empty trunks o'erflourished by the devil. (3.4.363-67)

Once more Viola is associated with the devil, even if indirectly. Antonio's judgment about the treachery of deceptive appearance resembles Viola's earlier conclusion about the devilish effects of costuming. True to Platonic doctrine, Viola's beauty however has honestly expressed her goodness. Only unkind persons—not so much the unnatural as the unsympathetic, the unempathetic—make up the deformed in society.⁴³ Naturally disposed in her affections, sympathetic, pitying others such as Olivia—Viola can never be a “monster” even though she seems a hybrid of genders in her disguise. Phyllis Rackin has concluded that “without the illusion (Viola's disguise as a boy), the right characters would not have fallen in love; without the reality of Sebastian, they would not have married.”⁴⁴ In the sense that her transvestite disguise precisely represents the enabling reality named Sebastian, it cannot be thought of as a monstrosity. When they play such educative roles as Viola does, boys disguised as young women disguised as young men on the early modern English stage were anything but the monsters godly Protestants wanted to believe they were. If Orsino in act 2, scene 4 had thought he was confiding his innermost beliefs about love to a woman rather than a young man, he would never have revealed to her his chauvinistic assumptions about the superiority of men's love for women and given her the opportunity (as a male) to inform him of the truth and patience women are capable of in affairs of the heart. To the considerable degree that the dramatic transvestism of Shakespeare's theater promotes these conclusions in other plays, the playwright has included in *Twelfth Night* a subtle defense of his craft.

What, in conclusion, is the significance in *Twelfth Night* of the motif that develops out of Viola's allusion to the “pregnant enemy” of humankind? It certainly provides a new perspective on Malvolio's role in the play. When Olivia associates her steward's possession by the devil with the sexual threat she imagines he poses by gesturing the “greatness” he would thrust upon her, she makes this character relevant for the broader analysis of the relationship between disguise, the devil, and sexuality. More important, my argument gives deep value to the motif of the Annunciation also introduced into the play by Viola's language. Many commentators, notably Barbara Lewalski, have explained that Shakespeare incorporates in *Twelfth Night* values associated with the Feast of the Epiphany, observed on January 6th: the day after the end of Christmastide.⁴⁵ This holy feast day commemorates the moment when the Christ child's divinity manifested itself to the Magi. Antonio's profound love for Sebastian in *Twelfth Night* suggests that Viola's twin qualifies for a redeemer's role in the play's world, suddenly manifesting himself to all so that relationships might be set right.⁴⁶ Confronted by Viola's fear that he may be a diabolical spirit come to frighten her, Sebastian replies,

A spirit I am indeed,
But am in that dimension grossly clad
Which from the womb I did participate. (5.1.232-34)

Referring to his Christian soul, Sebastian formulates his reassuring answer so as to remind playgoers of the Nativity, of the incarnation of the primordial soul in human flesh and of the possibility of salvation. Such a reminder is appropriate for a play

incorporating the several values of the Epiphany mentioned by Shakespeare commentators. Allusion to the Annunciation in *Twelfth Night* and thus to the purity of Christ's conception prepares for epiphany allusions at play's end. Shakespeare gives meaning to these religious references by reference to an antithesis: the devil's various blasphemous impregnations, including that of himself.

This dramatic effect extends to another religious feast day in the sixteenth-century English church year. Chris Hassel has documented the performances of certain Shakespeare plays on important dates in the Church of England calendar and explained the relevance of elements in these plays for particular spiritual observances. He notes that "*Twelfth Night* was at least twice performed on Candlemas, 2 February, once at the Middle Temple and once at court."⁴⁷ The focus of Candlemas was the Purification of the Virgin Mary. According to Mosaic law, women who had delivered a child were released from home confinement after a specified number of days had elapsed. After humbly sacrificing to God at church, they were declared pure of any taint. Mary came to the ceremony of purification because she desired to honor God according to religious precepts. Thus the Annunciation, as was true at Epiphany, was also indirectly celebrated at Candlemas. Some might think that the indirectness of Viola's allusion to the Annunciation, and the fact that it occurs in a comedy preoccupied with misrule, suggest that Shakespeare was satirizing a Roman Catholic "idolatrous" event. But the Protestant Church of England had made both Epiphany and Candlemas two of its principal feasts, the first indirectly and the second directly honoring Mary, and so Shakespeare writes a comedy associated with these feasts through its emphasis upon the importance of pure conception, gestation, and birth.⁴⁸

References in *Twelfth Night* to the impregnating and impregnated devil by contrast stress the sanctity—or at least the normalcy—of the marriages concluding the play. Viola's taking upon her self a "forbidden" male role traditionally associated with the devil makes possible two marriages in *Twelfth Night*. It is in this context, and that of the previous paragraph, that Viola's disguise divests itself of association with the devil. Viola has implied earlier that at least in Olivia's marriage, the husband's impregnation of his wife and her delivery of a child will—in the spirit of Shakespeare's early sonnets (e.g., 1, 2, 3, 6, 10)—distill and preserve the parents' beauty. "Lady, you are the cruell'st she alive," Viola tells Olivia, "If you will lead [your] graces to the grave / And leave the world no copy" (1.5.233-35). In other words, Orsino's and Olivia's begetting a child will constitute the natural rather than the artistic route to the individual's eternity. This would be true for Olivia's late-act marriage to Sebastian. A marriage to relatively selfless Viola bodes well for Orsino's getting outside himself, spending his virtues rather than hoarding them narcissistically. Getting outside oneself is, after all, what Viola is preeminently capable of doing. It bodes well, that is, if Malvolio can be convinced to negotiate his lawsuit against the jailed Captain who has Viola's female attire in a locked chest, the "women's weeds" in which Orsino playfully says he must see Viola before he weds her (5.1.268-69, 373-81). Surely commentators who assume that Orsino will never marry Viola if he cannot see her in women's clothes are unaware of the playful tone by which Orsino in performance usually delivers his sartorial requirement. Michael Shapiro remarks that Viola, at the end of *Twelfth Night*, "remains in male attire [and] is still referred

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to as 'boy' by Orsino—either out of habit or with self-conscious irony or possibly both, seriatim.” “In the absence of an epilogue, the audience’s final impression of Viola,” Shapiro asserts, “includes her still contending with disguise as ‘a wickedness.’”⁴⁹ This judgment and similar ones overlook the agency of Viola’s disguise in enabling Orsino and Olivia to love and match themselves in a relatively healthy way. This accomplishment, along with others, suggests to directors the playful tone of Orsino’s play-ending speech.

Notes

1. Thad Jenkins Logan counts twenty-five references to devilry in the play. Thad Jenkins Logan, “*Twelfth Night*: the Limits of Festivity,” *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 22 (1982): 230.
2. C. L. Barber, *Shakespeare’s Festive Comedy: A Study in Dramatic Form and Its Relation to Social Custom* (1959; Cleveland and New York: Meridian, 1963), 240-61.
3. Barber, 242. Leah S. Marcus notes that “*Twelfth Night* . . . marked the official end of the Christmas season—a final chance to cram in one last bit of drinking and jollity before the holiday was over.” Leah S. Marcus, “Shakespeare and Popular Festivity,” *Shakespeare and Elizabethan Popular Culture*, ed. Stuart Gillespie and Neil Rhodes, *The Arden Critical Companions* (London: Thomson Learning, 2006), 52.
4. William Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night, or What You Will*, ed. Keir Elam, *The Arden Shakespeare Third series* (London: Cengage Learning, 2008), 210. All subsequent citations of the play are taken from this edition. Citations of other Shakespeare plays are taken from William Shakespeare, *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al., 2nd ed. (New York: Norton, 2008).
5. Leslie Hotson, *The First Night of Twelfth Night* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1954); John Hollander, “*Twelfth Night* and the Morality of Indulgence,” *The Sewanee Review* 67 (1959): 220-38; R. Chris Hassel, Jr., *Faith and Folly in Shakespeare’s Romantic Comedies* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1966), 149-75. The only commentator to take seriously the repeated allusions to the devil in *Twelfth Night* is Nancy K. Hayles, “Sexual Disguise in *As You Like It* and *Twelfth Night*,” *Shakespeare Survey* 32 (1979): 63-72, esp. 68-69.
6. François Laroque, *Shakespeare’s Festive World*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 227.
7. Marcus, 47.
8. Marcus, 47-48.
9. The phrase is from Logan, 224. See also Dale G. Priest, “‘Or Else This is a Dream’: Ambivalence and Madness in *Twelfth Night*,” *CLA Journal* 34 (1990-1991): 371-83; John Astington, “Malvolio and the Eunuchs: Texts and Revels in *Twelfth Night*,” *Shakespeare Survey* 46 (1993): 23-34. Priest, 372-73, and Logan, 229-30, describe Feste’s anti-festive remarks and behavior. Logan notes that “[a]mong all Shakespeare’s comedies, it is only in *Twelfth Night* and in *As You Like It* that there is literally blood on the stage” (227). Astington is particularly good on *Twelfth Night*’s “festive violence” (28-32). Although he overstated the case, Jan Kott provided a basis for the challenge to Barber’s view of the play. Jan Kott, *Shakespeare Our Contemporary*, trans. Boleslaw Taborski (1964; New York: Norton, 1974), 237-46. Linda Woodbridge argues that this play “is closer to being a corrective comedy than a festive comedy, that . . . it takes a good-natured look at excessive behaviour . . . with a view to suggesting . . . how excess can be curbed to achieve a happy life of moderation.” Linda Woodbridge, “Fire in Your Heart and Brimstone in Your Liver’: Towards an Unsaturnalian *Twelfth Night*,” *The Southern Review* 17 (1984): 270.
10. Elam, 210.

11. Elizabeth Story Donno, the editor of the New Cambridge Shakespeare *Twelfth Night* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), glosses the phrase "pregnant enemy" as the "ready foe. Perhaps Cupid, perhaps the devil—the two perhaps not differentiated at this point" (72). Only a few editors deviate from Johnson's reading.
12. Elizabeth Sacks notes that "[t]he *OED* quotes the earliest occurrence of 'pregnant' meaning 'with child' at around 1545." Elizabeth Sacks, *Shakespeare's Images of Pregnancy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980), 44.
13. So powerful were blows to Reformation Protestantism from Bellarmine's eleven-volume *Disputationes de controversiis christianae fidei*, which systematizes contemporary religious disputes, that special chairs in England were created to respond directly to it. Bellarmine twice corresponded directly with King James over the legality of his 1606 Oath of Allegiance. Donna B. Hamilton notes that "Bellarmine had also made a point of claiming that [Queen] Elizabeth's having been called the 'governor' of the church instead of the 'head' meant that she had less power over the church than had Henry VIII and Edward VI." Donna B. Hamilton, *Shakespeare and the Politics of Protestant England* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1992), 146. Hamilton argues that Shakespeare refutes this claim by likening Cloten to the Antichrist and by having Guiderius behead him in *Cymbeline* (146).
14. Quoted by Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 353-54.
15. John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, in *The Riverside Milton*, ed. Roy Flannagan (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 296-710, esp. 403-04.
16. Kent R. Lehnhof, "'Impregnd with Reason': Eve's Aural Conception in *Paradise Lost*," *Milton Studies* 41 (2002): 38-75, esp. 38, 65. Lehnhof moreover asserts that Satan in *Pl.* 5.666, 694-96, 770-71; 6.135 and elsewhere impregnates Beelzebub and the other fallen angels with his tongue (49-50). "After conceiving Satan's evil through the ear, the fallen angels become Satan's children. No longer known as the 'Sons of Heaven' they are identified instead as the 'sons of Darkness' (1.654; 6.715)" (50).
17. *The Geneva Bible: A Facsimile of the 1560 Edition* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 107. All quotations of the Bible are taken from this edition. I am grateful to my Baylor colleague, Professor Phillip Donnelly, for referring me to the passage I quote from the Book of James.
18. This also is the claim of John N. Wall, "Shakespeare's Aural Art: The Metaphor of the Ear in *Othello*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 30 (1979): 358-66, esp. 361-62.
19. For the olive branch as one of Gabriel's symbolic attributes, see Engelbert Kirschbaum, *Lexikon der Christlichen Ikonographie*, 8 vols. (Rome: Herder, 1968-1976), 2:75. Illustrative Annunciations include those by Simone Martini (1333, 1339-42) and Francesco Di Giorgio (1470). James Hall, *Dictionary of Subjects and Symbols in Art* (New York: Harper, 1974), 19.
20. See Jacques Paul Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus*, 221 vols. (Paris: Sirou-Vrayet, 1841-79), 39:1991; 183:399-400; 39:1988 for the quotation.
21. Ernest Jones, "The Madonna's Conception Through the Ear," *Essays in Applied Psycho-analysis*, 2 vols. (London: Hogarth Press, 1951), 2:266-357, esp. 268-69. In addition to the cited Church Fathers, Jones mentions Pope Felix's endorsement of the doctrine of *conceptio per aurem*.
22. Lehnhof, 38-39.
23. Jones, 269-70.
24. Sacks, *Shakespeare's Images of Pregnancy*, 73; Gertrud Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 1 (1966), trans. Janet Seligman (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, 1971), 40-46. Lehnhof remarks that paintings of the Annunciation show the beam of light coming from a variety of sources: God's breast or mouth and Gabriel's mouth or right index finger (39-40). For more

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- on the ideas of the last two paragraphs, see Maurice Hunt, "Twelfth Night and the Annunciation," *Papers on Language and Literature* 25 (1989): 264-71.
25. For Malvolio as the stage Puritan, see Maurice Hunt, *Shakespeare's Religious Allusiveness: Its Play and Tolerance* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2004), 75-77; and G. P. Jones, "Malvolio Flouted and Abused," *English Language Notes* 42.1 (2004): 20-26.
 26. For Elizabethan portrayals of the Puritan as devil, see William P. Holden, *Anti-Puritan Satire 1572-1642*, Yale Studies in English 126 (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1954), 114; and Paul N. Siegel, "Malvolio: Comic Puritan Automaton," *Shakespearean Comedy*, ed. Maurice Charney (New York: New York Literary Forum, 1980), 217-30, esp. 218.
 27. Harold Fisch, "Shakespeare and the Puritan Dynamic," *Shakespeare Survey* 27 (1974): 61-92, esp. 91. Also see Paul N. Siegel, *Shakespeare in his Time and Ours* (Notre Dame, IN: Notre Dame University Press, 1968), 246.
 28. Stephen Greenblatt, "Shakespeare and the Exorcists," *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1988), 94-128, esp. 115-16. For commentary on Greenblatt's opinion, see John Cox, *The Devil and the Sacred in English Drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 154-55; and Phebe Jensen, *Religion and Revelry in Shakespeare's Festive World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 181.
 29. So claims Winfried Schleiner, "The Feste-Malvolio Scene in *Twelfth Night* Against the Background of Renaissance Ideas About Madness and Possession," *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch* (Bochum: Ferdinand Kamp, 1990), 48-57, esp. 48-53.
 30. Cooper's phrases are quoted to support the *OED* definition 1b of "greatness": "a Pregnancy. *Obs.*"
 31. Loreen L. Giese argues that some playgoers "understood the wearing of yellow stockings to signal [adulterous] sexuality." Loreen L. Giese, "Malvolio's Yellow Stockings: Coding Illicit Sexuality in Early Modern London," *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England* 19 (2006): 235.
 32. James Sharpe, *Witchcraft in Early Modern England* (Harlow, UK: Longman, 2001), 12, 59-60, 71. Also see Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1977), 445, 568-69; and Montague Summers, *The History of Witchcraft and Demonology* (1925; New York: Dorset Press, 1987), 89-98.
 33. Robert Kimbrough, "Androgyny Seen Through Shakespeare's Disguise," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 33 (1982): 17-33, esp. 28.
 34. Barbara Hodgdon notes that nineteenth-century editors of *Twelfth Night* "downplay[ed] the potential transgressiveness of Viola's disguise by eliminating her lines about its devilish 'wickedness,' . . . which conflicted with her perceived delicacy of mind." Barbara Hodgdon, "Sexual Disguise and the Theatre of Gender," *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespearean Comedy*, ed. Alexander Leggatt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 188.
 35. Elam, 210.
 36. Jonas Barish, *The Antitheatrical Prejudice* (Berkeley and London: University of California Press, 1981), 49-50, 60-64.
 37. Stephen Gosson, *Plays Confuted in Five Actions, The English Drama and Stage Under the Tudor and Stuart Princes*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt (1869; New York: Burt Franklin, 1964), 157-218, esp. 171.
 38. Puritans invoked Deuteronomy 22:5 in their condemnation of dramatic transvestism: "The woman shal not weare that which pertaineth vnto the man, nether shal a man put on womans raiment; for all that do so, are abominacion vnto the Lord thy God." Also see Barish, 48-49, 89, 90.
 39. Gosson, 213.

40. Disguised Viola has been portrayed as the "monstrous androgynic" of Renaissance iconography by William W. E. Slights, "'Maid' and 'Man' in *Twelfth Night*," *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 80 (1981): 327-48, esp. 343-47.
41. Elam, 192.
42. Elam, 192.
43. The context of Antonio's use of the word "unkind" suggests that it means inwardly rather than physically unnatural. William N. West asserts that in Shakespeare's *Richard III* humpbacked "Richard is repeatedly compared to the devil, both by himself and by others. But his malignance is as significantly privative—he is deformed, deprived of form—as it is diabolic. Richard presents his deformity in language that is almost technically Aristotelian. The diagnosis he and his enemies share is that the matter of which he was made failed to fully receive its form: he is a 'foul indigested lump.'" William N. West, "What's the Matter with Shakespeare?: Physics, Identity, Playing," *South Central Review* 26 1&2 (2009): 117. Given this emphasis, one could say that Richard's physical deformity is as much—or more—a matter of physics as theology.
44. Phyllis Rackin, "Androgyny, Mimesis, and the Marriage of the Boy Heroine on the English Renaissance Stage," *PMLA* 102 (1987): 29-41, esp. 38.
45. Barbara K. Lewalski, "Thematic Patterns in *Twelfth Night*," *Shakespeare Studies* 1 (1965): 168-81, esp. 176-79. Also see R. Chris Hassel, Jr., *Renaissance Drama and the English Church Year* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1979), 77-86.
46. Lewalski concludes that "Sebastian reflects the divine dimension [of Love], pointed up especially in Antonio's language to and about Sebastian: 'I do adore thee so / That danger shall seem sport' . . . and again, 'to his image, which methought did promise / Most venerable worth, did I devotion' . . . and then in disillusionment, 'But, O, how vile an idol proves this god'" (177). Lewalski asserts that in his "final betrothal to Olivia [Sebastian] suggests Christ's role as destined 'husband' of the perfected soul and of the reordered society, the Church" (177).
47. Hassel, *Renaissance Drama and the English Church Year*, 95.
48. For the presence of values celebrated at Candlemas in *Twelfth Night*, see Hassel, *Renaissance Drama and the English Church Year*, 95-100.
49. Michael Shapiro, *Gender in Play on the Shakespearean Stage: Boy Heroines and Female Pages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994), 164.

USURY AND POLITICAL FRIENDSHIP IN *THE MERCHANT OF VENICE*Unhae Langis, *Santa Cruz, California*

The subject of deep controversy in the late 1500s, usury was a necessary fact of life during this era of burgeoning mercantilism, despite attempts to condemn and outlaw the commercial practice. As Lawrence Danson explains, “[f]armers needed to borrow to buy seed for next year’s crops; merchants needed to borrow to buy merchandise; and . . . without the incentive of interest, the flow of capital would dry up.”¹ Indeed, the heavily indebted Bassanio of Shakespeare’s *The Merchant of Venice* reflects the financial situation of two-thirds of the Elizabethan peerage including Sir Philip Sidney, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Leicester, the Earl of Southampton, and Queen Elizabeth.² Not only did the aristocracy sustain itself through moneylending, the business of theater itself relied upon borrowed capital. Shakespeare’s company, the Lord Chamberlain’s Men, had to borrow money at high interest rates to build both the Theatre and the Globe.³ The law responded to these economic realities when Parliament in 1571 legalized moneylending at interest rates below ten percent, essentially the reinstatement of an Act of 1545.⁴

Nonetheless, usury was universally denounced based on ancient and biblical interdictions that it was “against nature for money to beget money.”⁵ As Danson observes, the “scarcely perceived divergence between the economic realities that demanded the growth of credit and the economic theory that condemned it produced exacerbating tension,”⁶ if not gross discrepancies. As a commentary on English practices of usury, *The Merchant of Venice* underscores the hypocrisy underlying the morally condemned practice. Though usury was “a trade brought in by the Jews, now perfectly practiced almost by every Christian and so commonly that he is accounted but for a fool that doth lend his money for nothing,”⁷ the irrational equivalence of moneylender and Jew was indestructible: as Danson explains, “since *in theory* the business of making barren metal breed more metal was inimical to the right-minded Christian, then ipso facto the usurer must, despite the attest of eyes and ears, be Jewish,”⁸ literally and/or figuratively. The hypocritical practices of usury often involved, as *Merchant* depicts, a convenient scapegoating of the Jew while turning a blind eye to Christian usurers. Since the expulsion of the Jews from England in 1290, the usurers were of course English, most famous among them “a restricted circle of great London merchants, men who first made their money in overseas or retail trading and who then turned to the money-lending business.”⁹ *The Merchant of Venice* reveals how England sustains the commercial practice of usury through English moneylenders while maintaining the moral high ground by scapegoating the fictive Jew.

In the play, Antonio’s attack on Shylock the usurer is flawed on two counts: 1) usury was a legal commercial practice useful in sustaining the Venetian economy, and 2) Shylock lends money to Bassanio and Antonio free of interest, i.e., without usury. Usury, practiced by both Jews and Christians during this era, is the red herring in Antonio’s vehement opposition of the two groups. Far from being an anti-usury play as critics have argued echoing early modern moral tracts, *The Merchant of*

Venice, a play about use and usury,¹⁰ rescues these concepts from a false dichotomy that ignores, for instance, the biblical tradition of the Word turned flesh, the spirit on earth clothed in economic raiments. Shakespeare's play, in an insistent conflation of moral and mercantile values, demonstrates clearly that "metal is not barren; it does breed, is pregnant with consequences, and capable of transformation into life and even love."¹¹ The "coin of the realm and the coin of the soul"¹²—to use Robert Zaslavsky's terms—are more commingled than we care to admit. Against the traditional dichotomy between spirit and matter, morality and money, communion and commodification, the play aims to reconcile the dual meanings of "good," promoting *both* virtue and usefulness, moral and material well-being.¹³ To this end, *Merchant* upholds Shylock, the Jewish usurer, over the Christians, Bassanio and Antonio, as the model of economic prudence, which propelled the emerging mercantilism. This prudence integrates both Judeo-Protestant thrift in saving money and Aristotelian liberality, the judicious use of money.

Shylock, the key character in this recuperation of use and usury, also lies at the crux of the divergent approaches to the play in its critical history. One direction, as Danson explains,

is toward Shylock's social redemption, the idea of him as a potentially good man twisted by malignant social and religious prejudice. This approach to Shylock leads, of course, to the view (to simplify it only somewhat) that *The Merchant of Venice* is a deeply ironic play about hypocritical Christians. The other direction, frequently taken in the name of historical accuracy, dismisses as mere sentimentality any efforts toward Shylock's justification. In this view *The Merchant of Venice* is a typical romantic comedy, which only by historical accident has a Jew occupying the position otherwise filled by (say) a killjoy steward.¹⁴

This essay navigates between these critical poles to examine Shylock as a comi-tragic hero, who comes to ruin partly as a comic victim of circumstance and partly as a tragic agent: his liberality fails to make the traverse from an economic to a social virtue through an aborted act of gift-giving.

At the interface of religion, politics, and economics, *The Merchant of Venice* dramatizes an apparent clash between the spiritual usury of friendship and the commercial practice of usury intended to meet the era's expanding mercantilism. Whereas the "breed[ing] for barren metal" (1.3.129)¹⁵ only produces more spiritually barren coin, the usury of friendship produces a never-ending spiral toward divine virtue through a perpetual circle of Graces, symbolized by the recurrent exchange of bonds and rings within the play: two "apparently irreconcilable obligations—that the giver give freely but that the recipient repay"¹⁶—which dissolve into an unforced mutually propelled reciprocation of generosity. Here, Aristotle's theory of friendship may be helpful in unpacking the opposition and rapprochement between use and usury, utility and gift exchange. In Book VIII of *Nicomachean Ethics*, Aristotle describes three types of friendship. In the first type, the friendship of utility, "those who love each other for their utility do not love each other for themselves but in virtue of some good which they get from each other."¹⁷ So, too, in the second type,

with those who love for the sake of pleasure. . . . [T]hose who love for the sake of utility love for the sake of what is good *for themselves*, and those who love for the sake of pleasure do so for the sake of what is pleasant *to themselves*, and not in so far as the other is the person loved but in so far as he is useful or pleasant.¹⁸

“Perfect friendship,” however, is friendship of the good, between persons “who are good, and alike in virtue; for these wish well alike to each other *qua* good, and they are good in themselves.”¹⁹ Unlike the friendship of utility, this finest kind of friendship, to which Antonio aspires with regard to Bassanio, is grounded in gift exchange: actions and objects freely rendered upon a friend solely for his benefit. According to Seneca’s *De Beneficiis*, as translated by Arthur Golding, the gift exchange of virtuous friendship involves a spiritual usury, spawning an infinite cycle of benefits directed toward the other:

[T]o him that lends me money, I must pay no more than I have taken; and when I have paid it, I am free and discharged. But unto the other [one who gives a benefit] I must pay more; and when I have requited him, yet nevertheless I am still beholden to him. For when I have requited I must begin new again, & friendship warneth me to admit no unworthy person. So is the Law of benefits a most holy law, wheroutof springeth friendship.²⁰

The circle of benefits in virtuous friendship “always assumes a return but makes it imperative that that fact not have the status of an expectation.”²¹

Shylock, an outsider allowed to conduct commerce in Venice, is confined by his religious affiliation not only to a livelihood of moneylending but also to the community of fellow Jews in the Venetian ghetto. His business nonetheless compels him to interact regularly with Christians. While one could hardly imagine him in a virtuous friendship with Antonio, one could reasonably expect that Shylock would desire from the Venetians not simply toleration for the sake of Venice’s thriving economy but the dignity and respect sought by all human beings. If his moneylending is useful to the economic flourishing of Venice, promoting its civil good, Shylock presumably would want the Christians to recognize that he himself is “good” (1.3.11): As a provider of commercial credit, Shylock seeks also to be acknowledged as a man of credit, as a valued and respected member of Venice. Unfortunately, Antonio’s vehement animosity—spitting, rating, and kicking the Jew like “a stranger cur” (1.3.114)—has pushed Shylock to thoughts of retaliation: “If I can catch him once upon the hip, / I will feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him” (1.3.43-44). While critics have rightly read these lines in support of the Jew’s desire for vengeance, I contend that such feelings of animosity can well coexist with desires for amity—at least until Shylock reaches a breaking point.

Antonio, like Shylock, also pursues an ideal: an “aristocratic, Roman, and Christian” ethic, which strives for “the nobler goals of friendship, love, and honor”²² toward which money is merely a means. Like the false oppositions of use and usury in their multiple and paradoxical senses, the two protagonists are false foes since the merchant, like Shylock, engages in commercial transactions and both of

them strive implicitly for a more ideal civil state: Antonio, a society of friends, and Shylock, a commonweal of political friendship. In his antagonism with Shylock, Antonio could well be rebelling against those in his trade who, heavily engaged in moneylending, blur the line between merchant and usurer: "Which is the merchant here, and which is the Jew" (4.1.169), Shakespeare's quip on English merchants who "judaize."²³ In doing so, Antonio safely displaces the threat of taint by his own peers onto the Jew. Antonio's denunciation of Shylock and the usury he practices in this manner distorts and deforms their likeness into a religious clash. Like Jacob's pied lambs that represent usury as a means to material prosperity and the possibilities of self-flourishing, Shylock represents the practice of commercially sound usury against Antonio's unrealistic practice of coterie gift-giving.

As a commentary on Venetian practices of usury as they relate to civil rights and political friendship, *Merchant* highlights the injustices operant in the progressive republic of Venice. The city-state was lauded "as an exemplum of civil and social concord" by early modern travelers, among them "many English Commonwealth visitors [who] over the centuries regarded the city as a model of wise leadership, constitutional excellence, and careful law enforcement."²⁴ Promoting its reputation as an international trade center and a cosmopolitan city-state, Venice presented itself carefully "as a city founded on principles of equality, magnanimity, domestic harmony, and justice for all of its citizens."²⁵ Its foreign denizens, however, did not enjoy the panoply of privileges of its citizens. Specifically, the Jews living in the Ghetto had to wear identifying badges, respect a curfew, and rent rather than own property.²⁶ In depicting "the formation of communal identity through exclusionary practices,"²⁷ *Merchant* illustrates the discriminatory policies of early modern England and European states in the treatment of a particular ethnic and religious minority, the Jews.

A flourishing state depends on the unanimity of fellow citizens who regard themselves in a relation of political friendship. The ending of the play suggests that such unanimity could be attained through a conversion of the Jews. Aside from the Christian doctrinal view of seeing the Jewish conversion as a necessary event in human salvation, this conversion could be read as the Venetians' misunderstanding of the concept of unanimity as ethnic homogeneity rather than the sharing of political visions and goals. More broadly defined, "the friend is one who shares the attributes of virtue necessary to maintain a working relationship that leads to the particular end they are united in pursuing."²⁸ In this respect, *Merchant* dramatizes the lost potential for more just relations between the inhabitants in the proto-pluralistic state of Venice as fortune shines on those born with advantages at the cost of further oppressing the disadvantaged. In a generic compulsion to end on "a merry note" (*Love's Labour's Lost*, 5.2.901), the comedy ostensibly upholds the pastoral leisure of the cavalier Christians over the Jewish thrift and Protestant husbandry of Shylock.

Embedded in this formal comedy is the tragedy of Shylock, who makes inchoate gestures toward civil friendship but whose economic liberality does not effectually garner him more social respect. In other words, he founders in the hazardous traverse between commercial usury and the usury of friendship. Shylock's personal calamity fatally redoubles his animosity toward Christians: His daughter Jessica flees with his riches to marry the Christian Lorenzo the very night the Jew is out dining

with Bassanio and Antonio. This unfortunate timing of events (deliberate on Jessica's part) ignites Shylock's suspicions of Christian conspiracy against the Jew. When the aspiration toward political friendship expires stillborn, any inchoate possibilities of rapprochement explode into a bloodthirsty demand of a pound of flesh. The Christians strike the final blow to the potential for civil friendship in their insidious brand of "mercy," the subjugation of the Jew through conversion: the instantiation of ethnic homogenization instead of civil unanimity within plurality. While a vision of an egalitarian society lies centuries ahead, *The Merchant of Venice* nonetheless powerfully explores the cultural and characterological obstacles to its attainment and offers a glimpse into its prospective possibility, as presented through Senecan and Aristotelian ethical theories.

I. Bassanio and Antonio: Flawed Thrift and Liberality

The aristocratic Venetian society presents itself as one that prizes homogeneity and takes "comfort [in] the cultural same."²⁹ As the scenes of the casket selection indicate, Portia clearly prefers as mate someone of her own social and ethnic kind—a Christian, Venetian nobleman embodied in the young, handsome prodigal, Bassanio. The play presents the two as the golden pair, epitomizing the graces of the Christian Venetian culture. Within this Christian patriarchal society, beauty and wealth are the rewards of an impoverished but enterprising nobleman, a Venetian Jason, who hazards everything in a suit of love. In the most cynical terms, this charming improvident, who has been living beyond his means, looks to a fair "lady richly left . . . , [whose] sunny locks / Hang on her temples like a golden fleece" (1.1.161, 169-70) "to get clear of all the debts I owe" (134). The motto of the lead casket that Bassanio selects, "Who chooseth me must give and hazard all he hath" (2.7.9), accords with his submissive stance of courtly love. Luckily for Bassanio, fortune-hunting was a more acceptable mode of personal advancement during the early modern period than our own, especially in his case, with charm to recommend him. In the same breath that he speaks of her wealth, he lauds her fairness and her "wondrous virtues," which, as Marjorie Garber explains, "we are given to understand, constitute her real wealth."³⁰ All in all, however, the play seems to operate under the myth of a divinely aided aristocracy, who get and "merit what they deserve" (2.7.7), the ethos of the silver casket. If *Merchant* truly upheld the ethos of the lead casket, Antonio and Shylock, as the real givers and risk takers of the play, would be the winners, not Bassanio, its false advocate, who risks upon others' money and chooses lead possibly by default or by tactically outwitting conventional morality.

As another instance of aristocratic reassurance, Bassanio peculiarly refers to his plan of gaining prosperity by winning Portia's hand as "thrift" (1.1.175), a virtue of increasing importance in Protestant humanist thought. What Lorna Hutson calls a "discourse of husbandry" "pervade[d] the entire Protestant-humanist literature of reform, from marriage doctrine to the education of the orator," toward a new kind of nobleman productive in action and discourse.³¹ Cicero, in *On Duties*, a key classical source of humanist ethics, recommended that

a mannes substance must be gotten, by those things, which bee farre from dishonestie: and must be saued, by diligence, and honest sparing: and by those same meanes also, it must bee encreased. Xenophon the Socratician hath gone thorowe these things verie handsomelie, in that boke, which is entituled Economicus. . . .³²

This notion of thrift and industry is further illustrated through the New Testament parable of the talents in which the master, representing God, rewards two servants who had doubled the talents committed to them but punishes a third: "Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I have not strawed."³³

In the case of Bassanio, thrift, as he explains to his good friend Antonio, entails the shooting of another arrow after the first misaimed one, assured that he will "find both / Or bring your latter hazard back again" (1.1.150-51). Bassanio does not appear to be "slothful" like the servant in the parable of the talents, though neither would his aristocratic activities qualify as industrious work. Unlike the servant who has been given talents of which to make something, Bassanio wants and needs to borrow money to regain his credit, i.e., get himself out of heavy debt. Such unrestrained optimism in spending could in other circumstances indicate a gambler's addiction. A reasonable person would not call this strategy "thrift" but rather "speculation" and even further, as the saying goes, "throwing good money after bad." Shakespeare was apparently not the only one to use the imagery of double arrows for moral illumination. Bishop Joseph Hall (1608) also employed it to censure ambitious men like Bassanio: hope "persuad[es] him, like foolish boys, to shoot away a second shaft, that he may find the first."³⁴

Antonio, in agreeing to lend Bassanio the means (or more precisely, to act as surety to borrow the sum needed for Bassanio's courtship), also engages in unusually risky behavior on the part of a creditor. Creditors do not usually lend more money to debtors deeply in the red. Antonio's own need to borrow to meet his friend's request compounds the error of his lending, which goes against early modern moral instruction. In the tradition of Cicero giving worldly advice to his son, two Elizabethan noblemen counsel their respective sons and an intended larger audience against surety friendship. William Cecil, Lord Burghley (1520-98), warns his son Robert: "Beware of suretyship for thy best friends; he that payeth another man's debts seeketh his own *decay*"³⁵ (my italics). Sir Walter Raleigh (ca. 1552-1618) counsels his son generally against borrowing and then expounds greatly on the dangers of suretyship friendship:

borrowing is the canker and *death* of every man's estate. . . . [S]uffer not thyself to be wounded for other men's faults, and scourged for other men's offences, which is the surety for another; for thereby millions of men have been beggared and destroyed, paying the reckoning of other men's riot, and the charge of other men's folly and prodigality; if thou smart, smart for thine own sins; and, above all things, be not made *an ass to carry the burdens* of other men: if any friend desire thee to be his surety, give him a part of what thou hast to spare; if he press thee further, he is not thy friend at all, for friendship rather chooseth harm to itself than offereth it; if thou

be bound for a stranger, thou art a fool: if for a merchant, thou putteth thy estate to learn to swim: if for a churchman, he hath no inheritance: if for a lawyer, he will find an evasion, by a syllable or word, to abuse: if for a poor man thou must pay it thyself: if for a rich, it need not: therefore from suretyship, as from a *manslayer or enchanter*, bless thyself. . . .³⁶ (my italics)

Such advice against borrowing and suretyship friendship found in both early modern prose texts and dramatic fiction is put to the blade when Antonio must tender his flesh in quittance of Bassanio's debt. A "manslayer," suretyship, in Antonio's case, works also as an "enchanter" because he is enamored of Bassanio like the speaker of the sonnets subject to the will of the aristocratic youth, who irresistibly becomes, in Raleigh's phrase, "an ass to carry [his] burdens." Antonio assures Bassanio: "My purse, my person, my extremest means / Lie all unlocked to your occasions" (1.1.138-39). In this regard, Antonio follows the classical usury of friendship, which based on its key tenet that the possessions of friends are common goods,³⁷ operates in the idealized realm of immeasurable giving rather than the material world of calculated exchanges and thereby admits no bounds to the generous actions toward a friend. This kind of friendship is enduring and without qualification because it is based on virtue, the pursuit of the good life,³⁸ or in Platonic terms, *erōs*, the infinite love of the noble and the good. This *erōs*, through the medieval period, becomes directed at the union with God as the ultimate end—as the Neoplatonic ladder of love toward the transcendent Good becomes christianized.

Enthralled in idealized friendship with its Platonic and Christian registers, Antonio cannot heed the more accustomed fiscal prudence befitting a merchant. As Antonio himself avows in soliciting Shylock for a loan, "[A]lbeit I neither lend nor borrow / By taking nor by giving of excess, / Yet to supply the ripe wants of my friend / I'll break a custom" (1.3.59). Here, desire for Bassanio prevails over his supposed habit of liberality, the Aristotelian mean in the use of money between prodigality and meanness. Liberality is the companion to thrift: while thrift allows one to accumulate money in an honest and effective manner, liberality allows one to spend it in a judicious manner, considering the variables of a situation. In Shakespeare's time, the golden mean was a cultural staple in the various spheres of life—religious, economic, political, social, and erotic—though, as Joshua Scodel notes, there was much divergence as to how it was to be construed.³⁹ The standard text in moral philosophy at the universities, with more than sixty editions published before 1600,⁴⁰ was Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*, which "emerged from the Reformation struggles as a keystone of both Catholic and Protestant education."⁴¹

Aristotelian ethics were also mediated through one other influential ancient work of moral philosophy, Cicero's *Of Duties* (*De officiis*), available in English through Nicolas Grimalde's translation (1553). Here, Cicero, relying on Aristotle's general scheme of liberality as the just mean, further expounds that "liberalitie" can manifest itself as "bountiefulnesse" in personal service or generosity "oute of the coffer . . . [the latter of which can] draweth drye the verie fountane of liberalitie: so liberalitie is by liberalitie wasted: and toward the mo that you do use it, the lesse ye can be able to use it toward manie."⁴² Antonio, enacting the generosity of ideal

friendship beyond one's economic means, goes against these very teachings, which came to embody the core of humanist Protestant husbandry. Moderation, Aristotle instructs, lies at the heart of "managing households or states," and entails first the philosophical knowledge of "what is good for themselves and what is good for men in general"⁴³ and then practical wisdom, the knowledge of how to secure these ends of human life. Accordingly, Cicero endorses moderation in those situations in which economic aid to the needy is appropriate:

Oftentimes yet a man must give largelie: and this kinde of liberalitie is not to bee utterlie cast of: and wee must manie times give parte of our substaunce to mete men, that have need: but wee must doo it heedfullie, and measurable. For divers have spoiled oute their livelod, by lavishing it unadvisedlie.⁴⁴

To wit, Cicero would have viewed Antonio's actions of surety friendship as "lavishing [his means] unadvisedlie."

The Protestant Martin Luther would have been even more critical, regarding Antonio's standing surety for Bassanio as hubristic *imitatio Christus*:

There is a common error, which has become a widespread custom, not only among merchants but throughout the world, by which one man becomes the surety for another; and although this practice seems to be without sin and looks like a virtue springing from love, nevertheless, it causes the ruin of many and brings them irrevocable injury. King Solomon often forbade and condemned it in his Proverbs. . . .

Standing surety is a work that is too lofty for a man; it is unseemly, for it is presumptuous and an invasion of God's rights. For, in the first place, the Scriptures bid us to put our trust and place our reliance on no man, but only on God; for human nature is false, vain, deceitful, and unreliable, as the Scriptures say and as experience teaches every day.

In the second place, a man puts trust in himself and makes himself God, for that on which a man puts his trust and reliance is his god. But of his life and property a man is not sure and certain for a single moment, any more than he is certain of the man for whom he becomes surety, but everything is in God's hand only, and He will not allow us a hair's breadth of power or right over the future or have us for a single moment sure or certain of it.⁴⁵

Luther's conclusion is that the man who stands surety "acts unchristianlike, and deserves what he gets, because he pledges and promises what is not his and is not in his power, but in the hands of God alone."⁴⁶ Luther tries to resolve an exegetical problem as presented by the apparent contradictions within the Bible regarding the moral and economic interaction among human beings. On the one hand, both the Old and the New Testament reiterate the ethical golden rule of "Love thy neighbor as thyself"⁴⁷ and in doing so seem to advance communal identification with one's neighbor to the disregard of distinct ownership, of mine and thine. On the other hand, other sections of the Bible seem to espouse a more prudent and humble ap-

proach to moral and economic relations with our fellow beings. 17:17–18 of the Proverbs of Solomon encapsulates the conflict in Antonio's situation between generosity toward a fellow being and an injunction against surety:

17. A friend loveth at all times, and a brother is born for adversity.
 18. A man destitute of understanding, toucheth the hand, and becometh surety in the presence of his friend.⁴⁸

According to Luther, God can have Christ, His son, stand surety for humankind because He can ensure that He can make good on His pledge; in contrast, human beings cannot control the future. A man standing surety, however, acts as God, thinking that he can ensure certain outcomes. As C. S. Lewis once observed of the dangers of eros, "love begins to be a demon the moment he begins to be a god."⁴⁹ Accordingly, the man standing surety is infidel in that a true believer in God would defer to His powers and would not try to exceed his own limitations. 17:18 does not condemn the practice of surety on the grounds of economic imprudence but rather on those of theology, on the understanding of man's relation to the divine. Historically, Luther's view on suretyship lent itself to the practice of economic prudence and thereby came to promote, without explicit intention, proto-capitalist mercantilism.

In the case of Antonio, contradictions in his statements about his financial status indicate that beside the erotic influence, the merchant himself is disposed toward imprudent fiscal management. Antonio's current economic prosperity relies on his commercial prudence—in today's financial language, diversifying his investments: of not placing his ventures "in one bottom . . . , / Nor to one place; nor is my whole estate / Upon the fortune of this present year" (1.1.43-44). Yet when Bassanio solicits him for money, Antonio tells him, "all my fortunes are at sea, / Neither have I money nor commodity / To raise a present sum" (1.1.177-79). He contradicts himself, and/or he proves to be less prudent than he claims to be by not having the nest egg he initially implied. Through fiscal imprudence and erotic vulnerability Antonio is drawn into Bassanio's prodigal ventures, becoming his buffer zone. If Bassanio ends up as the charmed man of fortune in winning Portia, his "golden fleece," the hazards of his "thrift" have not been eluded, just fatally diverted to his fall guy, Antonio.

II. Shylock: Jewish Thrift and Protestant Husbandry

Juxtaposed against the risk-based "thrift" that Bassanio and Antonio jointly practice is a secure, non-risky practice of moneylending, which Shylock also proudly calls "thrift." Although limited to the production of money from itself by the laws which prohibited Jews from engaging in the exchange of commercial goods, Shylock invokes a Jewish forebear's ingenuity to link his thrifty practice imaginatively to the clever entrepreneurship of Jacob. By grounding his example of economic thriving on animal husbandry, Shylock collapses the classical distinction between unnatural versus natural breeding, the chief objection against usury, as Antonio puts it: "for when did friendship take / A breed for barren metal of his friend?" (1.3.128-29). Enterprising Jacob, by artfully breeding "streaked and pied" lambs (75) that by prior

agreement with his uncle Laban would “fall as Jacob’s hire” (76), also bred money by increasing his flock. Such was Jacob’s “thrift” (86), his way to advance himself by increasing his substance without stealing. Even as Antonio approves of Jacob’s “way to thrive” (85) as a “venture . . . that Jacob served . . . swayed and fashioned by the hand of heaven” (87-89), the Venetian merchant prevents Shylock from trying to use this example in defense of taking interest: “is your gold and silver ewes and rams?” (91). To this, the Jew replies equivocally: “I cannot tell. I make it breed as fast” (92), the simile implying that what is important here is the shared strategy of prospering, not the ancient distinction of unnatural versus natural breeding stemming from Aristotle and the Bible.⁵⁰

Indeed, in the parable of the talents, God explicitly approves of “usury” in his rebuke of the third, idle servant: “Thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with usury.”⁵¹ The double sense of “talent” as both natural endowment and a form of currency bridges the gap between laudable thrift and reprehensible usury. Shylock’s answer to Antonio’s first baiting question of whether Jacob takes interest, “No, . . . not, as you would say, / Directly int’rest” (1.3.72-73), suggests the further resemblance between Shylock’s usury and Jacob’s thrift: whereas Shylock takes interest in its literal, commercial sense of charging a percentage for the borrowing of money, Jacob takes interest in a related sense of increasing, say, his share of the pie. Jacob’s entrepreneurial “thrift” is the bridge between Bassanio’s speculative “thrift” and Shylock’s lucrative moneylending. Shylock’s modern-sounding defense shows the artificiality of the division between natural and unnatural breeding, as reinforced by the lack of distinction today between finance and venture capital: between financiers and bank lenders, on the one hand, and company shareholders and speculators, on the other hand.⁵²

“Thrift,” apparently, is in the eye of the beholder. Capital-lacking Bassanio and Antonio, seeing their commercial ventures through the rosy glass of prospective wealth, promote their practices of prodigality as “thrift”; the commercial moneylender Shylock conceives “thrift” as the accumulation of money through fiscally sound lending and socially justified gifting. But because *The Merchant of Venice* ostensibly promotes Christian ascendancy, the “reassuring guarantees of romance operate so smoothly for Christians while the Jew’s share of the narrative spoils is loss, humiliation, defeat.”⁵³ *Merchant* begins with a false premise—that prodigality is “thrift”—and follows it through toward a comic end, an effort which involves the scapegoating of Shylock and the economic prudence that he represents. Co-opting “thrift” for their prodigal ventures, the Christians, specifically Antonio, denounce the thrift of Shylock’s moneylending in the name of *contemptus mundi*. While the Venetian Christians readily use economic language to advance matters of the soul—love and friendship—they do not permit the use of spiritualizing discourse to elevate the practice of usury and thereby refuse “to admit the way their spiritual lives depend on material prosperity.”⁵⁴ When they refer to Shylock as a dog, the Christians are right in one respect: Shylock, to his credit, exhibits what Thomas Luxon calls a “carnal humanity,”⁵⁵ fully attuned to the material and passionate sides of life despite his thrifty husbandry. He understands better than the Christians how “the coin of the spirit” and “the coin of the realm”⁵⁶ are inexorably alloyed.

While applauding their economically unsound ventures as “thrift,” Antonio and his ilk perversely oppose macroeconomic thrift when they condemn usury, without which the era’s increasingly mercantile economies could not function. Shylock calls them on their contradiction: “You spurn’d me such a day; another time / You call’d me dog; and for these courtesies / I’ll lend you thus much moneys?” (1.3.122-24). The Venetians are blithely able to have their cake and eat it too in this romance of Christian righteousness. They may wear the raiments of virtuous “thrift” without enacting it while Shylock, who practices legal usury in a thrifty, fiscally sound manner, is indicted as an exploitive dog.

Shylock’s thrifty husbandry is by no means flawless. Jessica’s complaint that “Our house is hell” (2.3.2) seems to imply that her father’s household is austere, humorless, and somewhat puritanical, prompting her to run away. Launcelot leaves his master, partly because he is “famished in his service” (2.2.94). Erring on the side of excessive husbandry, Shylock considers the loss of Launcelot good riddance from an economic point of view:

The patch is kind enough, but a huge feeder,
 Snail-slow in profit, and he sleeps by day
 More than the wildcat. Drones hive not with me;
 Therefore I part with him, and part with him
 To one that I would have him help to waste
 His borrowed purse. . . .

 Fast bind, fast find—
 A proverb never stale in thrifty mind. (2.5.44-53)

Despite his austerity, Shylock’s frugal husbandry makes sounder fiscal sense than Bassanio’s and Antonio’s unwise economic actions from the ancient perspective of the household as the core of the private and public economy.

Opposing this proto-capitalist view is Antonio, who in Shylock’s words, lends out money gratis, and brings down
 The rate of usance here with us in Venice.

 He hates our sacred nation, and he rails,
 Even there where merchants most do congregate,
 On me, my bargains, and my well-won thrift—
 Which he calls interest. (1.3.39-46)

In Shylock’s eyes, the Gentile merchant Antonio is, moreover, “a fawning publican” (1.3.35), a contemptible “tavernkeeper” trying to ingratiate himself into the genteel circle. More problematic than this taint on Antonio’s credibility is the merchant’s reliance on the Aristotelian-Christian standard of liberality in condemning commercial moneylending. Pertaining to social interactions rather than commercial transactions, this standard is fundamentally biased against usury. At any rate,

Shylock's practice of Judaic-Protestant thrift is ultimately a sounder base for an increasingly international mercantile system than Antonio's friendship gifting.⁵⁷ On balance, Shylock comes closer to the notion of the Aristotelian liberal man who "spends according to his substance and on the right objects"⁵⁸ as thrift and liberality converge in the virtue of prudence. In *Merchant*, however, Bassanio's and Antonio's prodigality is upheld over Shylock's Judeo-Protestant thrift and liberality.

In the parable of the prodigal son, God, as father, overlooks the protest of the diligent older son and forgivingly welcomes back the prodigal younger son, who returns home penitently after dissipating his fortune. The narrative of this parable seems to endorse eros over economics, affect over accounting, mercy over justice. Binary oppositions here as elsewhere within the play may be misleading, however. The return of the prodigal son focuses attention on the collective joy of reclaiming one of the flock deemed lost. This celebration is not intended to elevate the morally recovered son over the enduringly assiduous son.

Yet that is precisely what *The Merchant of Venice* seems to do in allowing the prodigal sons, Bassanio and Antonio, to triumph over Shylock, the thrifty son—in the name of Christian *caritas*, which prohibits usury for its putative pursuit of wealth through the exploitation of the debtor.⁵⁹ However, the distinction between selfish and altruistic which underlies Christian morality is a specious one. Bassanio's and Antonio's actions of love and friendship that appear unselfish turn out to be self-regarding and self-interested at a deeper level. Bassanio's love for Portia is also a means to his financial solvency; Antonio's fiscal generosity toward Bassanio at core indulges his homoerotic love toward the young nobleman. In contrast, Shylock, relying on a more positive, classical notion of self-interest, affirms the very self-oriented actions by which the Venetians censure him. The ancient Greek notion of virtue, *aretē* (excellence), rests on the affirmation, nurturing, and flourishing of the individual concurrent with, not opposed to, the common good. Likewise, the humanist notion of husbandry is the sufficient care of oneself and one's *oikonomia* such that members of the state do not rely on public dole and instead contribute severally to the public good. In addition to providing good husbandry in the private economy, Shylock promotes the public economy through his important role in the circulation of money through credit. It is not a gratuitous detail that the money Bassanio borrows with Antonio as surety, Shylock himself must borrow from his friend Tubal. To contrast the play's plot with Venetian history, the city admitted Jews like Shylock as residents during the 1510s because their presence was "doubly beneficial": "they could provide the hard-pressed treasury with annual payments while their moneylending in the city itself was convenient for the needy urban poor."⁶⁰

III. Economic to Social Liberality: The Failure of Civil Friendship

Advocate of a combined Senecan and Christian ethos, Antonio denounces usury, blatantly opposing the Venetian state policy of encouraging usury and contract as "necessary components of economic health,"⁶¹ a reflection of early modern England's economic policy. Thus, usury acts as a red herring for Antonio's aim to promulgate the Christian ethos and thereby to deflect medieval and contemporary suspicions

leveled at merchants. Aside from the zeal to convert others in the name of their salvation, Antonio's advocacy of a Christian state can perhaps be understood—at least theoretically—from the civil perspective of friendship and its purpose to the state. As Aristotle reports in Book VIII of *Nicomachean Ethics*, “Friendship seems . . . to hold states together, and lawgivers care more for it than for justice; for unanimity seems to be something like friendship, and this they aim at most of all, and expel factions as their worst enemy.”⁶² This notion of unanimity, implicit in the ancient notion of the body politic and the preoccupation of early modern states with order, becomes a special source of concern for a cosmopolitan state like Venice with its increasing influx of foreigners. How does a nation of culturally diverse members bind together in the common cause of individual and civil flourishing—the same difficult challenge of pluralistic societies in the modern age?

Antonio, in his blind faith, believes that the Gentiles are “gentle” and virtuous, a premise based on a discrepancy between how Christians ought to conduct themselves, imitating Christ, and how they, in fact, behave, falling short of this ideal—as numerous instances in their cruelty, insensitivity, rapacity, and smug self-righteousness. The reality of morally flawed human beings reveals that Antonio idealizes the Venetian community as grounded in friendships of good rather than of utility. In Book IX, however, Aristotle further elucidates the concept of civil unanimity:

Unanimity also seems to be a friendly relation. For this reason it is not identity of opinion; for that might occur even with people who do not know each other; nor do we say that people who have the same views on any and every subject are unanimous, e.g. those who agree about the heavenly bodies (for unanimity about these is not a friendly relation), but we do say that a city is unanimous when men have the same opinion about what is to their interest, and choose the same actions, and do what they have resolved in common. It is about things to be done, therefore, that people are said to be unanimous, and, among these, about matters of consequence and in which it is possible for both or all parties to get what they want; e.g. a city is unanimous when all its citizens think that the offices in it should be elective, or that they should form an alliance with Sparta, or that Pittacus. should be their ruler—at a time when he himself was also willing to rule. . . . Unanimity seems, then, to be political friendship, as indeed it is commonly said to be; for it is concerned with things that are to our interest and have an influence on our life.⁶³

In Aristotle's clarification, unanimity is *not* “identity of opinion” among the people of a state but lies in the common cause “about things to be done . . . [on] matters of consequence” toward civil flourishing. When he explains further that “such unanimity is found among *good* men” (my italics), Aristotle most likely means virtuous toward this civil purpose, rather than all-around virtuous, an attainment rarely found among people: “for they are unanimous both in themselves and with one another, being, so to say, of one mind . . . , and they wish for what is just and what is advantageous, and these are the objects of their common endeavour as well.”⁶⁴ In sum, civil unanimity through political friendship necessarily contains elements of both virtue and utility. It

is this political friendship in the penumbra between virtue friendship and advantage friendship that Shylock, in his regular association with Christians,⁶⁵ dares to desire in Venice and presents as a moral challenge to Antonio as if to say: "Prove me wrong that you are a religious bigot and dissuade me from my vengeance." In response, however, Antonio pursues friendship over generalized justice, an exclusionary civil policy straying from the Aristotelian conception of political friendship. Keeping in mind the historical realities that citizenry in early modern Venice was not inclusive of all Venetians, let alone foreigners, I will henceforth discuss political friendship in a "downgraded" form of civil friendship, shaved of the legal rights and privileges of citizens.

Antonio, the self-proclaimed opponent of usury, refuses to accept that its usefulness does not necessarily oppose spiritual goodness. When he and Bassanio come to borrow money from Shylock to finance the young Venetian's wooing of Portia, Antonio places himself grudgingly at the will of his enemy. But instead of requesting in a gentle tone, befitting his stance as a Gentile suppliant, Antonio demands a loan in a tone of truculent contempt, confident that the mercenary Shylock would not shy from this opportunity for profit. Antonio redoubles his contempt toward the Jew, who practices usury legally: "for when did friendship take / A breed for barren metal of his friend? / But lend it rather to thine enemy, / Who if he break, thou mayst with better face / Exact the penalty" (1.3.128-32). Consenting to a loan agreement, the merchant, nonetheless, will not consider Shylock as a "brother" in commerce, let alone civil friendship.

Despite previous abuse from Antonio—with his quick assurance to "call thee [dog] again, / To spit on thee again, to spurn thee too" (1.3.125-26)—Shylock responds calmly:

I would be friends with you, and have your love,
 Forget the shames that you have stained me with,
 Supply your present wants, and take no doit
 Of usance for my moneys; and you'll not hear me.
 This is kind I offer. (1.3.133-37)

Shylock here pointedly offers to lend Bassanio money interest-free, as Antonio himself would without judaizing. In other words, Shylock departs from the Judaic commandment on usury, which allowed the taking of interest from the foreigner but not from the tribal brother (Deuteronomy 23:19-20). If Shylock refrains from taking interest from Antonio, he has metaphorically embraced him as a tribal brother. Because he does not demand that Antonio convert to Judaism, this bond gestures toward inclusive otherhood rather than tribal brotherhood, a *détente* that could gradually develop into a civil *entente* rather than the religious conversion that the Christians exact from Shylock at the play's end.⁶⁶ The usury of commercial lending is hereby transmuted into the usury of potential friendship, which could develop by reciprocal kindness into civil amity or through non-reciprocation into its opposite, enmity. Contrary to the security and idleness leveled against commercial usury as part of its critique, Shylock, in this inchoate gambit toward civil friendship, ventures into the hazardous unknown and the benign prospects within its scope.

Though critics have well noted that Shylock is here baiting Antonio so that the Jew may “feed fat the ancient grudge I bear him” (1.3.42), I argue that Shylock’s animosity coexists with a gesture toward friendship and, furthermore, that this doubled response should be interpreted within an expansive phenomenological context of dramatic interaction rather than the strictures of literal text. As a more immediate visceral reaction to Antonio’s persecution, vengeance does not preclude other competing desires of a marginalized character, who yearns for the due dignity and respect of all human beings. His renowned “Hath not a Jew eyes” rant of 3.1 is a call for revenge, but the humanity underlying that speech suggests that he has been pushed to extremity; had it been otherwise, Shylock might well have preferred to work toward the amity of mutually respecting residents over the animosity between intolerant ethnic and economic others. Like other marginalized characters within the Shakespeare canon—Kate, Caliban, and Emilia in *Othello*—the Jew ultimately seeks recognition rather than rebellion. Hence, Shylock’s stipulation, in “merry sport” (2.1.141) that Antonio pay the Jew a pound of flesh as quittance is as much a hazy wish for a miracle as a premeditated plan of revenge: that Antonio regard him in “kind” for his “kind” action, not as a subpar inhabitant of Venice. In such an auspicious outcome, the “pound of flesh” stipulation, without ever growing teeth for a loanshark’s exploitation of a debtor, would simply act as the legal consideration required of a binding common law contract (as opposed to a non-enforceable gratuitous promise) to insure that Bassanio would receive the agreed-upon sum.⁶⁷

Embedded in the formal bond of the loan lies a gift, the forfeiting of commercial “usance” (1.3.136), igniting the usury of gift-exchange and the attitudes of trust and gratitude that the usury of friendship entails, coextensive with Shylock’s vengeful motive. As Barbara Sebek explains, citing from Arthur Golding’s translation of Seneca’s *De beneficiis*, “trust and ‘mens’ consciences’ . . . make these relations of exchange binding and valuable. . . . The motive for giving benefits is not profit, but fellowship: a benefit is a thing which ‘most of all other knitteth men together in fellowship.’”⁶⁸ Thus, as much as Bassanio and Antonio’s loan depends on the Jew’s good will, Shylock’s gambit toward political friendship or degeneration into stony vengeance depends on the conduct of the Christian Venetians, especially Antonio, and the Jew’s own further reactions to their actions. Shylock’s gesture of rapprochement appears auspicious: Antonio agrees to the bond, telling Shylock “there is much kindness in the Jew” (2.1.149) and reiterates at the moneylender’s leavetaking: “Hie thee, gentle Jew. / The Hebrew will turn Christian; he grows kind” (2.1.173-74). The double sense of “gentle” and “kind” attributes moral superiority to the Christian tribe. In doing so, Christian hegemony, upon which this seeming gesture of ethnic détente is grounded, is the very source of cultural faction and Shylock’s downfall.

The rapprochement between Shylock and the Christians proceeds a bit further only to collapse violently. While Antonio remains civilly aloof, it is the more sociable Bassanio, who, conflating moral and mercantile values, reinforces a friendship of utility with that of pleasure by inviting Shylock to dinner in a gesture of good will, the basis of civil friendship. Initially, Shylock himself discourages fraternizing outside of his tribe when he rejects Bassanio’s invitation to dine with him and Antonio: “I will buy with you, sell with you, talk with you, walk with you, and so following, but

I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you” (1.3.30-32). But actions seem to speak louder than words: later in 2.5, Shylock goes guardedly to Bassanio’s banquet “to feed upon the prodigal Christian” (2.5.14), both echoing and possibly revising his previous thought to “feed fat the ancient grudge I bear” (1.3.42). Unfortunately, we shall never know the outcome of this potential trajectory toward civil friendship because Shylock’s arrow, unlike Bassanio’s, is struck down in mid-flight.

The very night that Shylock is away dining with the Christians, his daughter Jessica, in a more precipitous consorting with a particular Christian, runs off with Shylock’s wealth to marry Lorenzo—a betrayal that completely vitiates her father’s more deliberate efforts to improve Jewish-Christian relations and thereby constitutes the core of the play’s tragedy. The fragile circle of benefits that Shylock initiates collapses shortly after birth and turns into its opposite: a circle of detriments within the Jewish-Christian relation. Just by the concurrence of Shylock’s dinner at Bassanio’s and Jessica’s elopement,⁶⁹ the Jew, instead of becoming more trustful of the Christians, suspects that they are colluding to persecute him further, adding to the litany of Antonio’s mistreatments: “He hath disgraced me, and hindered me half a million; laughed at my losses, mocked at my gains, scorned my nation, thwarted my bargains, cooled my friends, heated mine enemies” (3.1.46-49). Accusing Solanio and Salerio of knowing “of my daughter’s flight” (3.1.21-22), Shylock breaks into his famous “Hath not a Jew eyes” speech, which ends with the logic of negative rather than positive reciprocity: a cycle of inimical retaliation instead of friendship gift-exchange.

In the face of his daughter’s defection to the Christians, who invariably mock him, one can easily imagine the outraged and humiliated Shylock seeking the emotional satisfaction of the pound of flesh from Antonio—retribution for past hostility and for perceived ingratitude of colluding against him in response to his own overture of generosity. According to Seneca, ingratitude is the radix of vices and crimes,⁷⁰ including revenge. Shylock’s loss of trust in his recipients, key to gift-giving, diverts him from the potential path of civil amity back to the path of religious and ethnic animosity. Shylock’s bond initially drafted with a mock forfeiture now grows shark’s teeth, with law to enforce it. The pound of flesh by which Shylock pursues his revenge so viscerally under the cover of law underscores the quittance for “those wrongs [for] which there is not Law to remedy”⁷¹—the ethnic abuses and civil inequalities that ignite his revenge. With social and political remedy out of reach, only a pound of flesh from Antonio will tender Shylock’s visceral wounds. Quittance in flesh is the only vindication that will “content” (4.1.389) the Jew in the double sense of “satisfy” and “contend.” Seen as a Satanic adversary from the Christian perspective, Shylock, from his perspective, might be seeking to nail Antonio as a false Christ, though such a lesson would fall on deaf ears in the lions’ den of the Christian courtroom. In one respect, however, Shylock’s intent to cut Antonio’s flesh brings the two enemies closer: as Christopher Colmo observes, Antonio, who wants to distance himself from these usurious merchants, ironically becomes a Jew in the sense of being a martyr on behalf of a “sacred nation” (1.3.43).⁷²

As John Drakakis argues, Shylock is “an externalization, and a demonisation, of a force that Venice finds necessary in order for it to conduct its daily commercial activity, but which it cannot acknowledge as such.”⁷³ More than a Jew “in the

strictly ethnological sense of the term,” Shylock is “a rhetorical means of prising open a dominant Christian ideology no longer able to smooth over its own internal contradictions, and therefore a challenge and a threat.”⁷⁴ With the ugly head of anti-alien sentiment rearing at the resolution of the trial, the play highlights how grossly the Venetians have deviated from the good and the useful—as informed by Christian mercy and the Judeo-Christian ideal of thrift—ideally to promote universal brotherhood and global commerce. Instead, the Venetian adjudicators—Portia, the Duke, and Antonio—in a concerted effort turn the Christian doctrine of mercy on its head, thereby conducting themselves by the same principle of tribal brotherhood (instead of inclusive otherhood) undergirding the Judaic commandment on usury, which allowed the taking of interest from the foreigner but not from the tribal brother. If we view usury in a broader sense as a taking by advantage rather than due compensation for services or goods exchanged,⁷⁵ the confiscation of Shylock’s property through the deeding of his estate to his son-in-law and Christianized daughter, together with the Jew’s forced conversion, enacts the exploitation, expropriation, and erasure of the other that homogenizes and aggrandizes the Christian tribe—not the unconditional embrace of the other that *caritas* is supposed to enact. In beseeching mercy from Shylock, the Christians hold the Jewish outsider to a higher standard of morality than they themselves practice. Like any other human being subject to enduring injustice, Shylock conducts himself exactly as prescribed in his “Hath not a Jew eyes?” speech: “If a Christian wrong a Jew, what should his sufferance be by Christian example? Why, revenge. The villainy you teach me I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction” (3.1.58-61). Needless to say, the ethnic/religious conflict that rises from the commercial dispute between merchant and moneylender might well have been avoided had Antonio shown himself in the first place more tolerant and charitable toward Shylock.

Following the Christian commandment to “love thy neighbor” in his generosity to Gentiles, Antonio fails to abide by the more stringent test of charity: “Love your enemies, bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you, and pray for them which hurt you, and persecute you.”⁷⁶ If *Merchant* is a commentary on not simply Venetian but more pointedly English commercial, social, and legal practices, the Venetians in the play act against (English) Christian sermons on unkindness. The sixteenth-century clergyman Thomas Bankes counsels:

We may not then . . . for any cause give such broad way unto malice and inhumanitie, as that we should account other mens danger our owne securitie, other mens losse our owne advantage, other mens dishonour our owne credit, other mens weaknes our owne strength, and other mens overthrow our owne uprising. For in so doing, wee shall become monsters whom nature hath no stroke in, streames of a corrupt fountain, branches of a rotten roote, beames of wrong Sunshine, yea, the verie offspring of Satan, and no true Christians.⁷⁷

In the play, the Venetians are the true “usurers,” employing the law to their own advantage much as Edward I, in late thirteenth-century England, had many Jews

“arrested and executed under trumped-up charges of financial misconduct, while the Crown lay claim to their property and assets.”⁷⁸ In their desire for ethnic homogeneity, the Venetian Christians outdo the Jew by distinguishing between brothers and others while Shylock seeks the sharing of socio-political visions and goals: civil unanimity in plurality.⁷⁹

According to Aristotle, rectificatory justice enjoins a person inflicting a loss upon another to redress that loss.⁸⁰ Reasonable justice would rule that Shylock have the “due and forfeit of [his] bond” (paid by Portia’s wealth), without physical harm done to Antonio. When Shylock unreasonably refuses to trade a pound of Antonio’s flesh for a double payment of his bond, on the one hand, the Jew gets what he deserves for trying to seek revenge through the enforcement of his bond. On the other hand, he is demanding the enforcement of a brutal law from Roman times,⁸¹ sanctioned by the Venetians themselves. By keeping such a barbaric law in force, the Venetians are thus partly complicit in Shylock’s intent to inflict bodily damage upon Antonio.

Moreover, the Venetian court, with power to resolve the issue in an equitable manner, instead resolves it in a clearly unjust manner. Portia’s matching demand for exact enforcement (without a drop of blood) effectively terminates Shylock’s demand for literal satisfaction of the forfeiture (a pound of flesh). The fact, however, that she not only rescinds the double payment of the bond but punitively confiscates Shylock’s entire estate based upon an obscure anti-alien law amounts to retributive prosecution/persecution of a Jewish plaintiff. Moreover, Shylock’s coerced conversion to retain his halved and entailed estate involves a metaphorical taking of life—the cannibalistic engulfment of a Jew in the maw of hegemonic Christianity. What begins as a case of rectificatory justice on behalf of a claimant turns into a transgression of distributive justice, confiscating what Shylock has thus far legally earned. The just distribution of wealth in society, Aristotle claims, should proceed according to merit, noting disagreement however on the interpretation of merit: “democrats identify it with the status of freeman, supporters of oligarchy with wealth (or noble birth), and supporters of aristocracy with excellence.”⁸² By her judicial discretion, Portia ties merit to religious affiliation, severely punishing those outside of the Christian faith.

In consideration of equity, the court could have compelled Shylock to accept Bassanio’s offer of many times the amount of Antonio’s forfeiture, or probed deeper the justified reasons for Shylock’s “lodged hate” (4.1.59) toward Antonio. Instead of breaking the cycle of retribution through equitable adjudication, Portia only perpetuates it by turning Shylock’s literalism back on him. This is the play’s “golden fleece,” the labile referent of “tainted wether” (4.1.113) suddenly shifting from Antonio to Shylock, who has lost his religion, his livelihood, and thereby his life. In this Christian-Jewish contention, Portia coerces Shylock’s “I am content” (4.1.389) to “satisfy” Christian prepossessions and possessions. The false mercy of the Christians ultimately turns distributive justice into retributive injustice. Sadly, the circle of benefits, with its potential of civil friendship, is played out only in the romantic plot, as Portia’s and Nerissa’s rings, which Bassanio and Graziano unwittingly gift back to their fiancées in male garb, are returned to their original recipients with forgiveness of their betrayal.

Merchant’s fictionalized Christian pastoral offers its members “equality, equanimity, and amicability”⁸³ in its idyllic world only by eradicating differences. In the Vene-

tian subjugation of the Jew, Shakespeare sounds the dangers of nostalgically retreating to an illusive golden world, a warning brought into full play in his late romance, *The Tempest*. There, Prospero learns through a hard-earned lesson the consequences of avoiding civil responsibility by retreating into his books.⁸⁴ Kevin McNamara argues cogently that the betrothal masque figures as a significant element of the play in warning the court, comprising the ruling class, of “the mind-warping potential of kingly power,” which distracts rulers by “comfortable fictions”⁸⁵ from the imperatives of responsible governance. The dangers of retreating into a more pleasurable world of art and contemplation exist in regard to both the historical figure of James I and the fictional character of Prospero. In the case of the latter, Prospero’s “throne was not so much usurped by, as given to, his brother through [his] preoccupation with the study of ‘liberal arts’ and ‘secret studies’ (1.ii.73, 77) to the neglect of all affairs of state.”⁸⁶ In other words, Prospero abandoned his duties of governance in favor of *otium literatum* in the classical conflict between active and contemplative life.⁸⁷

While the masque could have been played to a conventional ending of a naïve romance such as *Merchant*, its sudden dissolution works to a wholly different effect. Prospero’s reaction to the threat of the “piss-drenched usurpers”—Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban—attempting to reenact his brother’s usurpation demonstrates the philosopher-king’s “hard-gotten knowledge of how to govern. Twelve years earlier Prospero was a reclusive innocent oblivious of such threats; . . . [now he] is resolved to face up to disharmony and death.”⁸⁸ Instead of presenting the masque as a betrothal blessing projecting an idealized world in which good triumphs over evil, Prospero chooses to break it off in order to correct a political mistake of the past. He substantiates the “lead” world of fallible human life over the gilded world of the masque. In this sense, *The Tempest* serves as “a warning against taking courtly dreams too seriously, to the neglect of the actual affairs of state,”⁸⁹ a caution that underlies the early romance comedy, *The Merchant of Venice*, without breaking the gilded illusion of harmony. Contrary to the moral lessons of the casket test, the play ends on the false notes of gold and silver, as also suggested by the commonly noted illusion of harmony and “rhetoric of dissonance” in 5.1.⁹⁰ The late romance of *The Tempest* is the proper gloss on Shakespeare’s earlier romance comedy, which less forcefully but just as clearly adverts to the political and economic dangers of regressive self-delusion on the part of a ruling class. “With his grandest dreams beyond his reach, Prospero must concentrate his efforts on winning what reconciliation he can with the most recalcitrant of his onstage audience/unwilling actors.”⁹¹ Portia and her Venetian circle, lacking Prospero’s hard-gained wisdom, retreat blithely into their gilded world.

Notes

I would like to thank the anonymous reader for insightful comments and opposing views, which have compelled me to a more cogent and sophisticated essay than otherwise. A special thanks goes to Elizabeth Rivlin for her keen editorial eye.

1. Lawrence Danson, introduction to *The Merchant of Venice*, ed. Lawrence Danson (New York: Pearson Education, 2005), 163.

2. Lawrence Stone, *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 543-44; Marjorie Garber, *Shakespeare After All* (New York: Random House/Anchor Books, 2004), 284.
3. Garber, 284.
4. Danson, *The Harmonies of The Merchant of Venice* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978), 144.
5. Francis Bacon rationally analyzes “the incommunities and communities of usury” in his defense of this commercial practice. Francis Bacon, “Essay XLI—Of Usury,” *Complete Essays of Francis Bacon* (New York: Belmont Books, 1962), 125.
6. Danson, *Harmonies*, 142.
7. William Harrison, *The Description of England* (1587), ed. Georges Edelen (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1968), 203, quoted in Danson, *Harmonies*, 146.
8. Danson, *Harmonies*, 147.
9. Stone quoted in Danson, *Harmonies*, 146.
10. Both words are cognates of Latin *usus*. See *OED*, *use* and *usury*, etymology.
11. Sigurd Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 213.
12. Robert Zaslavsky, “‘Which is the merchant heere? and which the Jew?’: Keeping the Book and Keeping the Books in *The Merchant of Venice*,” *Judaism* (1995): par. 11. http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m0411/is_n2_v44/ai_17379712/. Accessed 4 Sept. 2009.
13. *OED*, s.v. “good,” adj., A.
14. Danson, *Harmonies*, 127.
15. Citations of Shakespeare are from *The Norton Shakespeare*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt, Walter Cohen, Jean E. Howard, and Katharine Eisaman Maus (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1997).
16. Danson, *Harmonies*, 190.
17. Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. W. D. Ross, in *Introduction to Aristotle*, ed. Richard McKeon (New York: Random House, 1947), VIII.1156a10-12. Henceforth cited as *NE*.
18. Aristotle, *NE*, VIII.1156a15-18.
19. Aristotle, *NE*, VIII.2.1156b6-7.
20. Seneca, *The Woorke of the Excellent Philosopher Lucius Annaeus Seneca Concerning Benefyting. That Is too Say the Dooing, Receyving, and Requyting of Good Turnes*, trans. Arthur Golding (London, 1578), sig. E4; quoted in Barbara Sebek, “Good Turns and the Art of Merchandizing: Conceptualizing Exchange in Early Modern England,” *Early Modern Culture* 2 (2002): par. 12. <http://emc.cserver.org/1-2/sebek.html>. Accessed 3 Nov. 2009.
21. Ronald Sharp, “Gift Exchange and the Economics of Spirit in *The Merchant of Venice*,” *Modern Philology* 83 (1986): 250-65; quoted in Jason Gleckman, “*The Merchant of Venice*: Laws Unwritten and Unwritten in Venice,” *Critical Review* 41 (2001): 85.

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22. Gleckman, 83.
23. Bacon, 125. See also Walter Cohen: "Writers of the period register both the medieval ambivalence about merchants and the indisputable contemporary fact that merchants were the leading usurers: suspicion of Italian traders ran particularly high." Walter Cohen, "*The Merchant of Venice* and the Possibilities of Historical Criticism," *ELH* 49 (1982): 768-69.
24. Margaret Rosenthal, *The Honest Courtesan: Veronica Franco, Citizen and Writer in Sixteenth-Century Venice* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 12. See also David C. McPherson, *Shakespeare, Jonson, and the Myth of Venice* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 1990), 27, for "Venice the Rich, Venice the Wise, Venice the Just," quoted in Gleckman, 86.
25. Rosenthal, 3.
26. Murray J. Levith, *Shakespeare's Italian Settings and Plays* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 21.
27. John Picker, "Shylock and the Struggle for Closure," *Judaism: A Quarterly Journal of Jewish Life and Thought* 43 (1994): par. 2. http://find.galegroup.com.libproxy.usc.edu/gtx/start.do?prodId=EAIM&userGroupName=usocal_main. Accessed 31 Oct. 2009.
28. Francis Vander Valk, "Political Friendship and the Second Self in Aristotle's *Nicomachean Ethics*," *Innovations: A Journal of Politics* 5 (2004-05): 60.
29. Geoff Baker, "Other Capital: Investment, Return, Alterity and *The Merchant of Venice*," *The Upstart Crow* 22 (2004): 23.
30. Garber, 287.
31. Lorna Hutson, "Why the Lady's Eyes Are Nothing like the Sun," in *New Feminist Discourses: Critical Essays on Theories and Texts*, ed. Isobel Armstrong (New York and London: Routledge, 1992), 165.
32. Cicero, *Marcus Ciceroes Thre Bokes of Duties to Marcus His Sonne*, trans. Nicolas Grimalde, ed. Gerald O'Gorman (Washington, D. C.: Associated University Press, 1990), sig. N3*-N4, 1.1319-24.
33. Matthew 25:26, in *Geneva Bible*, trans. William Whittingham, Anthony Gilby, Thomas Sampson (Geneva, 1561), n.p. Early English Books Online: Text Creation Partnership.
34. Joseph Hall, "The Characterism of the Ambitious," in *Characters of Vertues and Vices in Two Booke*s (London: Eleazar Edgar and Samuel Macham, 1608), 155.
35. William Cecil, Lord Burghley, *A Multitude of Counsellors: Being a Collection of Codes, Precepts and Rules of Life from the Wise of All Ages*, ed. J. N. Larned (Cambridge, MA: Riverside Press, 1901), 242. I am indebted to Benjamin Nelson for pointing out this and the following reference.
36. Walter Raleigh, "Instructions to His Son and to Posterity," in Larned, 256-57. Polonius, in a litany of commonplaces, offers similar counsel to his son: "Neither a borrower nor a lender be; / For loan oft loses both itself and friend, / And borrowing dulls the edge of husbandry" (*Hamlet* 1.3.75-77).
37. Benjamin Nelson, *The Idea of Usury: From Tribal Brotherhood to Universal Otherhood*, 2nd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969), 148.

38. Aristotle, *NE*, VIII.3.1156b6-23. In Plato's *Symposium*, in *Plato: Complete Works*, ed. John Cooper (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 1997), *erôs* is rendered incarnate as a demigod, who, as the offspring of penury and resource, instantiates ceaseless striving for the beautiful and noble (203c). See also Plato, *Meno*, 77b–78b.
39. Joshua Scodel, *Excess and the Mean in Early Modern English Literature* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2002), 8-11.
40. Albert D. Menut, "Castiglione and the *Nicomachean Ethics*," *PMLA* 58 (1943): 317.
41. Charles B. Schmitt, "Aristotle's Ethics in the Sixteenth Century: Some Preliminary Considerations," in *The Aristotelian Tradition and Renaissance Universities* (London: Variorum Reprints, 1984), 94. See also Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner, *A History of Western Philosophy: Renaissance Philosophy*, Vols. 1–3 (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 3:778; and Henry S. Turner on *NE*'s influence on poetic discourse, *The English Renaissance Stage: Geometry, Poetics, and the Practical Spatial Arts 1580–1630* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 47–50, 62–63, 65.
42. Cicero, sig. L4v-L5, 2.757-62.
43. Aristotle, *NE*, VI.5.1140b9-12.
44. Cicero, sig. L5-L5v, 2.785-90.
45. Martin Luther, *Von Kaufshandlung und Wucher* (1524), quoted in Nelson, 151-52.
46. *Ibid.*, 152.
47. Leviticus 19:18, Leviticus 19:34, Matthew 7:12, Matthew 19:19, Matthew 22:39, Mark 12:33, Luke 6:31, Luke 10:27, Romans 13:9, Galatians 5:14, James 2:8, in *Geneva Bible*, Early English Books Online.
48. Proverbs of Solomon 17:17-18, in *Geneva Bible*, Early English Books Online.
49. C. S. Lewis, *The Four Loves* (New York: Harvest Books, 1960), 17.
50. Aristotle, *NE*, IV.1.1121b33-1122a2; Exodus 22, Deuteronomy 24:23, Leviticus 25, Nehemiah 5, Ezzechiel 22:18, in *Geneva Bible*, Early English Books Online; and Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomy of Abuses*, excerpted in Danson, *The Merchant of Venice*, 169.
51. Matthew 25:27, in *Geneva Bible*, Early English Books Online.
52. Graham Holderness, *Merchant of Venice* (New York: Penguin Books, 1993), 22.
53. *Ibid.*, xii.
54. Katharine Maus, introduction to *The Merchant of Venice* in Greenblatt et al., *The Norton Shakespeare*, 1087.
55. Thomas H. Luxon, "A Second Daniel: The Jew and the 'True Jew' in *The Merchant of Venice*," *Early Modern Literary Studies* 4.3 (1999): par. 3. <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/04-3/luxoshak.html>. Accessed 8 Feb. 2008.
56. Zaslavsky, par. 11.

40 *The Upstart Crow*

57. Nelson, 155-56.
58. Aristotle, *NE*, IV.1.1120b22.
59. In a slightly different configuration of the three male characters conflating the merchant and the Jew, the comedy seems to play out an Augustinian reading of the parable as a religious allegory: Antonio and Shylock together fill the role of the elder brother/Jew vis-à-vis Bassanio as the prodigal son/Gentile. I am indebted to Katharine E. Maus for this information.
60. "Venice," *Jewish Virtual Library*. <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org>. Accessed 31 Aug. 2011.
61. Gleckman, 87, 86.
62. Aristotle, *NE*, VIII.1155a23-25.
63. *Ibid.*, IX.6.1167a21-1167a4.
64. *Ibid.*, IX.6.1167a21-1167a5-9.
65. See Christopher Colmo's cogent argument that Shylock leans very much toward assimilation despite indications of ethnic separation. Christopher A. Colmo, "Law and Love in Shakespeare's *The Merchant of Venice*," *Oklahoma City University Law Review* 26 (2001): 317-18.
66. See also Charles Spinosa, "The Transformation of Intentionality: Debt and Contract in *The Merchant of Venice*," *Cardozo Studies in Law and Literature* 5 (1993): 395-96, for another reading of Shylock's gesturing toward friendship. For this reference, I am indebted to Michael Bristol and Sara Coodin, "Is Shylock Jewish?," *SPRITE*, Shakespeare in Performance Research Team Colloquium, Montreal, 18 Jan. 2007.
67. "The Making of Contracts (2)—Consideration," 23-25. http://www.londonexternal.ac.uk/current_students/programme_resources/lse/lse_pdf/foundation_units/intro_com_law/intcomlaw_ch3.pdf. Accessed 9 April 2010.
68. Seneca, sig. A4v; Facsimile rpt. *The English Experience* (Amsterdam: Walter J. Johnson, 1974), 694, quoted in Sebek, par. 11.
69. When Jessica rebels against her father's austere, joyless house, she (and, apparently, Shakespeare) associate this severity with a Jewish household when it could just as well fit a Puritan one.
70. Seneca, sigs. A1, B3v, quoted in Sebek, par. 11.
71. Francis Bacon, "Of Revenge," in *Essays and Counsels, Civil and Moral* (London, 1664), 20.
72. Colmo, 310.
73. John Drakakis, "Historical Difference and Venetian Patriarchy," in *New Casebooks: "The Merchant of Venice"*, ed. Martin Coyle (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 186.
74. *Ibid.*
75. John Ruskin, *Mundera Pulveris in The Crown of Wild Olive* (Boston: Dana Estes, 1890), 172. I am indebted to Karoline Szatek for drawing my attention to this citation.
76. Matthew 5:44, in *Geneva Bible*, Early English Books Online.

77. Thomas Bankes, "A Verie Godly, Learned, and Fruitfull Sermon against the Bad Spirits of Malig-
nitie, Malice, and Unmercifulnesse" (1586), D2r-3v.
78. SPRITE, Shakespeare and Performance Research Team, 2008. <http://shakespeare.mcgill.ca/merchant/page3.html>. Accessed 26 March 2009.
79. See Janet Adelman's fascinating theological account, *Blood Relations: Christian and Jew in 'The Merchant of Venice* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008), on the relations between the Christians and the Jews within the context of the conversion narrative: "the knowledge that *Merchant* simultaneously gestures toward and defends against us is that the Jew is not the stranger outside Christianity but the original stranger within it" (4).
80. Aristotle, *NE*, V.4.1132a5-10.
81. See John Gillies, *Shakespeare and the Geography of Difference* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 127. The Roman law on debt, according to the first-century legal historian, Aulus Gellius, ruled that a debtor unable to pay his bond would be imprisoned for a period of sixty days, after which time he could be condemned to death and/or his body quartered and distributed among the creditors if they so wished.
82. Aristotle, *NE*, V.3.1131a26-29.
83. Karoline Szatek, "The *Merchant of Venice* and the Politics of Commerce," in *The Merchant of Venice: New Critical Essays* ed. John W. Mahon and Ellen Macleod Mahon (New York: Routledge, 2002), 326.
84. Kevin McNamara argues cogently that the betrothal masque, contrary to the standard view, figures as a significant element of the play, in warning the court, comprising the ruling class, of "the mind-warping potential of kingly power" (197), which distracts rulers by "comfortable fictions" (199) from the imperatives of responsible governance. Kevin McNamara, "Golden Worlds at Court: *The Tempest* and Its Masque," *Shakespeare Studies* 19 (1987): 183-202.
85. *Ibid.*, 197, 199.
86. *Ibid.*, 191.
87. For a more detailed discussion of this conflict, see my essay, "Idleness, Leisure, and Virtuous Activity in Shakespearean Drama," *Selected Papers of the Ohio Valley Shakespeare Conference* 2 (2009): 1-16.
88. McNamara, 195.
89. *Ibid.*, 197.
90. Elise Bickford Jorgens, "A Rhetoric of Dissonance: Music in *The Merchant of Venice*," *John Donne Journal* 25 (2006): 109.
91. McNamara, 197.

GOVERNANCE AND THE WARRIOR ETHIC IN *MACBETH* AND *HENRY V*

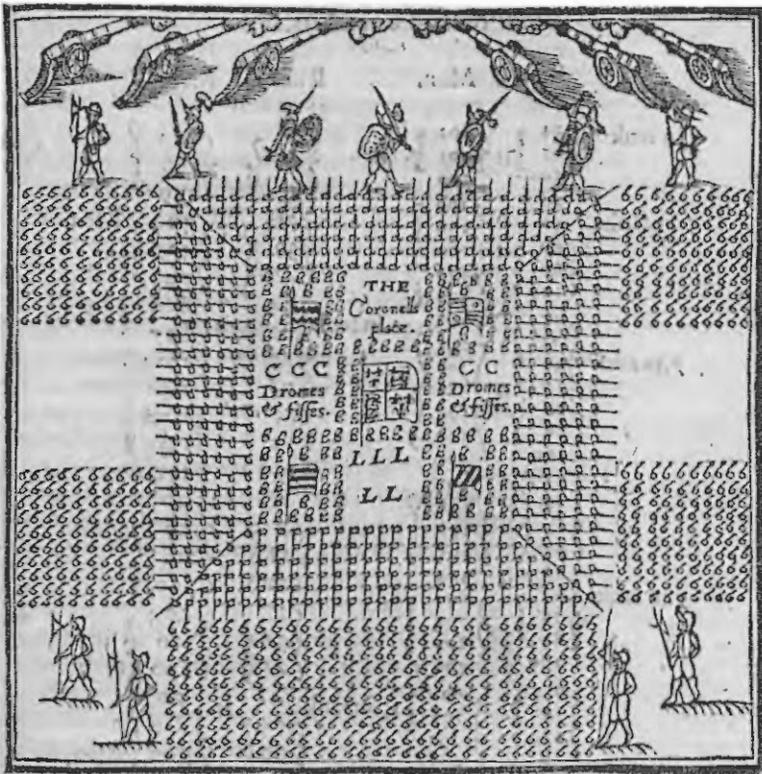
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I. Introduction

Macbeth and *Henry V* depict shifts in governance that profoundly affect the ethic of the warriors each society sends into battle. In *Macbeth*, this shift is from tribalism to feudalism; in *Henry V*, from feudalism to statism. The tribal warrior's ethic is defined by reassuring absolutes of blood and kinship, with loyalty to the clan trumping other moral claims on his actions; he lives in a simple world with sharply demarcated ethical choices, definitive consequences associated with each, and rigid expectations regarding his behavior as a warrior. The feudal warrior or knight, like his tribal predecessor, also demonstrates a sense of personal loyalty to the lord who has granted him his fief, but his ethic is no longer purely an implicit consequence of membership in the clan or tribe. Instead, it is now explicitly defined in a chivalric code that formally enumerates the roles and responsibilities of the knight but without imposing the sanction of statute; the code is enforced more by a sense of honor and personal obligation than by the threat of punishment. With the emergence of the nation state, the knight's formal code of conduct evolves into an impersonal, primarily legalistic relationship between the citizen-soldier and his government. The soldier now fights less to honor his chief or lord than to fulfill his legal responsibility to the state; eventually he becomes a "paid professional," conscripted for pay and treated more as a political or bureaucratic tool than as a unique individual with an intellect and a conscience.¹

Through his focus on the warrior, Shakespeare explores how the evolution from tribalism to statism expands the government's control over its citizens even as it increases their personal responsibility for determining whether they should obey laws that they may find, in a particular situation, to be unethical or immoral. As Shakespeare shows, this evolution in governance increasingly alienates the soldier from the very rules of engagement designed by the state to guide his behavior in battle. The more rigidly the state attempts to regulate the warrior's code of conduct, the less dependable it is in actual situations that lack clear separation between right and wrong. In an ironic twist, the warrior now finds himself in a moral quandary at the very moment he must act decisively and ethically. Shakespeare does not necessarily offer a definitive solution to the soldier's ethical dilemma, but his characters do model a set of responses that suggest a pragmatic ethic for coping with the uneasy contradictions arising between the moral ambiguity of war and the codified rigidity of law. My approach, then, will be to demonstrate how the evolution from tribalism to statism alters and complicates the warrior ethic, how the ethic conspicuously shapes the action and meaning of *Macbeth* and *Henry V*, and how together the two plays embody a penetrating inquiry into the moral and legal issues confronting the warrior and, by extension, the citizen and ruler.

II. Evolving Models of Governance and the Warrior Ethic



Martial image from Thomas Styward, *The Pathwaie to Martiall Discipline* (London, 1581), 111, illustrates the increasingly technical nature of war, reducing the soldier from an individual warrior to a function within a rationally optimized system. By permission of the Huntington Library, San Marino, California. See also Henry Webb, *Elizabethan Military Science: The Books and the Practice* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1965), 112-113.

The driving principle behind the evolution from tribalism to legalism or statism, as centered on the role of the soldier in battle, is to fully articulate a verbal model of martial behavior, captured in statute, that will cover all contingencies and allow for gradations of moral responsibility. The need to specify precisely the responsibilities of the warrior derives in significant part from increasingly sophisticated technological developments in warfare that require an individual soldier both to think independently in operating his equipment and to function intelligently and collaboratively within progressively more complex battle formations. Adam Max Cohen has shown that advances in military technology demanded more complex and disciplined behavior from soldiers; operating a musket could require over forty discrete actions, all performed in the heat of battle while trying to maintain formation. Similarly, the process of firing a cannon required a number of actions that needed to be performed

perfectly, coupled with physical agility to avoid frequent and deadly backfires, recoils, and explosions.² Soldiers needed to be both physically and mentally agile; they had to act and think on their own, yet coordinate with others in small, essentially self-managed groups (such as those manning artillery pieces), and all within the strategic, tactical, and behavioral boundaries imposed upon them by their officers and the state. The most important requirement for the soldier, then, was no longer an unquestioning belief in, and a blind willingness to follow to the death, the dictates of the tribal society, but rather his ability to work through ambiguities in handling weapons and in implementing tactical movements, often without direct supervision.

As Cohen shows, the soldier's new requirement for mental and physical versatility also arose in methods of state management. Machiavelli directly identifies the prince with the soldier—the two operate at different levels, but with the same primal need for flexibility and initiative. The prince, Machiavelli asserts, must possess what Cohen calls a “core” and a “superficial” character, or what I later call, following Ernst Kantorowicz, the private and public “bodies” or personae of the king.³ The core character is the ruler's private self, the superficial character “the public face the prince shows to the world.”⁴ In his public role, the prince must be willing to sustain the state at all costs, including, potentially, his own loss of life, and to do so, he must be able and willing to “change his essential nature to suit the times.”⁵ As Machiavelli states in chapter XVIII of *The Prince*,

A ruler . . . cannot always act in ways that are considered good because, in order to maintain his power, he is often forced to act treacherously, ruthlessly or inhumanely, and disregard the precepts of religion. Hence, he must be prepared to vary his conduct as the winds of fortune and changing circumstances constrain him, and, as I said before, not deviate from right conduct if possible, but be capable of entering upon the path of wrongdoing when this becomes necessary.⁶

Cohen points out regarding this passage that “it is important to keep its military-historical context in mind,” to realize that it focuses on the public face of the prince, not his innate character, and to understand that for Machiavelli the public face of the prince and the state are the same.⁷ The primary objective is always the preservation of the state as embodied in the public self of the prince; hence the end justifies the means and acting treacherously or inhumanely, if necessary, is acceptable, even recommended.

Of equal importance, however, is Machiavelli's statement that the prince should “not deviate from right conduct if possible,” but only “when this becomes necessary”; Machiavelli clearly prefers that the prince act morally but realizes that this may not always be possible. As Cohen demonstrates, Machiavelli's thinking, typically considered purely amoral, needs to be understood in the context of the military disasters that befell the Italian city states during the Renaissance. Because principalities lacked the versatility to change both political and military tactics as dictated by changing circumstances, they suffered terrible losses to the invading armies of the north. Machiavelli therefore concludes that “public versatility was necessary to ensure a prince's [and, by

extension, the state's] survival," and "he also claimed that the prince should remain constant on one particular point: he or she should always think and act like a warrior."⁸ The prince is always a warrior first, and a warrior for the state; like the common soldier, he must remain balanced and vigilant at all times, ready to change as necessary to meet the exigencies of the situation, but also always in terms of the primal requirement to preserve the state.⁹ The independent-thinking prince is, therefore, the mirror image of the independent-thinking soldier. Henry V and his soldiers, as idealized in his famous "band of brothers" speech, exemplify this Machiavellian precept; despite their social differences, they are reflections of one another in their versatility, independence of thought, and ideally, their ultimate devotion to the survival of the kingdom.

The emergence of versatile, independently thinking soldiers, however, threatens the control the tribe could traditionally assert over the unreflective and blindly obedient clan warrior. To maintain control over the intelligent, thoughtful soldier, the state enacts a series of statutes to define, as rigidly and specifically as possible, the rules of engagement he must follow in combat. This goal, however, is shown by Shakespeare to be impossible to achieve; the moral ambiguity of battle will always eclipse the effort of the law, no matter how detailed or carefully crafted, to delineate and model it. Hence, the early modern soldier must often formulate on his own an appropriate moral response to a specific existential situation, but without the security of knowing that his particular moral solution necessarily comports with his society's legally and rigidly mandated rules of engagement. Moreover, his independent judgment leads him to question and analyze the justification for the war he is conscripted to fight and the laws he is expected to follow and defend. The very modernization of warfare that demands intelligent, flexible warriors also empowers them to reflect upon the legal and ethical values imposed upon them by the state. Hence, the evolution of governance from tribalism to statism transforms the unreflective tribal warrior, utterly convinced of his moral righteousness in a world of clear moral absolutes, into the self-conscious, morally ambivalent citizen-soldier of the early modern state who is never really certain of the ethical justification for his actions even as he is constrained in his behavior by the detailed, rigid absolutisms of his society's law.

III. Models of Governance in *Macbeth* and *Henry V*

Shakespeare offers no definitive solution to the warrior's dilemma or by extension, to the problem of governance it embodies. In both plays he implies that the best that can be attained in governance is a temporary, but renewable, stability, achievable by managing the dynamic tension between the competing political imperatives inherent in the state. In *Macbeth*, the threat to stability is defeated and there is a restoration of order, but as Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson have noted, the promise of order is not necessarily permanent. What emerges is at most a vision of the early nation state as an "imagined community, constructed by individuals and social groups immersed in the shifting historical and political moment and not a static, harmonious entity."¹⁰ As I shall argue, this aspect of the play—nation building by forging abstract or legalistic covenants to offset sectarian and ethnic tensions—finds its focus in Malcolm, a transitional figure mediating between

the traditional tribal morality of his father, Duncan, and the more complex statist morality that Shakespeare explores in *Henry V*. Malcolm, like Henry, must operate by remaining vigilant about possible threats to both the political order and to his people's sense of justice, offsetting threats to either to maintain the balance of interests required for political stability. Patricia Parker sees a similarly precarious political stability in *Henry V* in the tension between the government's "rhetoric of unity, containment, or enclosure"—the drive toward creating a stable nation state through the rhetoric of law alone—and an "ungoverned sounding" of tribal voices—Irish, Scottish, Welsh, English, and eventually French. These diverse and contrary voices, Parker argues, reveal the "instabilities within 'British' unity" and "suggest the opposite of containment."¹¹ That is, the oratory of nationalism and the state espoused by Henry operates in uneasy cultural confrontation with the demotic languages and cultural identities of the people, and he is constantly challenged to balance the two by rhetorically and forensically contextualizing the concerns of each within the concerns of the other. This process is symptomatic of both the ongoing threat of instability and the king's new role as integrator rather than tyrant.

With this perspective on governance, the contradictions in Henry's actions, typically understood as evidence of his hypocrisy and purely manipulative character, can be reinterpreted as different manifestations of the same creative political energy, allowing us to move beyond the polarizing either-or, duck-rabbit interpretations that have traditionally bedeviled scholarship on the play.¹² Much like Machiavelli's prince, with his "core" and "superficial" (public) character, Henry remains Henry even as he presents himself in different ways—as the public, political self embodying and extolling the rule of law, or as the personal, charismatic self inspiring his subjects through his physical presence and "vile participation" in their lives (*I HIV*, 3.2.89).¹³ Both aspects of the king's self are present at all times but are emphasized differently, depending upon circumstances, usually to offset imbalances that threaten the stability of the political order. However Henry appears in the moment, he always remains fixed, as Machiavelli recommends, on his underlying purpose of maintaining a functional, if not perfect, system of order and justice in the kingdom—not by simple repression or pure *laissez-faire*, but by balancing conflicting needs and demands against each other within a dynamic, actively and responsively managed, political order. His method employs a self-correcting feedback loop, much like a political thermostat, that enables him to maintain a dynamic equilibrium among diverse forces. This active management in favor of the stability of the state does indeed characterize Henry as Machiavellian, but not in the caricatured sense of the utterly amoral and power-hungry ruler. Rather, it defines him as a ruler bound by virtù, by a sense of obligation to something greater than himself, namely the state. The survival of the state is ultimately more important than the survival of Henry himself and is therefore an end that can be justified, when necessary, by immoral means.

The plays also reveal an increased alienation of the citizen from the government, with the individual's relationship to his society becoming more impersonal.¹⁴ As Michael Hattaway shows, a "categorical shift" from feudalism to martialism occurs in the professionalization of the soldier, reflecting a broader change in society with "ties of duty . . . transformed into financial bonds." Alan Sinfield similarly describes

the development “from feudalism to the absolutist state,” with power no longer shared by the aristocracy and the knights, but increasingly “centralized in the figure of the monarch, the exclusive source of legitimacy,” and he and Jonathan Dollimore argue that “The Elizabethan state was in transition from a feudal to a bourgeois structure.”¹⁵ Michael Hawkins also perceives a clear movement from a “pre-feudal” society, with “politics based on blood and kinship relationships,” toward greater institutionalization, more power centralized in the Crown, a “growing reliance on the government to regulate social and economic life,” and an increasing emphasis on “quell[ing] disruptive private feuds.”¹⁶ As such, the plays reflect contemporary developments from tribalism and feudalism to statism, with the individual becoming increasingly aware of his artificial, prescribed, and impersonal relationship to the government.¹⁷ What was once a lived loyalty to king and tribe is now a prescribed duty to ruler and state. A tension grows between the legal duty of the citizen, as defined by the state, and the moral responsibility of the individual, as mandated by his conscience. The emergent conflict between citizen and individual and the resulting moral confusion serve as Shakespeare’s critique of the limitations and imperfections of government in general, and of the idea that government can be necessarily improved through legalism and civic mandate in particular.

Hattaway, like Parker and Hawkins, also observes that vestiges of “tribalism” survive in the state and that these serve as “a register of the limits of centralized rule.”¹⁸ That is, even as governance evolves towards statism, it retains, even if in repressed form, traces of tribal and feudal customs that can return to challenge the dominant statist paradigm. In the clan-based society of *Macbeth*, for instance, we see a direct, personal form of gift-giving in the rewards Duncan lavishes on Macbeth to honor his tribal loyalty and support. In the feudal system, we still see a cultural dependence on personal relationship marked by “gift-giving” and “Ritual courtesy [that] sponsored frequent gift exchanges among aristocrats”—behavior more formalized than in the tribal world, but still not quite statist, in that such rituals were not encoded in “a professional bureaucracy to foster stability.”¹⁹ Later, in the more advanced statism of *Henry V*, we see vestiges of gift-giving in Henry’s unsuccessful attempt to make amends with an angry Williams by offering him money, a throwback to the more personal relationship between warrior and ruler characteristic of the tribal or feudal society. The Dauphin’s gift of tennis balls also recalls the gift-giving custom, but in a negative, insulting way—and noticeably, Henry’s reaction is angry and quite personal, much like Williams’s reaction to his own gift of money. The resurgence of vestigial tribal or feudal values and customs suggests the need to retain a human component in governance. Without it the ruler loses credibility with his people and, treating them as dehumanized components in an impersonal system, eventually invites the insurrection that accompanies excessive bureaucratic control. At the same time, allowing for direct human interaction with his subjects opens the ruler to unpredictable responses—they may be positive or negative—and he must be ready to contend with them as they happen. The true Machiavellian prince in pursuit of virtù must therefore affirm a human connection with his subjects, even when unpleasant, while also exercising statist power to ensure order and a sense of fairness among the people (as Henry does in condemning Bardolph, for example).

Of particular importance in the transition to statism is the increasing importance of language, especially as codified in law and regulation, as a source of power and control. Theodor Meron shows that as statism develops, the warrior's behavior is controlled less by honor and more by the contractual and legally defined laws of war.²⁰ As control becomes impersonal and is implemented through legal language (as in the initial argument in *Henry V* justifying the basis for war against France), a complementary form of discourse—what Henry calls “ceremony,” language both verbal and visual—also emerges as a means to dominate and compel. As Curtis Bright shows, writing itself—in the forms of letters, writs, laws, forms, procedures, and ordinances—literally the word of officialdom, the state, or the sovereign—creates “networks of obligation” that can be used to control the population: “Unlike royal henchmen such as Thomas Cromwell under Henry VIII . . . the lawyerly Cecils [exemplars of the burgeoning power of bureaucracy and legalistic control] maintain rule because they create networks of obligation” primarily through correspondence and written edicts, procedures, and directives.²¹ The power of language to bureaucratize and control is in turn complemented by a visual symbolic language preserving, in the mind of the public, Elizabeth's “mystery as ruler of state and anointed queen,” realized through “ceremonies, pageants and costumes.”²² Elizabeth's fondness for displays of chivalry, especially jousts, served as a complement to the rising power of the invisible yet potent bureaucracy: through verbal and visual language, the state sustained the myth and mystery of a sacred ruler while actually extending its power through laws, directives, and written codes of conduct. The power of such public display is reinforced by her rival Essex arrogating to himself “the symbolic language of the royal procession,” “a piece of civic theater designed to underscore Essex's authority and the gravity of his mission,” and “a strategy Essex would be seen as deploying again when accused of going on ‘progress’ through southern Ireland soon after assuming the sword of office.”²³ Essex's appropriation of this technique to elicit support from the people substantiates its power in governance: Not only must Essex make a legal case for his rebellion against Elizabeth, he must also ritually and ceremonially enact the role of a king to gain the emotional support of the people. He must, in short, present himself as a king of two bodies by balancing the polarities of language against each other, that is, by employing institutionalized, forensic language or rhetorical, ritualized discourse as the occasion demands. (We might also note in passing James's penchant for processions and ceremonial public appearances.)

In general, then, Shakespearean criticism on governance recognizes the monarch's need to sustain a dual presence as both practical, legal ruler and as charismatic, spiritual leader. This development demonstrates the change in the sources of legitimate power as tribalism evolves into statism. First, authority is based on the leader's individual charisma, foregrounding his heroism, power of mind and speech, or spiritual and inspired presence (tribalism). Over time, authority becomes vested in tradition, custom, cultural familiarity, and inheritance of title (feudalism). Eventually, authority arises from a rational-legal system of bureaucracy, a system of laws applicable to all and open to procedurally controlled modification (statism).²⁴ Rarely do governments achieve pure statism; rather, the types are generally intermixed, with one type assuming greater emphasis than another. Thus in Shakespeare's time,

and as reflected in his history plays in particular, government is understood to involve a “mixed” constitution,” with elements of tribalism and feudalism extant but operating within the purview of an increasingly dominant statist model.²⁵ Even as the state consolidates power through legalism and bureaucracy, it must also accommodate populist feeling by fashioning a mythic or charismatic aura around the monarch that can attract and absorb the emotional energy of the populace. The emotional unity between ruler and ruled reinforces the individual citizen’s (and citizen soldier’s) belief that in carrying out the orders of his superiors, he is acting both legally and ethically, in keeping with the law (identifying with the public self of the king) and with his own conscience (identifying with the private or personal moral self of the king as a validation of his own).²⁶ Together, *Macbeth and Henry V* illustrate the emergence of the king’s two bodies doctrine as a means of balancing the increasing conflicts between the proscriptions of law and the demands of individual conscience. With the development of statism, the both-and approach to governance becomes an overriding necessity in maintaining a functional compromise between order and justice, impersonal duty and personal loyalty.

IV. *Macbeth*: From Tribalism to Feudalism and Early Statism

Evidence of the tribal warrior ethic in *Macbeth* is conspicuous and pervasive. As Robert F. O’Connor argues, in *Macbeth* “There is a warrior ethic, in which prowess in battle and loyalty to your king count for everything . . . the thanes are to obey, the King to be obeyed.”²⁷ With this aspect of O’Connor’s argument I am in complete agreement: in the tribalistic culture of *Macbeth*, the warrior is expected, as a rite of manhood and a sign of honor, to defend his chief to the death, using any means appropriate. As O’Connor observes, the “bloody zeal” shown by Macbeth, the Captain, and others is held in high esteem when in defense of the king, and considered evil and degenerate when against.²⁸ Where I disagree with O’Connor is in his acceptance of Harry Berger’s argument that the warrior ethic per se is “a symptom of a deep sickness in Scotland. It is inevitable, according to Berger’s argument, that as long as such an ethic prevails, revolts will occur, leading to a kind of circularity”: that is, Macbeth’s death at Macduff’s hands “may also be simple recurrence, more of the same. In killing Macbeth, Macduff steps into his role. Will he become Malcolm’s Macbeth?”²⁹

The problem with this part of O’Connor’s (and Berger’s) argument is that it ignores the complexity and prominence of Macduff’s role as nemesis to Macbeth and as restorer of the true warrior ethic that seeks above all to protect the chief and the tribe, and which in turn provides Malcolm with a platform from which he can launch a late feudalistic, neo-statist government. O’Connor notes that Macbeth’s ambition has driven him to live solely “within the ethical framework of the warrior, not of the King,” thereby upending the ethical primacy of the political order and throwing the society into chaos.³⁰ Again, I agree with O’Connor’s point, but with the crucial proviso that it is Macbeth as the *anti-warrior*, the negative image of the true tribal warrior, that is presented to us, with his antagonist, Macduff, characterized as Macbeth’s ethical and honorable opposite. As Eugene Waith observes, the play presents an “explicit contrast between two ideals of manhood,” the complete rejection

of moral restraint advocated by Lady Macbeth and embraced by Macbeth, and the total adherence to a moral idea represented by Macduff.³¹ In fact, Shakespeare seems to be at pains to thoroughly motivate Macduff's selfless devotion to Scotland, and to foreground him as the exemplar of the tribal warrior ethic in contradistinction to the traitorous Macbeth. O'Connor's (and Berger's) argument also ignores the introduction of the politically canny Malcolm, who injects a Machiavellianism into the way he will govern his clan and control the warrior class. Macduff could indeed end up as Malcolm's Macbeth, but only if Malcolm's shrewd and calculating approach fails—something unlikely to happen, given his caution in extensively and purposefully testing Macduff's loyalty before revealing his true intentions. The circularity O'Connor and Berger see in the play is possible only if the new force of policy and manipulation represented by Malcolm is ignored. This is not to say that Malcolm's security from future rebellion is a given, only that he brings to the issue greater political competence and awareness than his father and hence has the ability to mitigate the threat of rebellious warriors and the political chaos they imply. Thus, Malcolm need not be a great warrior like Macbeth: he can, as O'Connor says, be the ruler who "directs a battle rather than leads it." Like his father, he rules and is to be obeyed: but unlike his father, he also knows how to use others (such as Macduff) to protect himself and his power—with the result that he will not be the victim his father was.³² What O'Connor and Berger do not address, then, is precisely the new type of power Malcolm represents: a transitional figure, he epitomizes the emerging change from king as tribal warrior to king as political ruler, from tribalism to statism.

Macbeth's fate, as O'Connor suggests, is to test the taboos of his tribal world and to lose his life, as well as his reputation within the tribe, in the process, and thus to stand as a negative example of the tribal warrior ethic and of the purely charismatic leader gone bad. Lady Macbeth, of course, is the decisive influence in convincing Macbeth that he should kill Duncan. When Macbeth wavers because of his scruples against murdering the leader of his clan, Lady Macbeth famously attacks his masculinity, essentially forcing him to kill in order to prove his manhood. She redefines manhood as courage in acting out one's ambition regardless of scruple. The warrior's courage and martial prowess are redirected purely into realizing ambition.³³ Her taunting compels Macbeth, in the name of a purely self-aggrandizing pursuit of power, to reject the part of the warrior ethic that authenticates his manhood—namely, the courage to act only in service of the tribal chief and not against him. Lady Macbeth therefore does demonstrate that, as O'Connor and Berger argue, the ultimate basis of governance is power; but what she also demonstrates (unintentionally) is that ultimately power must be balanced by morality and justice, by some sense of restraint, or it will destroy both others and itself. Hence, Macbeth's complete rejection of the warrior's absolute loyalty to the clan must inevitably ruin him and the society he would dominate. A society without order, when anyone at any time can disrupt the social and political balance, is not sustainable; it simply dissolves into the cycle of chaos and rebellion described by Berger and O'Connor. Thus Malcolm must reassert order by finding a balance between the martial power available to him through Macduff—power that could easily burst its seams and turn upon him—and a measure of transparency and fairness in the treatment of

his subjects, so that their motivation for rebellion is neutralized and redirected to serve, not supplant, the crown. Shakespeare's characterization of Malcolm as canny political manipulator, as someone who introduces conscious, formalized strategies of co-option into governance, is therefore pivotal in illustrating the transition from tribalism to late feudalism and early statism.

By driving Macbeth to the extreme opposite of the ethical tribal warrior, Lady Macbeth triggers the political crisis that compels the transition in governance in the play. The change is captured in Lady Macbeth's own moral evolution. Her success in turning Macbeth (in keeping with his own ambition, of course) into the negative version of the ethical warrior is balanced by her own developing (or resurgent) sense of right and wrong. She cannot bring herself to kill Duncan because he looks like her father, and later, in her sleepwalking scene, reveals a tortured conscience and a fear of eternal damnation expressed in her inability to wash the blood from her hands. Ironically, then, Macbeth rejects his warrior ethic completely at his wife's urging, while she, increasingly unable to fulfill her own vision of pure evil, recovers an awareness of moral limitations. Like her husband, then, Lady Macbeth demonstrates the impossibility of actually sustaining a society on pure power. Without some measure of order, justice, and transparency, such a society will destroy itself, resulting in the reassertion, in some form, of the cycle of repression and rebellion. The only way out of the cycle is through the introduction of less personal but more sustainable modes of governance, such as feudalism and, eventually, statism. In this sense, Macbeth and Lady Macbeth represent the negative extreme as much as Macduff represents the positive, leaving space for the more politically astute, and sustainable, maneuvering of Malcolm, the emerging neo-statist ruler.

Though Christianity does play a part in *Macbeth*, such as in Cawdor's shriving prior to his execution, descriptions of Hell by the porter, and the healing "king's evil" of Edward the Confessor, it is not the primary driver of moral behavior. Christian morality can help rescue the soul of the sinner—thus Cawdor's confession allows him to die in a state of grace—but the evil done is primarily understood in terms of violating clan, kinship, or tribal relationships, with tribal ethic trumping Christian law. Cawdor may be forgiven by the Church but not by the tribe; he has betrayed the clan and must die for it. An example of this hard fact is that the otherwise generous and gracious Duncan is quite anxious to confirm that Cawdor has been executed: "Is execution done on Cawdor?" (1.4.1).³⁴ The primacy of tribal over Christian morality is also evident when Macbeth, as he considers murdering Duncan, is less concerned about the Christian stricture against killing than about the violation of tribal kinship (1.7.12-16). The dominance of the tribal code is further emphasized when Macbeth kills Banquo who, as a member of the clan, is also his "kinsman," and when he kills Macduff's family, a crime not only heinous in itself but also symbolic of Macbeth's attempt to destroy the very source of kinship that defines the tribe and whose moral claims would limit his power. This last act is represented as a particularly depraved violation of tribal values. The depth of Macbeth's transgression is also measured by the honor that accrues to young Siward, whom Macbeth kills in combat. Where Macbeth is vilified for his disloyalty, Young Siward is honored for his death because a warrior in this society cannot die a "fairer death" than in protecting the clan (5.8.57).

Young Siward therefore stands in clear contrast to the dishonor and disgrace garnered by his killer, Macbeth. He exemplifies the simplicity and purity of the tribal warrior ethic, and his death authenticates his manhood; the warrior ethic is therefore “intimately associated with concepts of manhood.”³⁵ In contrast, Macbeth’s violation of the code reduces his stature in the society; no “golden opinions” (1.7.35) will be his, as he ruefully recognizes; all he will get is “mouth-honor, breath / Which the heart would fain deny and dare not” (5.3.31-32); and the title he sought so obsessively as a sign of his greatness now will hang “loose about him, like a giant’s robe / Upon a dwarfish thief” (5.2.24-5). Macbeth, in short, epitomizes the negative complement of the ideal tribal warrior embodied by Siward and Macduff. However charismatic he is, even in the negative sense, Macbeth’s violation of the warrior ethic defines him as a perfect example of exactly what the tribal warrior should *not* do.

Macduff, in contrast, puts the welfare of his clan and country above other considerations, including the safety of his immediate family. As such, he serves as Macbeth’s positive opposite, the ideal of the true tribal warrior. Macduff’s role as nemesis begins immediately after Duncan’s murder, when he knocks fatefully at the gate and establishes himself as the harbinger of guilt and the agent of retribution. It is Macduff who first suspects Macbeth’s actions by asking why Macbeth saw fit to kill Duncan’s drunken attendants. It is Macduff who, seeking help from England to overthrow the tyrant Macbeth and putting the needs of his country above his own, leaves his own castle undefended—because, it appears, he cannot imagine that anyone would stoop to murdering women and children, especially members of the same tribe—a form of moral restraint that unfortunately seems to escape the murderous Macbeth. It is Macduff who—after enduring Malcolm’s long description of how lustful and destructive a king he will be if he replaces Macbeth—finally despairs for Scotland, a sign that his motives are honorable and that he is true to the needs of his tribe and country (4.3.121). And it is Macduff who, upon hearing of his wife and children’s deaths, does not immediately think to avenge himself, as he is urged to by Malcolm, or to simply repress his feelings when Malcolm tells him to “Dispute it like a man” (4.3.260); instead, he replies that though he will dispute it like a man, he “must also feel it as a man” (4.3.261). Here Macduff shows that the ideal man in the tribal society is a warrior who both feels the suffering and loss of others (at least, others within the tribe) *and* retains the martial spirit of the warrior. Once he has decided to act, Macduff declares fiercely that he will “Cut short all intermission!” and confront Macbeth personally and directly: “Front to front / Bring thou this fiend of Scotland and myself. / Within my sword’s length set him. If he ‘scape, / Heaven forgive him too” (4.3.272-5). Characteristically, the political Malcolm sees the vengeance in Macduff’s comments—“This tune goes manly” (4.3.276)—but not the sensitivity in his feelings for his family. Macduff does give Macbeth the option to surrender and be made an object of mockery, “the show and gaze o’ th’ time” (5.8.28), an offer Macbeth rejects; regardless, Macbeth’s fate is sealed. Like his predecessor Cawdor, he will be killed, either now or later, and for the same primal sin: disloyalty to the tribe, a violation of the very ethic he is expected, as an honored tribal warrior, to uphold even to his death.

Macduff, then, combines the fearsomeness of Macbeth in battle with the sensitivity of the gracious Duncan and an unwavering fidelity to the tribal code.

Macbeth also possesses great courage and human feeling but lacks Macduff's moral discipline and loyalty to the tribe. And Malcolm lacks both physical courage and human feeling while revealing a calculating, disciplined, and manipulative nature. The prototypical politician, Malcolm gets what he wants through others while avoiding direct responsibility for anything. The three characters therefore illustrate the changing model of governance in *Macbeth*, from a primarily tribalistic to a proto-feudalistic and pre-statist society, where the brutal but authentic moral clarity of the tribe yields to the diplomatic but amoral ambiguity of the state.

V. *Henry V*: From Feudalism to Statism



Jacob de Gheyn, *Maniement d'armes, d'arquebuses, mousquetz, et piques* (1607), [fWar 4076.08.3], Houghton Library, Harvard University. One of forty-two separate, coordinated operations needed to fire a matchlock gun, demonstrating the increased technical specialization required of early modern soldiers. See also Adam Max Cohen, *Technology and the Early Modern Self*, 118.

In *Henry V*, the exigencies of bloodline and loyalty are still present but no longer predominant: the relationship between individuals and the state is now defined by impersonal laws constituted by assemblies or, like Salic Law, validated by precedent.

The resulting legalisms often clash with, and work to repress, resurgent notions of feudal or tribal obligation. This shift complicates the warrior ethic tremendously. Loyalty is no longer simply a question of faithful, unquestioning obedience to a tribe—though that does remain a complicating factor, as the contentious relationship among the Welsh, Irish, Scottish, and English soldiers attests—but is rather primarily a duty legislated by, to, and for the state. The state now assumes in the mind of the citizen, whether king or commoner, a presence at once remote and intrusive, indistinct yet powerful, that shadows and invisibly informs the individual's decisions and actions. As such it is often in conflict with the individual's personal values, conscience, and sense of purpose. The problem applies to any citizen, regardless of station or class, but is especially poignant for Henry, who, as king and soldier, citizen and individual, consolidates and epitomizes the conflicts between public and private expectations felt by his people.

Because he unites these tendencies within himself, Henry is able to connect the personal experience of his subjects to the realities and necessities of governance. In the very first scene, for instance, Henry displays both political acumen in transferring responsibility for his actions to others and authentic humanity in expressing his empathy for the suffering that will befall the people of France. The scene begins with Henry demanding that Canterbury provide a full legal justification of the war before he makes his decision to invade France. This stratagem is designed to shift responsibility for the decision onto the Archbishop, who can later be blamed should the war fail, and onto the law itself because in Canterbury's interpretation, Salic Law is shown to require action by Henry. If he does not act, it is implied, he is not following the law and is, in a sense, not a law-abiding king. The decision to conquer France is therefore presented as an inevitable consequence of the law, a decision made not just by the king but shared and rationalized with his retainers and validated by ample historical and legal precedent. Henry's maneuvering, with its emphasis on explicit, calculated, and shared responsibility reached through process and consensus, is political manipulation worthy of Malcolm. Like Malcolm, Henry must legitimate his power by acting within the legal, theological, and ethical strictures of his society. He must act in the open by arriving at a consensual decision that deflects responsibility from the individual (especially himself) onto an abstract and shared decision-making process.

However, unlike Malcolm, Henry cannot fall back on the loyalty engendered by primogeniture as a means of securing loyalty or assent from his subjects. Where Malcolm is king by direct bloodline, Henry's claim to the throne by birthright is quite tenuous. As his "ceremony" speech makes clear, Henry is painfully aware of how his father's usurpation of Richard II's throne has compromised the legitimacy of his own rule. Lacking the clear right of primogeniture, he must continually manipulate situations to justify and maintain his position as king. Henry's political world is therefore a more complex, more developed version of the state than the feudal, neo-statist world dawning at the end of *Macbeth*. In effect, Henry initiates an early version of the distributed, bureaucratic decision-making characteristic of the modern state. In this new world, the personal responsibility felt by the tribal warrior—especially the ruling warrior, the king—is reconfigured as legal responsibility.

One does not always act based on a personal or familial obligation but frequently because one is legally required to. Therefore, the ruler must be ever attentive to the legal validation for, and consequences of, his actions.

At the same time, however, the individual, even when acting as prescribed by the state, experiences conflict on a personal level: Henry's decision to invade France is legally justified by Canterbury but the insult by the Dauphin lends an intense personal edge to the decision. As the chief warrior and leader of the state, Henry chooses to act on his anger both politically and personally by using the Dauphin's insult as another way of shifting responsibility for the war. He feels personal anger at the Dauphin but also adroitly converts it into a political maneuver that puts responsibility for the human consequences of the war—the terrible suffering it will bring the people of France—on the Dauphin. Henry thus relieves himself of responsibility for both the legal justification for the war (shifted to Canterbury) and the real suffering that will result (shifted to the Dauphin). Henry's anger at the Dauphin expresses both his personal resentment at the insult and his moral outrage at the Dauphin's cavalier treatment of war as though it were a sport or game. Thus, his politically expedient tactic inflects his legalistic decision with a moral purpose. The Dauphin, we later learn, is himself the true diletante warrior who plays at war without understanding its terrible consequences. His mockery of Henry as a boy playing with tennis balls is ironically less descriptive of Henry than of his own unfeeling and immature understanding of the bloody realities of battle and serves to emphasize, through contrast with Henry's sober awareness of the human suffering to come, Henry's own humanity. Though always attentive to the political advantage of a situation, then, Henry also displays, in this as in later incidents (such as his relief when the mayor surrenders Harfleur without a fight), a moral sense derived from his own conscience and sense of empathy, allowing him to unite his political persona (the public self legally authorized to act) with his charismatic persona (the private self aware of the human and ethical consequences of his actions). Even Henry's personal challenge to the Dauphin combines both motives: by replaying the tribal ritual of man-to-man combat and the feudal custom of the duel—thereby explicitly demonstrating his willingness to take personal responsibility on the battlefield for the political decisions he makes—Henry combines his political (legalistic) claim to the throne with the personal (charismatic) ethos of the tribal warrior.

The pattern of combining the political and personal recurs frequently in the play. Confronting the three traitors, Scroop, Cambridge, and Gray, Henry asks whether he should show mercy and release the drunkard who had insulted the king's person the day before; they respond that death, not mercy, is what the prisoner deserves. When Henry reveals his knowledge of their treason, he reminds them that the mercy he felt for them earlier has been expunged by their lack of mercy for the prisoner, so that they have, in effect, condemned themselves. As he says, "Their faults are open. / Arrest them to the answer of the law" (2.2.149-50); that is, their crime is self-evident, and their ensuing deaths are simply the working out of the legal process.³⁶ And even though he, Henry, was the target of their plot and the king who condemned them to death, he argues that he is not responsible for their fate—they are. Henry does not let his personal feelings, strong as they are,

interfere with the legal process. Though deeply and personally hurt by the betrayal of his boyhood friend, Scroop, Henry does not simply kill him outright, or have him summarily executed, as he might were he a warrior or king in Macbeth's world. Nor does he show any mercy for Cambridge, his distant relative and an indirect rival for the throne; neither friendship nor blood ties matter more than equality before the law. As he says, "Touching our person, we seek no revenge, / But we our kingdom's safety must so tender, / Whose ruin you have sought, that to her laws / We do deliver you" (2.2.183-6). Here Henry acts primarily in his public persona as the embodiment of the law, while simultaneously revealing his personal anguish over the betrayal by his friend and kinsman. He purposely subordinates the emotion of his private, lived self, expressed in the hurt he feels from the disloyalty of Cambridge and especially Scroop, to the legal process represented by his public self, and which he must follow rigorously: despite the emotional connection, the traitors are found guilty, condemned, and executed. As Henry pointedly tells them, "You have conspired against our royal [public, legally sanctioned] person, / Joined with the enemy proclaimed. . . . / Get you therefore hence, / Poor miserable wretches, to your death" (2.2.174-75; 186-87).

This scene foreshadows Henry's later decision to hang his drinking companion Bardolph for stealing from a church because the law—in this case, *in bello*, manifested in Henry's proclaimed ordinance—must apply literally and strictly to everyone: "We would have all such offenders so cut off" (3.6.109-10). Henry cannot allow his personal history and emotional connection with Bardolph justify playing favorites among his troops, nor can he afford to alienate the French citizens he soon expects to rule as king. Again, despite the personal appeal for mercy for Bardolph from Pistol (communicated to Henry by Fluellen), the abstract rule of law prevails over personal loyalty or kinship. Though personal connections are to be considered, they are not necessarily decisive. Henry spares the drunkard, who is neither friend nor kin, but simply a citizen. Similarly, he executes Bardolph, treating him primarily as a citizen, not a friend, but later spares Williams, despite his belligerence to the king. Unlike the drunkard and Williams, neither the conspirators nor Bardolph can point to extenuating circumstances to excuse them. These scenes illustrate that in the nation state, loyalty is more complex than in tribal or feudal societies; it is an impersonal legal concept yet inevitably seems to retain some sense of personal obligation. Therefore the law, in requiring reciprocal responsibility between individual and state, must be applied rigorously when necessary and tempered with mercy when appropriate. Bardolph and the conspirators must be executed because they threaten the survival of the state—by assassinating the king, in the conspirator's case, and by undermining Henry's attempt to win over the French, in Bardolph's case. In contrast, neither the prisoner nor Williams threatens the king or the state's survival, or they do so under circumstances affecting their judgment—drunkenness and ignorance of the king's disguise. As these incidents suggest, Henry must constantly balance the literal legal requirements of the circumstance with its specific human context, and always with the ultimate objective of sustaining a functional political equilibrium in the state. This process involves reconciling his public self (the "person" threatened by the conspirators, the political need to appear fair to his

new French subjects) with his private self (the personal feeling of betrayal by the conspirators and the inability to save his drinking companion Bardolph).³⁷

The common soldier is aware of the king's divided self, as the dialogue between Williams and Bates demonstrates. Both soldiers realize that Henry's personal motives may differ from his public statements, that the king's actions may be self-serving. Williams observes that the king can easily give himself up for ransom and let the rest of his army die, and the soldiers will be "n'er the wiser" (4.1.201). Unsure of their ruler's motive and integrity, Williams and Bates are therefore mostly concerned "that they are fighting a war which has never been explained to them, and in which they may, through no fault of their own, come to a bad end."³⁸ That Williams and Bates even ask these questions is a measure of the change from tribalism, with its emphasis on unquestioning obedience of the chief, to statism, with its imposition of rigidly defined but often morally ambiguous, and therefore questionable, legal obligations. Similarly, that Henry is willing to spend time debating and defending his position to his subjects (if only indirectly, disguised as Henry Le Roi) suggests that the concerns of the ordinary citizen are becoming more important in determining policy. Thus, much of Henry's rebuttal of Williams's argument involves the king defending the relationship between his public and private self to his citizen-soldiers in a kind of mini-Parliament that includes the free-thinking citizen, Williams, pointedly and sometimes rudely rejecting the king's rebuttal (4.1.152-92). Once again Henry reacts personally to an insult and agrees to settle the dispute later, "man to man," as Macduff or Macbeth might have in earlier times. Henry's outburst again demonstrates his humanity, his capacity for emotion, and is a sign of how seriously he takes the common citizen-soldier's complaints. Here Henry's political aim—to sow confidence and improve morale among the troops—is imbued with personal emotion. It is not just Henry the king who is speaking, but Henry the human being. His humanity comes through again when, after the battle, Henry does not follow up on the challenge; instead, he forgives Williams, who rightly claims that he did not know he was speaking to the king in disguise, much as he forgave the drunkard. In both cases Henry considers the extenuating circumstances sufficient to temper the rigidities of the law.

Williams's refusal to take money from Fluellen (and possibly the king; the action is somewhat obscure at this point) signifies the resentment the common citizen feels when treated in a manipulative and condescending manner by his putative social and political superiors. It also demonstrates that Henry, while not perfect as a human being, is also not perfect as a politician; his characteristic smoothness fails him here. Williams's defiance shows that even with the king no longer disguised, he is willing to challenge the propriety of the Henry's behavior—another indicator of the common citizen's growing participation in the political structure that governs him. Indeed, Henry's willingness to apologize for his earlier heavy-handed treatment of Williams in itself testifies to his acknowledgement of, and respect for, the citizen as a feeling individual with his own point of view. The emotional charge of the exchange and Williams's refusal of the money should not therefore be solely interpreted as depicting the inability of the king to unite his public and private selves. Rather, they should also be understood as a form of reconciliation that displays the king's empathy and sense of justice. As Terry Sherwood observes,

Shakespeare characteristically probes the stress lines in the jointure between the private and corporate persons at the same time that he probes the centrifugal energies inherent in the several stations of royal vocation. But it is no more valid to say that the various elements threaten to break apart the center of Henry's character than to stress the countervailing forces of coherence at work in these notions.³⁹

That is, the scene illustrates how Henry can balance the "centrifugal" threat of disobedience and revolt inherent in Williams's defiance with the "countervailing" and centripetal forces of his personal willingness to apologize. Williams does stomp off angrily and resentfully, but he cannot claim his king did not seek to make things right with him.

The duality of public and private selves is repeated when Henry attempts to convince Bates and Williams that the king cannot be responsible for the deaths of his soldiers because he does not purpose their deaths when he purposes their services (4.1.463-64). When the King engages his soldiers' services, Henry argues, he does not determine their "particular endings," how, whether, or in what spiritual state they die (4.2.61). It follows that, as Henry observes, "Each subject's duty is the King's, but every subject's soul is his own," a distinction between the individual as a citizen of the state and as a unique person (182-83). This distinction repeats, at the level of the common citizen, the two bodies concept typically applied only to the king or ruler. Henry argues that the soldier who dies in battle in the service of the state may also achieve his personal salvation, but only if he is free of sin beforehand. Killing in battle on behalf of the state, Henry implies, is not sinful because the soldier is acting in his role as citizen; nor, by the same token, can the king, as the embodiment of the state, be held personally responsible for those deaths. Henry's argument is facile, a rationalization, and to their credit, Williams and Bates see through it. Like Henry, they are aware of and feel the conflicts inherent in their dual roles as citizens and individuals, and they demonstrate through their comments their awareness of how difficult it is, practically, to combine the two roles. On the one hand, they desire to transfer responsibility for any deaths they cause from themselves to the King. Yet the reality of all those deaths, so vividly imagined by Williams as piles of bodies hacked apart, haunts them anyway: as Williams notes, what can warriors say in ethical defense of the slaughter they commit, "when blood is their argument?" (4.1.147-78). Williams's sense of responsibility and guilt is also Henry's; his comment recalls Henry's injunction to Canterbury that he "take heed" in rendering his justification for war, because the "guiltless drops" of the innocent are "a sore complaint" against he who "gives edge unto the / swords" (1.2.26-31). Williams and Bates, like Henry, will do their duty, but they cannot erase the doubt and guilt they personally feel for the slaughter of war. They cannot, in practice, completely separate their public and private selves. Yet even Williams recognizes that at the least, whatever he and Bates think of the king, they owe him their duty. Though suspicious of the king's credibility or trustworthiness as king or individual, Williams resigns himself to fulfilling his role as citizen soldier and decides that, in the end, he as an individual is responsible for his actions, even when commanded by the king:

“Tis certain, every man that dies ill, the ill upon his own head; the King is not to answer it.” To this Bates adds: “I do not desire he should answer for me, and yet I determine to fight lustily for him” (4.1.193-96). What is significant in both Williams’s and Bates’s statements is that they consciously choose to fight for the king, not because they unthinkingly accept the dictates of the state, or because they feel a tribal relationship with Henry, but because they have independently reflected upon and considered their options, and determined that supporting the king is the best choice under the circumstances. In effect, they are turning their civic and legal duty into a personal moral commitment; their willingness to sacrifice ultimately arises from their own conscience and moral reflection.

Even though Williams is not happy that the state can use him as a disposable tool for achieving political ends, he recognizes the necessity of order and law in the kingdom and of the citizen’s responsibility to the state. This is demonstrated indirectly in his angry condemnation of Henry’s comment that if the king were to ransom himself and leave his men to die, “I will never trust his word after” (4.1.202-03). Williams points out that there’s little a “poor and private displeasure can do against a monarch” (4.1.205-06)—such effrontery, Williams contends, would be a serious breach of protocol “against all proportion of subjection” (4.1.150-51). The citizen, Williams is indirectly arguing, owes loyalty and obedience to the king even though he can still question the king’s motives and character. The primary objective for Williams, then, as for Henry, is to maintain the integrity of the state—social order and hierarchy are necessary and must be respected. Granted, Williams’s is a grudging respect, but it is respect nonetheless, as revealed in his willingness to support the king’s war despite his political misgivings. As such, he freely chooses as a private individual to instill his own public self, his role as citizen-soldier, with a moral commitment that derives ultimately not from his legal responsibilities but from his own conscience. Like Henry, though cognizant of the state’s imperfections, Williams aligns his personal behavior with the public needs of his king and country. The result is an authenticity of action, a willingness to accept consequences, that infects political purpose at the level of commoner or king with personal moral commitment.

In *Henry V*, then, killing the enemy may or may not be morally justified, though it may be legal; alternately, it may be morally justified, but if in violation of the rules of engagement, illegal. The killing of the prisoners to avenge the killing of the boys in the baggage train presents just such a moral, ethical, and legal quandary. The spontaneity with which Henry makes the decision shows that he, too, is vulnerable to impulse; uncharacteristically, he does not engage in political deliberation before ordering the killings but acts precipitously. In this situation, is Henry acting in keeping with the needs of the state, the needs of his own conscience, or both? As Meron points out, killing the prisoners “was most likely in violation of contemporary laws of war,” yet, he adds, the “rules regarding the treatment of hostages . . . were imprecise and unclear.”⁴⁰ The killing of the prisoners, therefore, “is arguably justified as made in reprisal for the killing of the boys guarding the rear encampment, and as impelled by the necessity of war.” Therefore, “because Henry believed that the battle had not been won and danger persisted, and that captured French

prisoners posed a threat to his forces, his order to kill the prisoners probably did not violate medieval legal standards.⁴¹ The ambiguity can be understood and argued from different perspectives, and that is the point: unlike Macduff or Duncan, Henry cannot depend on ethical or legal absolutism to support his decisions. Reality is more ambiguous and less amenable to simple concepts of right and wrong than it was in the era of tribalism; legalism does not necessarily provide an ethical answer, and yet the warrior, whether commoner or king, must make a decision with ethical consequences and often under extreme duress.

In his soliloquy, Henry reveals his resentment of the burdens imposed upon him by his people and the personal cost of constantly balancing his public and private selves: "Let us our lives, our souls, our debts, our careful wives, our children, and our sins, lay on the King" (4.1.238-40). He mockingly observes that the only thing distinguishing him as king from the common citizen is ceremony, "Creating awe and fear in other men / Wherein thou are less happy, being feared, / Than they in fear" (254-57). The sense of artificiality and insecurity Henry feels is compounded by his anxiety that God may punish him and his soldiers for the sin of usurpation committed by his father. As Steven Marx shows, Henry worries that "His royalty, his godlike divine right, is mere dissimulation performed by a monarch-actor and applauded by subjects-spectators . . . that he is nothing without ceremony, that ceremony itself is at once king and god, and that all are Baconian idols."⁴² Is Henry, then, as Marx suggests, and as Henry himself seems to believe, nothing more than an "idol," a fraud? On the pure political level Henry exemplifies Machiavellian virtù in his willingness to trade morality for power as long as it is necessary to sustain the state.⁴³ Yet Henry must appear to be more than the caricature of the evil Machiavellian if he is to rule with both political power and moral credibility. To do so, Marx argues, Henry must achieve a reconciliation of opposites through what Peter Donaldson calls "a royal kenosis"—that is, Henry must combine the role of holy warrior with that of Machiavellian prince by replaying the Biblical notion of kenosis, whereby a divine being like Christ, "in order to achieve the safety of the people," consciously exchanges "contemplative perfection for morally flawed action," in a purposeful "lowering of the divine nature."⁴⁴ That is, a true leader must exhibit the qualities of both the impersonal, manipulative politician and the personal, flawed human being. Henry's failure to win over Williams by offering him money—a political maneuver but also a form of apology—reveals his flawed human nature, his ability to fail. We see similar flaws in his anger at the Dauphin, his anguish over the betrayal by the conspirators, and his impulsive order to kill the prisoners when he learns the boys have been slaughtered. The revelation of Henry's private, flawed self provides the emotional and psychological opening for his people to identify with him not just as a political leader but also as a fellow human being.

The mechanism for achieving this royal kenosis is ritual, which transforms mere "ceremony," or simply acting out a script, into a bond between the king's, and the citizen's, public, idealized self and his private, imperfect, human self. Through ritual, every man becomes his part and every part is joined to the whole; in the ritual moment, no divisions exist between public and private, all is felt as one. The means for turning ceremony into ritual can include spectacle, oratory, drama, or common

participation in an action of moral or civic consequence, such as a procession or a battle. Ritual thus realized through performance involves what Victor Turner calls a “liminal” or “threshold” quality that transforms merely formal relationships into a consubstantial unity of body and action.⁴⁵ If ritual involves danger or potential death, as in war, the bonding is that much more intense and imbues ceremony with spiritual potency and moral equality, transforming the king and his soldiers (and by proxy, his people), into a “band of brothers” (4.3.62). The king’s willingness to endure the same threat of death as his soldiers endows his political purposes with personal commitment and authenticity—it is the ultimate form of empathy. Unlike the King of France, Henry fights on the same field as his soldiers and leads them from the front: their risk is his risk. Williams and Henry may both distrust ceremony as artifice and justly so, for considered intellectually, ceremony is indeed mere words; but when enacted as ritual, ceremony initiates and validates action that unites the participants in a higher calling. The answer to Williams’s suspicions about Henry lies not in Henry’s words as presented in their debate: the discussion is purely logical, legalistic, and bloodless. Rather, the answer lies in Henry’s oratory, words that both describe and dramatize ideas and values, and that thereby move the audience to action that necessarily entails moral decision and defines moral agency.

A classic instance of oratorical ceremony elevated into ritual, and of the consequent unification of political and spiritual purpose among the listeners, is the St. Crispin’s Day speech. The speech exhorts the troops to think of themselves not in their socially defined roles, but in their shared experience, and thus to transcend, at least for a while, their class differences. Through his personal credibility as a warrior and a man, Henry elevates his set speech into a bonding ritual. Social and class differences dissolve in a vision of a “band of brothers” whose spiritual bond is imaged in their shedding blood together—refiguring, in a sense, Christ’s sharing blood with his disciples. They are now “brothers”—family—not citizens and politicians. Their relationship recovers the intensity of personal relationships characteristic of the clan, but within the purview of a political order wherein all men can be brothers. As inspiring as this vision is, however, it is temporary. The kinship of king and soldiers is not through inherited, familial bloodline, but through commonly spilled blood, shared struggle, and solidarity in battle. Once the battle is over, the ritual moment past, ruler and ruled are again separated into their respective social, economic, and political classes. The intense spiritual unity, the sense of brotherhood, of men in battle, subsides back into the workaday world of social stratification; thus Henry, reviewing the number of English dead, calls the noblemen by name, but then refers to the rest as “None else of name” (4.8.109). The new society is too complex, too abstract, too dependent on socio-political stratification and bureaucratic organization for such bonding to sustain itself beyond the intensity of the particular shared experience; at best, it can perhaps be momentarily recaptured through “ceremony” transformed into ritual when expressed as pageant, masque, drama, or parade—or perhaps during reunions with former comrades as envisioned in Henry’s speech, when ceremony can be reenacted and the bond reexperienced through the ritual retelling of war stories.

VI. Conclusion

Comparing *Macbeth* and *Henry V*, then, we observe a change in the warrior ethic that reflects the larger change in governance from the simple moral absolutism of the tribe—in which any act by the warrior in defense of the tribe is automatically considered ethical—to the legal absolutism and moral relativism of the state—in which the warrior's actions may or may not comport with legality or morality, and which can leave the soldier with an ethical conflict only he can resolve. We see, therefore, in the common soldier as in Henry, the impact of the emerging cleavage between statist legalisms, such as “rules of engagement” and a military “code of conduct,” and the actual, concrete experience of the warrior. The warrior ethic, as defined by the state, has become more abstract, codified, legalistic, and distant from the reality of killing. And while this may be necessary to ensure the survival of the state, it also fosters ethical conflict and anxiety in the very warrior whose moral conflict the law seeks to resolve with rules and regulations. Though they talk about being back in London and away from the war, though they worry about what will happen to them in the afterlife, Bates and Williams do their duty, but not without thinking through, and personally feeling and taking responsibility for, the moral consequences of what they are asked to do. And though they distrust statist governance and complain about how they are treated, they ultimately support as their own the primary aim of the king: to ensure the survival of the political order.

In that sense, they, like Henry, are significantly more reflective and conflicted than Macduff, more moral and human than Malcolm, and as physically courageous as Macbeth. To be sure, Macduff suffers personally because of the death of his family, but he never entertains a doubt regarding his loyalty to the clan. For Henry, Williams, and Bates, and for soldiers after them, such doubt, and the need to cope with it, will become the natural state of affairs. The warrior can no longer simply and unquestioningly accept the moral or legal code of conduct imposed upon him by his society; he must also take personal responsibility. The ongoing challenge for the citizen-soldier is how to balance these demands in any given situation. Similarly, for Henry as king, and indeed for any statist ruler, the demand is not only to ensure political stability but also to infuse the abstract relationship between state and citizen with a felt human bond. Without a sustainable, abstractly constituted legal and political structure that impersonally survives the individuals within it, the society falls into endless tribal warfare or worse, into anarchy and chaos; and without periodic, authentic ceremonial and ritualistic performance by its leader, the state lapses into bureaucratic and totalitarian tyranny entirely unconcerned with the human consequences of its actions. As Shakespeare demonstrates in these two plays, then, true governance requires perpetual vigilance and flexibility in protecting the needs of both the state and the individual—a difficult, imperfect, yet inescapable endeavor.

Notes

1. Theodor Meron, *Henry's Wars and Shakespeare's Laws: Perspectives on the Law of War in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 124.
2. Adam Max Cohen, *Technology and the Early Modern Self* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 115-34.
3. Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 3-42.
4. Cohen, 129.
5. See *ibid.*, 128, and Cary Nederman, "Niccolò Machiavelli," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*. Accessed November 10, 2009. <http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/machiavelli/>.
6. Niccolò Machiavelli, *The Prince*, ed. Quentin Skinner and Russell Price (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), quoted in Cohen, 129.
7. Cohen, 129.
8. *Ibid.*
9. As a number of commentators have noticed, in putting the welfare of the state first Machiavelli urges an early version of the "greater good" school of utilitarianism that complements the emerging statism of the early modern period and beyond. Joseph V. Femia argues extensively that "Machiavelli anticipated later utilitarianism by suggesting—though not developing—a consequentialist understanding of morality," "where the goodness of ends trumps the goodness of means," thus helping "to pioneer a consequentialist form of morality." Joseph V. Femia, *Machiavelli Revisited* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2004), 15, 76, 92. Irvin Ribner notes how the utilitarian element in Machiavelli's thought filtered into Renaissance ideas of governance. Irvin Ribner, "Machiavelli and Sidney's Discourse to the Queens Majesty," *Italica* 26 (1949): 185. Martin Parker argues that "the utilitarians are the inheritors of Machiavelli" and that they elaborated his concept of "the adjudication of competing interests" into bureaucratic rationalism in governance, culminating in what we now call "'public policy'—the scientific organization of education, prisons, the state and so on." Martin Parker, "Introduction: Ethics, Politics and Organizing," *Organization* 10 (2003): 191-92.
10. Sharon Alker and Holly Faith Nelson, "'Macbeth,' the Jacobean Scot, and the Politics of Union," *Studies in English Literature* 47 (2007): 379.
11. Patricia Parker, "Uncertain Unions: Welsh Leeks in 'Henry V,'" in *British Identities and English Renaissance Literature*, ed. David J. Barker and Willy Maley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 94, 83.
12. Norman Rabkin, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Meaning* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 33-62.
13. William Shakespeare, *Henry IV, Part 1*, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine (New York: Washington Square Press, 1994). See Joel B. Altman for an extended analysis of how the king's 'vile participation' evokes, embodies, and enables the reconciliation of social hostility.

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Joel B. Altman, "'Vile Participation': The Amplification of Violence in the Theater of *Henry V*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42 (1991): 1-32.

14. Peter Ackroyd describes how kinship relationships and "privately sworn obedience" yield "to more impersonal bonds" characteristic of a civil society. Peter Ackroyd, *Shakespeare: The Biography* (New York: Random House, 2005), 114. Joseph R. Strayer also notes that "realization of this separateness was an essential ingredient in state-building." Joseph R. Strayer, *On the Medieval Origins of the Modern State* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 18.
15. See, respectively, Michael Hattaway, "Blood Is Their Argument: Men of War and Soldiers in Shakespeare and Others," in *Religion, Culture and Society in Early Modern Britain: Essays in honour of Patrick Collinson*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and Peter Roberts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 84, 88, 91-92; Alan Sinfield, *Faultlines: Cultural Materialism and the Politics of Dissident Reading* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992), 95-96; and Jonathan Dollimore and Alan Sinfield, "History and Ideology: The Instance of *Henry V*," in *Alternative Shakespeares*, ed. John Drakakis (London: Routledge, 1985), 222.
16. Michael Hawkins, "History, Politics and Macbeth," in *Focus on "Macbeth"*, ed. John Russell Brown (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982), 161.
17. Beverly Kennedy argues that the introduction of the knightly oath "may be interpreted as ethical imperatives designed to regulate the behavior of adventurous knights-errant." In Felicia Ackerman's words, this illustrates "a need for a code to keep them in check." Beverly Kennedy, *Knighthood in the "Morte Darthur"*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1992), quoted in Felicia Ackerman, "'Never to do Outrageousness nor Murder': The World of Malory's 'Morte Darthur,'" in *The Code of the Warrior: Exploring Warrior Values Past and Present*, ed. Shannon E. French (Landham, MD: Rowan and Littlefield Publishers, 2003), 121, 122.
18. Hattaway, 93.
19. Joseph S. Block, "Political Corruption in Henrician England," in *State, Sovereigns and Society in Early Modern England: Essays in Honour of A. J. Slavin*, ed. Charles Carlton, Robert L. Woods, Mary L. Roberston, and Joseph S. Block (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 48.
20. See Theodor Meron: "The radical individualism of the Middle Ages and the emphasis on individual prowess, courage, justice and honour over collective achievement, values exemplified by Shakespeare's Hotspur, had to cede to considerations of public power, the cardinal role of the king, citizenship, nationalism and patriotism. Justice became a function of the state. The vision of a knight as an individualistic 'protector of the community' had to succumb to considerations of national policy." Theodor Meron, *Bloody Constraint: War and Chivalry in Shakespeare* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 109. In *Henry's Wars*, 211, Meron argues that "Progressing from the early to late Middle Ages and on to the Renaissance, these ordinances [executive orders], which initially addressed almost only disciplinary and tactical matters gave increasingly greater weight to protective norms and principles of humanity"—that is, they became more formalized, generalized, and institutionalized as law, extending the state's control over practices such as pillaging and sacking that had previously been sanctioned by tradition and custom. Hattaway similarly contends that "the Reformation had torn apart the identification of country and nation," such that "the Henry VI plays can be read as an exposition of the difference between patriotism and nationalism, the former an individual's love of country, place or race, his loyalty to kin or language, the latter a desire

to serve something far more artificial, the state or, as it was termed in the Renaissance, the nation" (91).

21. Curtis C. Breight, *Surveillance, Militarism and Drama in the Elizabethan Era* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1996), 23.
22. Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics* (London: Thomson Learning, 2004), 66.
23. Christopher Highley, *Shakespeare, Spenser, and the Crisis in Ireland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 137.
24. Max Weber, *Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology*, vol. 2, ed. Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich (1968; repr., Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978), 215-23, 226-31, 241-46.
25. Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Renaissance Politics*, 6-8.
26. See Norbrook on the need for "rational control of a passionate body." David Norbrook, "'Macbeth' and the Politics of Historiography," in *Politics of Discourse: The Literature and the History of Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. Kevin Sharpe and Steven N. Zwicker (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 113; Lorna Hutson on the transformation of the purely charismatic king's body into a metaphor of the state as a body, a rhetorical strategy for squaring statutes (written law) with common law. Lorna Hutson, "Not the King's Two Bodies: Reading the 'Body Politic' in Shakespeare's 'Henry IV, Parts 1 and 2,'" in *Rhetoric and Law in Early Modern Europe*, ed. Lorna Hutson and Victoria Kahn (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 168; Francis Barker on "The body politic . . . [as] the king's body in the social form." Francis Barker, *The Tremulous Private Body: Essays on Subjection* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1995), quoted in Andrew Hadfield, *Literature, Politics and National Identity: Reformation to Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 14; Elizabeth T. Pochoda, on the chivalric oath as "a code for Arthurian knights as warriors and as members of 'the king's political body,'" "basically a code of public service." Elizabeth T. Pochoda, *Arthurian Propaganda: "Le Morte Darthur" as an Historical Idea of Life* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), quoted in Ackerman, 117; and Beverly Kennedy on the knight's code as "a peacekeeping oath with clear political and judicial implications which make it crucial to the success of Arthur's governance," quoted in Ackerman, 117. Hattaway similarly stresses "loyalty to nation rather than country" as the new prerequisite for the soldier (92).
27. Robert F. O'Connor, "The Better Concludes a Worse? Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, and Disorder," in *Shakespeare: Readers, Audiences, Players*, ed. R. S. White, Charles Edelman, and Christopher Wortham (Nedlands: University of Western Australia Press, 1988), 188, 190.
28. *Ibid.*, 189.
29. *Ibid.* Harry Berger, Jr., "The Early Scenes of 'Macbeth': Preface to a New Interpretation," *English Literary History* 47 (1980): 4.
30. O'Connor, 191.
31. Eugene M. Waith, "Manhood and Valor in Two Shakespearean Tragedies," *English Literary History* 17 (1950): 265.

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32. O'Connor, 190.
33. Robin Headlam Wells notes that "she resists his suggestion of limit, implying that true manhood knows no bounds." Robin Headlam Wells, *Shakespeare on Masculinity* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 119.
34. William Shakespeare, *Macbeth*, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine (New York: Washington Square Press, 1992). All references in the text are to this edition.
35. O'Connor, 189.
36. William Shakespeare, *Henry V*, ed. Barbara A. Mowat and Paul Werstine (New York: Washington Square Press, 1995). All references in the text are to this edition.
37. Kantorowicz, 7-8; Hutson, 168.
38. Paul A. Jorgensen, *Shakespeare's Military World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1956), 163.
39. Terry G. Sherwood, *The Self in Early Modern Literature: For the Common Good* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2007), 143.
40. Meron, *Henry's Wars*, 170, 210.
41. Meron, *Bloody Constraint*, 192-93.
42. Steven Marx, "Holy War in 'Henry Fifth,'" in *Shakespeare Survey* 48, ed. Stanley Wells (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995): 94.
43. Nederman.
44. Peter Donaldson, *Machiavelli and the Mystery of State* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), quoted in Marx, 94-95. See also John S. Mebane: "Although the play exposes the king as a Machiavellian, Marx suggests, we see him as benevolent in his use of dissimulation for necessary political ends." John S. Mebane, "'Impious War': Religion and the Ideology of Warfare in 'Henry V,'" *Studies in Philology* 104 (2007): 252n.4.
45. Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play* (New York: PAJ Publications, 1982), 80-81.



PERFORMANCE REVIEWS





Arthur Darvill (left) as Mephistopheles and Paul Hilton in the title role in *Doctor Faustus* by Christopher Marlowe at Shakespeare's Globe. Directed by Matthew Dunster. Photo by Keith Pattison.



THE 2011 SEASON AT LONDON'S GLOBE THEATRE

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In New Bedford, Massachusetts, they read *Moby-Dick* in full on Herman Melville's birthday. The Globe started this season, as Dominic Dromgoole explains, in order to honor its four hundredth birthday, "by reciting the King James Bible": a once in a lifetime experience, I'm sure. With conspicuous presumption, verging on blasphemy for any latter-day William Prynnes, Dromgoole entitled this season "The Word is God." Productions included an updated version of Tony Harrison's mystery cycle (which demanded as much endurance as *Moby-Dick* and which, fortunately, need not detain us here) as well as a new production of Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, reviewed below. There were also touring productions of *Hamlet* and *As You Like It*, which this review will not cover. The former has a tenuous link with the Almighty's prohibition of suicide, the latter no biblical connection at all unless you count the pantheistic "books in the running brooks." Two new plays, Howard Brenton's *Anne Boleyn* and Chris Hannan's *The God of Soho*, were also included—the former was perhaps thematically relevant in its dramatization of Henry's breach with Rome and the latter because the word "God" appears in its title. But this crassly stupid and shallow play, in which the gods visit the celebrity-strewn and vice-ridden cityscape of modern London in an awkward (and unacknowledged) retelling of *The Good Person of Szechwan* is best ignored. The two Shakespeare comedies performed at the Globe—*All's Well That Ends Well* and *Much Ado About Nothing*—seemed almost entirely irrelevant (other than allegorically) to the season's theme. Because, however, they represent new Globe productions, they will be addressed later in this review. Since, to harp on the biblical theme, Marlowe is John the Baptist to the Shakespearean Messiah, let's begin with him.

Paradoxically Marlowe's play was strangely intensified by a production that was, in some ways, indifferent. While Matthew Dunster's realization was full of spectacular moments, the central relationship—between Paul Hilton's Faustus and Arthur Darvill's Mephistopheles—was etiolated, so that there was at the heart of the show very little to pull focus from the vaunting magnificence of Marlowe's script. It was not that either actor was poor; indeed, the set pieces were rendered with clarity and precision (though Hilton was occasionally underpowered). But if *Doctor Faustus* is situated on the border line between the public spectacle of a morality play and the pensive interiority of early modern drama, as characterized by the soliloquy, this version, eminently suited to the ostentation of the Globe, emphasized the former rather than the latter. Here were stilt walkers, puppets, masks and a multiplicity of other stagey devices which underlined the brazen performativeness of the play rather than the guilt, despair, or ennui of its two protagonists.

One was constantly struck by the brilliance and sheer daring of the poetry. In this way, the play text was served by a theatrical style which never attempted to psychologize Faustus or portray his ambition as symbolising the aspirations of the English Renaissance. His was an epic struggle, externalized by the psychomachia of good and bad angels, rather than anything emotional or mental: the tone was medi-

eval rather than modern. That said, in choosing the B-text with its array of frankly silly comedy sketches, the production's blatant quality was in danger of being occluded by a circus-like crudeness. It may be that Birde and Rowley, the playwrights who likely revised the earlier text, have a lot to answer for but in any case, the clear parallels between main and sub-plots were never clearly articulated so that the show, especially after the interval, grew increasingly chaotic.

As the production opened, Faustus paced around the stage taking books off shelves. The shelves were in fact a chorus of actors wearing black bowler hats, dark glasses, and little black capes, each one carrying a volume. Perhaps they were devils, prompting Faustus to choose particular titles and lament the inadequacies of each one. In that way they personified his restless desire to exceed his human limitations. Their carefully choreographed movements nicely anticipated the Bosch-like orgy of the Seven Deadly Sins.



Dr. Faustus: Arthur Darvill as Mephistopheles. Photo by Keith Pattison.

Mephistopheles appeared as an enormous horned goat skull, the two halves of which parted to reveal the urbane and affable devil, wearing beautiful Jacobean doublet and a cardinal's red skull cap (design was by Paul Wills). He chatted informally to Faustus and walked over to a flaming torch to warm his hands—a gesture that appeared casual but was resonant with sadistic foresight. As he told Faustus of the solar system, the chorus reappeared, each actor holding a planetary sphere. This professor/student relationship served to tone down the outrage of Faustus's heretical inquiries.

Beatriz Romilly played the Good Angel in a white costume with a pair of huge white wings. Her balletic opposite was played by Charlotte Broom, in red, sporting a pair of satyr's horns. Both were lithe and sinuous, and their movement contrasted effectively with the studied stasis of the scholar for whose soul they strove. But the

next time we saw Faustus he was wearing a red cap just like that of Mephistopheles and it was clear that he had made his decision.

As Mephistopheles and Faustus journeyed towards Rome, they sat on top of a pair of vast dinosaur skeletons, the visual magnificence of which paralleled their vaunting rhetoric. The trickery of producing fruit for the Duchess of Vanholt was comically sent up. Faustus promised, "Madam, I will do more than this for your content" (B 4.6.21) and disappeared under her full skirts.¹ There followed some ribald jokes about the grapes coming "from a far cunt-try" (23); her response, "they are the sweetest grapes that e'er I tasted" (35), was delivered with a sigh of orgasmic rapture.

Subsequent sequences included goat-headed, fur-coated devils on stilts and the appearance of Satan with an enormous pair of angelic wings. But perhaps the most impressive moment was the total silence to which the usually feisty Globe audience was reduced when Faustus pondered his overwhelming question: "Was this the face that launched a thousand ships / And burnt the topless towers of Ilium?" (A 5.1.91-92), proof, were it needed, of the spectacle not of Matthew Dunster's production but of Marlowe's poetry.

In our co-written review article for last year's *Upstart Crow*, Michael W. Shurgot rightly fumed at the intrusive irrelevance of the stage extensions used during the 2010 Globe season: "I object to these platforms because they indicate that recent Artistic Directors . . . and perhaps especially their designers consider the Globe's nearly 1,000 square foot stage inadequate. Rubbish!"² I am relieved that Michael was not covering this *All's Well*: his blood pressure would have been off the scale. Running out from an already extended stage and almost bisecting the pit was a cruciform walkway, similar to the catwalk down which supermodels stagger in the latest bizarre creations of Paris or Milan. The problem was that whereas the catwalk of the fashion show is designed to *display* the attire, the Globe's stage extension rendered the walkway action completely invisible, at least from where I was sitting (middle of the first gallery). There were whole sections of the play, some trivial, such as Helena's conversation with the Widow, which I simply couldn't see. More worrying was the occlusion of key speeches such as Helena's pondering on the difficulties of love in the opening scene or the King's reprimand of Bertram. I know Elizabethans went to hear rather than see a play, but such a perverse pursuit of faux authenticity flies in the face of a modern theatrical sensibility.

Moreover, the catwalk encouraged an unusual stasis in the groundlings who bunched toward the edge of the stage and round the perimeter of the walkway and then were reluctant to surrender such vantage points. Since the gap between the furthest downstage edge of the catwalk and the limits of the pit was narrow, it discouraged any movement from one side to the other. Finally the combination of extended stage and walkway must have reduced the yard's capacity by at least 20 percent though perhaps in the case of a less popular play like this one, such pruning of box office potential is neither here nor there.

The rest of Michael Taylor's design seemed almost as unsympathetic to the theater space. On each side upstage was a screen (with a doorway cut into it) on which were printed the outlines of a pastoral landscape. I was reminded of the masque designs of Inigo Jones with their rapid rough sketching and evocation, rather than representation, of a country scene. But this impressionism jarred with the exactitude of the costumes, rich with early modern detail, as we have come to expect of the

Globe's archeological obsessiveness. The aesthetic was not unpleasing but, given the fact that a good proportion of the action wasn't even observable, what was the function of this intriguing imbroglio of styles? Perhaps most puzzling was the projection of additional screens across those already in place, which, as far as I could make out, were almost exactly the same as those they were obscuring. Instead of black on a grey background, this second set of screens was black on blue and was supposed to indicate, I presume, night instead of day—for the capture of Parolles, for instance—but there was little to choose between them. The black shrouded stage columns were augmented with a couple of Narnia-like lampposts and some antler-shaped boughs, neither of which had much to do with the staging.

The real trouble was that this was a production that wanted to be liked. From the opening, as the actors entered with awful fixed smiles, we knew we were to undergo populist Shakespeare. They knelt at the stage edge and cracked jokes with the groundlings, shaking hands and laughing so that their switch "into role" came as something of an awkward surprise. Again, what was the point of these interactions? To render Shakespeare user-friendly, to encourage empathy with the play's characters, or to make one of the less canonical plays seem familiar? At the conclusion there was more than the usual dose of Globe jiggling and incitement of audience clapping, and the fixed smiles returned. "Haven't we all had a great time?" this sequence urged us, rhetorically.



All's Well That Ends Well: Ellie Piercy as Helena and Sam Crane as Bertram. Photo by Ellie Kurtz.

Such a syrupy reading repeatedly shied away from the play's darker tones. Most conspicuous here was Michael Bertenshaw's Lafeu who was played not as a knowing Lord or experienced politician but as a combination of Polonius and a pantomime dame. As he left the French King and Helena together, his exit line, "I am Cressid's uncle, / That dare leave two together" (2.1.97-8), was pure Widow Twankey from that Christmas standard, *Aladdin*, and his public rebuke of Parolles's sumptuary affectation, "Pray you, sir, who's his tailor?" (2.5.15), was bewilderingly camp.³ While Janie Dee's Countess was lucid and compelling in the main, she too occasionally lapsed into an oddly two-dimensional conventionality. Her "Grief would have tears, and sorrow bids me speak" (3.4.42) relied on the sudden affectation of crocodile tears, which undermined the Countess's sincerity. It was as though the production didn't want to touch any raw nerves.

This tendency toward cheerfulness utterly defused the desperate loneliness and hurt of the Bertram / Helena story. Ellie Piercy played the heroine as a cheerful Girl Guide, determined to laugh down her misfortunes, pick herself up, dust herself off and start all over again. Such obdurate optimism perhaps suits Shakespeare's stubborn orphan who, in spite of knowing how much she is unwanted, refuses to quit. While there was little

in the way of emotional depth to such a characterization, Piercy was wonderfully clear and one felt her performance was shoehorned into the production's prevailing blitheness.

But perhaps most hamstrung was Sam Crane's Bertram. The director, John Dove, had clearly rethought the part entirely and made the play's petulant hero a sort of depressed Petrarchan lover. As Crane's adolescent took his leave of Helena, he instructed her to look after his mother (1.1.75) but as he did so, he grasped Helena's handkerchief, tenderly wiped her eyes and clutched it to his heart, brandishing it as a favor. In the play, following his reluctant marriage to Helena, Bertram arrogantly refuses to "bed her" but makes an excuse to leave her with the callous, "Twill be two days ere I shall see you, so / I leave you to your wisdom" (2.5.70-1). In this production though, he was grief-stricken, his voice trembling on the edge of tears at their separation. His apparent resolve to be a "hater of love" (3.3.11) was utterly undermined as he conspicuously clutched her favor once more. What sense were we to make of this? If he was so in love with her, why had he spurned her? Having spurned her, why weep for her? Was he attempting to demonstrate some macho resolve to abjure the world of women? Was he an object lesson in the painful avoidance of uxoriousness? If so, this moment was again undermined as he knelt willingly like a human sacrifice on hearing the news that she had dispossessed him of his ring and conceived by him, a huge relief accompanying his submission. So the story of the production was that his was a buried love or perhaps that his superciliousness was pretend, merely a series of tests for Helena like those set for the Patient Griselda. Well, that is fine, but it is not Shakespeare's play.

More intriguing was the Parolles story. Played not as an oafish or strutting Chanticleer, this pathetically inept soldier (James Garnon) was worthy not of our contempt, as is so often the case, but rather of our compassion. When he urged Helena to wait upon the King (2.4.54) he was merely conveying a message and taking back a report of his success. When he was threatened with torture by the Babel-speaking kidnappers, his response—to divulge the secrets of the camp—was entirely understandable. And when he pleaded with Lafeu to speak up on his behalf in order to rehabilitate him with his fellows, his entreaty, "It lies in you, my lord, to bring me in some grace, for you did bring me out" (5.2.46), seemed entirely reasonable. Not as radical as the reinterpretation of Bertram, this portrayal of Parolles was original and lively but remained feasibly within the boundaries of Shakespeare's play.

There were able supporting performances from Sam Cox as an imposing King of France and Colin Hurley as a Falstaffian Lavatch. As the latter conversed with the Countess about the hugeness of his answer, which will fit "as the nail to his hole" (2.2.23), he relished the phallicism of the exchange with as much subtlety as Benny Hill! As the Countess discussed its "most monstrous size," Lavatch looked proudly down at his crotch which he thrust at her—a reading entirely in keeping with the Globe's populism and this irritatingly jolly production as a whole.

Whereas this season's *All's Well* labored to be loved, *Much Ado*, directed by Jeremy Herrin, achieved this with little apparent effort. Of course, it is a more familiar play and various scenes, such as those involving the clumsy constables or the eavesdropping lovers, are guaranteed to please. But this was, with a couple of unfortunately conspicuous exceptions, a company which felt assured in the play's benign setting and demonstrated a firm grasp of comic timing while not losing sight of the play's somber notes.

Central to this feel-good atmosphere was Charles Edwards's sure-footed Benedick, whose urbane, but never unctuous, demeanor was intensified by his playing against Philip Cumbus as Claudio. Cumbus's aristocratic lord was not the standard pretty boy. His sour-faced Claudio was older than usual, bearded, and with some of the malignancy more immediately associated with Don John—played here as a pantomime villain by Matthew Pidgeon complete with a *Jack and the Beanstalk* voice. Cumbus's Claudio was no welterweight but punched further up the scale,



Much Ado About Nothing. Charles Edwards as Benedick. Photo by Manuel Harlan.

which made for a powerful and really dangerous jilting scene (4.1), in many ways the production's centerpiece. But it also made his Claudio the equal in some respects to Edwards's Benedick and so the play's pivotal scenes dramatized not the usual asymmetrical induction of the fledgling Claudio by an older brother figure in Benedick but rather the clash of two mighty opposites. As Benedick spat out "Sir, your wit ambles well, it goes easily" (5.1.156), he scorned his previous companion by waving his circled finger and thumb in a wanker gesture. This grave perception of friction had the effect of making Benedick's apparently conciliatory lines at the play's conclusion rather less assured than usual: "For thy part, Claudio, I did think to have beaten thee, but in that thou art like to be my kinsman, live unbruised, and love my cousin" (5.4.109). There was a clear sense that had the challenge gone ahead, the outcome could not, by any means, have been confidently predicted.

Of course, the real center of gravity, as it were, of the play's comic dimension is the "merry war" (1.1.59) of words between Benedick and Beatrice. Eve Best played Shakespeare's acerbic female lead with aplomb, goading Benedick as she tiptoed around the stage ponds with deftness and delicacy. It was a winning combination of iron fist and velvet glove. But the other female roles were less than convincing. Ony Uhiara's beautiful Hero was quite inaudible and the second eavesdropping scene involved not just Beatrice craning to hear.

Mike Britton's design pushed the stage (again) out into the pit. Into the stage extension were set four shallow triangular ponds. Their function was not entirely clear though, as mentioned above, the narrow strip of stage downstage of the ponds provided a tiny walkway across which Beatrice stepped, half tightrope walker, half ballet dancer, her graceful movement contrasting nicely with her scabrous invective. Later, in

a moment of pure slapstick, Dogberry (Paul Hunter) revived a fainting Verges (Adrian Hood) by scooping his fez into the pool and throwing the water over the latter's face. As Benedick pondered the foolishness of marriage, he paddled in the pond downstage left, holding a cocktail with a straw in it. At "One woman is fair, yet I am well . . ." (2.3.26), he made to sip at the straw, but before he could drink he interrupted himself with, "Another is wise, yet I am well . . ." and so on through the speech. The sudden urgency of "God. Ha! The Prince and Monsieur Love. I will hide me in the arbour" (35) punctured his ponderous reverie. The stage columns were shrouded in imitation bark while rather twee, Disney-like flowers sprouted out of the stage on either side, but the function of these features was not clear; they seemed unmotivated.

Most peculiar was the elaborate wooden latticed doors which ran across the upstage wall and seemed perfect for eavesdropping – all the more peculiar that they were not used during either eavesdropping scene. For the first, Benedick adopted a large straw hat and hoed the ground before being hoisted up one of the columns and dangling helplessly in view. During Beatrice's prying, she hid under a blanket suspended from a washing line and traversed the stage to keep up with the gossips. Both sequences were comically effective, culminating respectively in Benedick's "This can be no trick" (2.3.209), timed to perfection, and Beatrice's "I / Believe it" (3.1.115-16) at which she knelt at the edge of the stage and embraced one of the groundlings in a gesture of solidarity, a moment both touching and jocular.

There were some strong supporting performances too. John Stahl's Antonio filled the theatre with his pained rage and Joseph Marcell's throaty vocality as Leonato augmented the sense of patriarchal outrage: "My griefs cry louder than advertisement" (5.1.32). Perhaps most refreshing, given that it is not a role that usually warrants much attention, was Joe Caffrey's Borachio. With a broad Geordie accent from the north-east of England, Caffrey's villain was lucid and persuasive and gave some weight to the conspirators' plotting which compensated for the thinness of Pidgeon's Don John.

The closing sequence relied again on some deft comic timing with the letters of confession and culminated in the audience sigh of approval at "Peace, I will stop your mouth" (5.4.97). The spirit of Globe feel-goodness was not far away and Don John was brought back on. Don Pedro (Ewan Stewart) approached and slapped him before initiating the closing jig with his perfidious (but now forgiven?) brother. Whereas the play ends with Benedick's promise to torture the offstage Don John, here, in the Globe's season of biblical forgiveness, the jig enveloped everyone.

Notes

1. All references are from *Doctor Faustus A- and B-Texts*, ed. David Bevington and Eric Rasmussen (Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1993).
2. Michael W. Shurgot and Peter J. Smith, "The 2010 Season at London's Globe Theatre," *The Upstart Crow* 29 (2010): 95.
3. References to Shakespeare's plays are from *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works*, 2nd ed., ed. John Jowett et al. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).

THE 2010 OREGON SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL

Michael W. Shurgot, *Seattle, Washington*

To observe the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Oregon Shakespeare Festival Artistic Director Bill Rauch staged the two plays of the festival's inaugural season—*Twelfth Night* and *The Merchant of Venice*—plus *1 Henry IV* and *Hamlet*. In all four plays, especially Bill Rauch's brilliant *Hamlet*, the generally excellent acting in major roles, inventive (if somewhat bizarre) sets, robust ensemble work, superb lighting and sound, and challenging interpretations not only created inspiring and memorable productions but also set single season attendance and revenue records.¹

Director Darko Tresnjak, who came to the OSF from San Diego's Old Globe Theatre, set *Twelfth Night* in the late Baroque 1700s. Tresnjak explains that this decision came from his love of directing Mozart's operas; he sees *The Marriage of Figaro* as almost a companion piece for Shakespeare's comedy of "romance and rudeness."² Tresnjak labels *Twelfth Night* Shakespeare's "most sensual play," and he equates it with the "sexiness of the Baroque period."³ While the characters wore sumptuous, aristocratic attire, and early classical music often accompanied the performance, any connection between Tresnjak's production concept and the actual set was puzzling. Scenic designer David Zinn covered the stage in huge swaths of green artificial turf that one might see on an athletic field. Several pillars stage left and right looked like scratching posts for gigantic cats, while reaching from the bottom to nearly the top of the stage facade was a huge turf-covered rectangle with sloping sides that several characters slid down in childish joy. This shape slightly resembled a musical note and perhaps was meant to suggest a Mozartian score. Characters entered and exited through the large opening in this rectangle, and a smaller opening at the top of the structure became the box tree through which Toby et al. watched Malvolio discover Maria's forged letter. Perhaps the very artificiality of this material was its point: a setting for "romance and rudeness" in an illusory place at the edge of festivity where artificially enhanced and prolonged human emotions dominate the stage. Then, too, maybe a hardware store in Ashland had a big sale on AstroTurf, or a putt-putt golf course closed and sold its turf.

Tresnjak reversed the play's initial two scenes. As smoke billowed from the rectangle and crashing noises filled the theater, Viola stumbled through the opening in an elaborate blue cape and wet dress. She carried a large chest from which she delivered gold to the Captain. Overwhelmed by his own desires and convinced of his irresistible charm, Kenajuan Bentley as Duke Orsino gazed lovingly at Olivia's picture. Sir Toby, already disheveled from a night of boozing, entered holding an ice bag to his aching head that Maria's scolding worsened. Rex Young as Sir Andrew Aguecheek was as pathetic, hilarious, and sexually naive as he was tall and skinny. Robin Goodrin Nordli, a most attractive Maria, stuck his hand into her bosom, materializing the invitation to "bring your hand to the buttery-bar and let it drink."⁴ Young froze before yanking his hand free. Later, Toby and Fabian, watching from above as Malvolio read aloud Maria's letter, spelled out C-U-T to Aguecheek in pantomime, and when he finally understood, he slapped his forehead and fainted backwards. A doomed lover, Sir Andrew

provided ample comic relief as the rogues' treatment of Malvolio darkened the play.

The vivid contrasts in costumes and mannerisms between Christopher Liam Moore as Malvolio and Michael Elich as Feste emphasized the wide spectrum of characters and attitudes in the play. Malvolio was dressed in the most formal of Baroque attire: black shoes, grey wool stockings, white shirt with flowery cuffs, elegant black coat and tails, pressed ruff about his neck, and hair pulled back severely and tied in a bun. He moved rigidly, as if deciding which bone to activate, and spoke with a pronounced formality. Conversely, amid the elegance of the Baroque costumes, Michael Elich was an intriguing Feste straight from the commedia dell'arte. Dressed in the Harlequin's motley, including a prominent red codpiece and flesh-colored mask, Elich moved deftly, sang beautifully, observed intently, and suggested not only the Renaissance court jester but also an otherworldly observer mining human folly to serve his wit and fill his purse. Whether proving Olivia a fool for mourning her brother's soul or driving Malvolio mad, Feste delighted altogether in ridiculing Illyrians.



Twelfth Night: Kenajuan Bentley as Duke Orsino and Brooke Parks as Viola. Photo by T. Charles Erickson.

long-dormant sexual energy. By "Not too fast! Soft, soft!" (288), Olivia was near to breaking her wrist with fan waving. In 3.1 Olivia greeted Cesario in a bright pink, low cut, high-Baroque party dress. She pursued Cesario around the stage and when she finally caught "him" she held him up close and blurted her love so passionately that while she was now clearly out of her lethargy one had to wonder how she could ac-

The major crux in staging *Twelfth Night* is convincing spectators of the genuineness of the romantic relationships in act five. Orsino's love of being in love was evident in his languid evocation of the "spirit of love" and again when describing to Cesario his "passion of love" in 1.4. Brooke Parks as Viola was sufficiently ambiguous as Cesario in a gentleman's white pants and stockings, black shoes, white shirt and ruff, and dark blue, gold-embroidered coat to suggest a beautiful young man whom Olivia might crave. Olivia greeted Cesario in black veil and gown surrounded by three ladies also in black, but the bright colors of Cesario's clothes and the energy of her speech quickly wowed Olivia. Cesario pranced around the stage in 1.5, especially during her "willow cabin" speech (263-71), as if visualizing the "skipping . . . dialogue" (197) that combines lines from Orsino with her own impassioned reaction to Olivia's beauty. The more eloquent Cesario's speech became the more rapidly Olivia waved her fan, as if cooling her

cept a mere look-alike substitute in act five. Ironically the more convincing this scene between the two women the more puzzling is the “resolution” in act five.

In 2.4, when Orsino is at his narcissistic worse (“There is no woman’s sides / Can bide the beating of so strong a passion / As love doth give my heart; no woman’s heart / So big, to hold so much” [93-96]), he and Cesario, accompanied by a lovely duet of flute and violin, sat closely together on pillows stage right as Orsino lectured Cesario. The more foolish Orsino’s words became the closer Cesario leaned toward him, until by his/her “Too well what love women to men may owe” (105) their shoulders touched. It was a lovely moment, and for just an instant Orsino looked into Cesario’s eyes as if detecting there a mystery he had not yet fathomed. Orsino spoke firmly when they stood and he sent her back to Olivia, but in this moment, the last time we see them together before act five, Bentley and Parks created just enough ambiguity about the nature of the characters’ relationship to suggest some basis for Orsino’s sudden desire for Viola in act five.

The caterwauling of 2.3 was loud, bawdy, and surprisingly complex. After Toby’s call for a stoup of wine Feste entered carrying a lantern, as if lighting fools’ way to knavery. Yet there was obvious melancholy in his singing of the transience of youth, a reminder to Toby, Maria, and us of the corrosive pressure of time and of the necessary end of festivity, for this scene carries us past midnight of January 6. Amid bottles and cushions strewn all around the stage, Malvolio, wearing only his white sleeping gown and black shoes, and with curlers in his hair (lest one hair get out of place while he slept), tiptoed into the party from stage left and chastised the lot of them in the clipped cadence of a scout-master. Toby et al. reacted with lewd gestures and loud curses, and in the stark contrast between drunken revelry and Malvolio’s strictness originated his cruel abuse in act four.

Toby’s and Maria’s plots were hilarious. Malvolio, already convinced that “Fortune” now favored him, sauntered into 2.5 waving a white handkerchief and flitting his arms about. Feste climbed the stage right scratching pole, while Toby, Fabian, and Aguecheek peered down from the narrow opening in the green carpet. Malvolio’s exaggerated gestures as he acted out his new role as Olivia’s lover and boss of the “little people” externalized his growing pride, and his slow, deliberate “crushing” of M.O.A.I. brilliantly anticipated the longest developing smile I have ever seen. He ended the scene by doing a somersault in the most un-Malvolio-like moment imaginable! When he reappeared in 3.4, he was cross-gartered and yellowed to the motley nines. With lipstick and painted cheeks, he had transformed himself into a doll for Olivia to play with, a man turned inside out by imagined desire. Fabian’s “Why, we shall make him mad indeed” (3.4.135) was gleeful, and in 4.2 Fabian’s prediction was fulfilled. Malvolio was confined in a huge bird cage, his glorious orange coat ripped and his precious yellow stockings “fouled, / Ungartered, and down-gyved to his ankle” (*Hamlet*, 2.1.81-82). The (play)house was indeed dark, and red backlighting suggesting a hellish madness enveloped the stage. Malvolio clung to the bars of his cage like a deranged animal as he whimpered and begged Topas for pen and paper and pleaded, against all evidence, for his sanity.

Andrew fared no better. When in their initial “combat” Cesario lightly conked Andrew atop his helmet, he promptly fainted. He last appeared with Toby, bloodied and ragged, in the opening above the stage from which they had overseen Malvolio’s descent into folly. Christian Barillas as Sebastian burst onstage through the opening

in the green carpet in 4.3 just as Viola had done in the first scene. He was wearing only white knee-length pants that just barely clung to his hips. Olivia had asked him at the end of 4.1 if he would be ruled by her, and he had obviously complied with her wildest wishes. On Olivia's "Blame not this haste of mine" (4.3.22), spectators roared. The "sexiness of the Baroque period" translated here into a sexual union between Olivia and a man she has just met who she thinks is somebody else and whom she has not yet married. Sex first, then marriage; details to be sorted later. As a prelude to act five, this choice complemented Olivia's lusty pursuit of Cesario and indicates what can happen when human sexual desires are throttled for too long.

However, this production choice also complicated Olivia's actions in act five. Her initial confusion when Cesario walks onstage and she calls him "husband" again suggests that what is paramount in this play is the phenomenon of desire itself, rather than the specific object (or gender) of one's desire. This notion was emphasized when Orsino became extremely angry at Cesario, threatening to kill "what I love" (5.1.117), and then moments later, after the pairing of Sebastian and Olivia, asks to see "her" in her woman's weeds. "If this were played upon a stage, now, I could / condemn it as an improbable fiction" (3.4.129-30). Fabian's words, spoken appropriately by one of the play's clowns, reify both the improbability of the play's conclusion and the fragile nature of joy when human endeavors strain the sinews of festivity.

Malvolio's reentrance chilled the scene. Ragged, with his hair down around his neck, he hissed his questions to Olivia. Feste danced around Malvolio as he spoke of the whirligig of time and enjoyed his revenge, as we knew he would. Enraged, Malvolio paused, then slowly turned toward the spectators and uttered his threat of revenge against the "pack" of his tormentors. We who had sat in this "dark [play]house" had been part of his tormenting because we had enjoyed watching it, and only the artificiality of theater allowed us to escape his wrath. Given Feste's supple maneuvering, having the entire company reenter to sing together what is clearly Feste's song was jarring. Elich's brilliant creation of Feste's aloof mannerisms and inquisitive mind deserved a solo performance of these melancholic lines.

According to OSF's *Prologue*, Anthony Heald insisted during a company discussion in early 2009 that the Festival should not on any account stage *The Merchant of Venice* in 2010. Several weeks later Heald changed his mind after Bill Rauch, who directed *Merchant*, offered him the role of Shylock. Heald, who is the first Jewish actor to play Shylock at OSF, remarked: "I wanted to be part of whatever decisions were made in how to do the play and how to handle the character [of Shylock]." Working with Rauch and a generally strong cast, Heald created a memorable portrait of a deeply troubled and severely damaged outsider in a putative comedy filled with calculating and often vicious Christians whose claim to moral superiority at play's end remained dubious.

Richard Hay's set was simple yet marvelously symbolic. Attached to the top of the stage facade was a golden sailing ship, certainly Antonio's but also suggesting those of other traders in Renaissance Venice. Below the ship was a large clock whose hands often moved during the performance. The moving hands symbolized not only the passage of time but also, as characters began appearing in modern dress, the movement of the action forward to our own post-Holocaust era in which this play, with its focus on the malignant effects of religious prejudice, bears such enormous sig-

nificance. Beneath the clock, just above the main entrance to backstage, hung a large green cross symbolizing, as does the huge statue of Christ in Baz Luhrmann's *William Shakespeare's Romeo + Juliet*, the ostensible Christian ethos of the play. Large globular lights hung from the upper stage. Center stage a dais supported a judge's bench, and downstage were two small tables with chairs where Shylock would eventually meet Antonio and Bassanio in a café. Initially, microphones stood at the judge's bench and on the two tables, a clear indication that this production would span several centuries.



The Merchant of Venice. Anthony Heald as Shylock (left) and Jonathan Haugen as Antonio. Photo by Jenny Graham.

In the opening tableau, Vilma Silva's Portia entered as Balthasar in her doctor's black robes and stood in front of Shylock and Antonio (Jonathan Haugen). Speaking into the mike on the judge's bench, she intoned: "Which is the merchant here and which the Jew?" (4.1.172). Standing stage left were two nuns, choric figures who reappeared in 4.1. Then suddenly the stage went black, a spotlight showed the hands of the clock whirling, and we emerged into 1.1. Stage left a red illuminated sign read "Barber" as Antonio sar for a haircut and engaged his youthful companions in their Edwardian brocade coats and trousers. Antonio's "Fie, fie!" (1.1.46) suggested what became clear in act five: Antonio's deep love of Bassanio (Danforth Comins). Gregory Linington as Gratiano, dressed more casually, was the clamorous rebel of the group who looked and sounded as if he had recently received a severe electrical shock. Antonio winced and looked away as Bassanio showed him Portia's picture, yet he strongly encouraged Bassanio to seek the lady so "richly left" (1.1.161).

The initial meeting between Shylock, Antonio, and Bassanio in 1.3 clearly established the parameters of their relationships. Shylock dressed in dark trousers, white shirt, black damask brocade jacket under his coat, and yarmulke. Heald eschewed an obviously "Jewish accent," which he considered an unacceptable stereotype, and spoke as fluidly as his Christian colleagues. A major question about Shylock in 1.3 is whether he means what he says about wanting to be friends with Antonio and "have [his] love" (136), for he does extend friendship to Antonio and begs him "wrong me not" (169). Heald noted that for him the key to playing Shylock was to see him as "want[ing] to be reasonable, to be assimilated, to bridge this gap of animosity that separates him from Antonio and society," yet as having "deep-seated psychological problems."⁶ Thus, in his initial dialogue with Antonio Heald sincerely pleaded for

his love and friendship; he spoke without any of the sarcasm that might indicate that Shylock does not desire an amicable relationship and business dealings with Antonio. Yet in his aside “How like a fawning publican he looks” (38-49), Shylock seethed with hatred, and in “But more for that in low simplicity / He lends out money and brings down / The rate of usance here with us in Venice” (40-42) Heald stressed “But” to indicate the monetary basis for much of Shylock’s hatred of the man who undercuts the only business that a Jew could legally pursue in Renaissance Italy. Heald spoke this aside to spectators, as if to explain to us the personal and professional basis of his hatred, but then he became jovial and ordered coffee for both Bassanio and Antonio as he spoke of Jacob’s thriving with his sheep.

Only when Antonio quipped that “The devil can cite Scripture for his purpose” (96), an insult not only to Shylock personally but also to his cherished religious text, did Shylock’s tone radically change. Heald moved upstage, stood above the sitting Antonio, and lashed out at him bitterly about his previously spitting upon Shylock’s “Jewish gaberdine” (110), and then with biting sarcasm asked if the dog Jew ought to “bend low, and in a bondman’s key” (121) lend Antonio so much moneys. Given Heald’s belief that initially Shylock desires reconciliation with and inclusion in Antonio’s society, the sudden turn in his voice and predatory-like stalking demonstrated how dangerous Shylock could be should his hatred be tipped any further. After Antonio’s “I am as like to call thee so again, / To spit on thee again, to spurn thee too” (128-29), Heald lapsed into the grinning, jovial businessman who comically mocked the terms of his own proposed bond. He slapped Antonio’s shoulder when he agreed to sign the bond, and on Shylock’s “And for my love, I pray you, wrong me not” (169), with its implied threat, Shylock and Antonio shook hands. Waving at the Christians from whom he had received so much abuse, Shylock appeared happy at having found a way to accommodate them, lest they abuse him further. Heald’s superb performance in this scene penetrated deeply into the maze of Shylock’s character and motivation.

Vilma Silva as Portia was immensely impatient with her father’s fairy-tale will. She was also immensely well-dressed in a blue brocade gown, blue and gold cape, diamond necklace, and silver tiara; richly left, indeed. Both Peter Macon as Prince of Morocco and Armando Durán as Prince of Aragon spoke with exaggerated accents, emphasizing their foreignness. Morocco was accompanied by a woman in a full-body burka whom he inexplicably left behind in Portia’s court, and Aragon strode around the caskets accompanied by a flamenco guitarist. Both were duly astonished by their poor choices, and after Morocco left, Portia’s “Let all of *his* [stressed] complexion choose me so” (2.7.79) exemplified the prejudice that pervades this play.

Launcelot wore jeans, a ragged sweatshirt and rubber boots, and Old Gobbo, in a tattered coat and crumbled fedora, stumbled around the stage looking for his son to give him the basket of doves that he has brought for Shylock. With the Christian cross highlighted above the stage the revelers met in a church and stood behind a railing chewing communion wafers as if they were pretzels at a football match. The cynicism of this scene was chilling, as if this sacred place blessed their “stealing” of Jessica and her father’s ducats. Emily Sophia Knapp as Jessica stood above as Lorenzo et al. planned their escapade. (In a fine visual touch, Gratiano held Old Gobbo’s basket that Launcelot had offered to Bassanio. Given Gratiano’s rage at Shylock in 4.1, how

bitterly ironic that Old Gobbo's basket, which initially contained a peace offering to Shylock, should end up in Gratiano's hands!) Jessica obviously detested her father, whose money bags she eagerly hurled to Lorenzo below as he and his cronies drifted across the stage in a gondola. She showed no regrets at leaving her father and believed firmly that "I shall be saved by my husband. He hath made / me a Christian" (3.5.17-18). Her initial joy and conviction only heightened the sadness with which she heard of her father's fate in act five. In a superb directorial choice, Rauch had Shylock and Antonio pass each other on the darkened stage, Antonio searching for Gratiano and Shylock about to learn that his daughter—and his ducats—are gone.

3.1 was stunning. A long steel railing spanned the entire front of the stage. Soft floodlights from below the front of the stage illuminated the semi-darkness. Shylock entered from the stage right vomitorium and walked to the middle of the railing that now suggested a bridge over a Venetian canal, the route of Jessica's and Lorenzo's escape. The floodlights cast Shylock's shadow upon the facade where hung the large cross, creating a stark contrast. Solanio and Salerio, who had mocked Shylock's cries of his daughter and his ducats in 2.8, stood behind him stage left reading newspapers and eating ice cream cones. Here Rauch made a startling choice. Shylock initially turned toward Solanio and Salerio at "You knew, none so well, none so well as / you, of my daughter's flight" (22-23), with marked emphasis on each "you." However, for the rest of his dialogue with them Shylock faced the audience, showing his disdain for these slimy bigots but also suggesting our complicity in Jessica's escape. Salerio's grotesque assertion that "There is more difference between thy flesh and / hers than between jet and ivory . . ." (36-37) incensed Shylock, and Heald spoke Shylock's "To bait fish withal" (50-69) with increasing tension. He gripped the railing as if trying to prevent himself from physically attacking Salerio and Solanio, an action he knew would be suicidal. By "Hath not a Jew eyes" (55-56) Heald's entire body trembled in one of the most painful and wrenching performances of this speech I have ever heard. Only the entrance of Tubal saved Shylock from complete emotional collapse. Since the deaf actor Howie Seago played Tubal, Heald and Seago incorporated American Sign Language into their dialogue. Rauch, Heald and Seago thus turned what might seem like a liability (a deaf actor) into a theatrical triumph. As Heald spoke aloud both his and Tubal's words, while signing his words to Seago, the scene became a frightening dialogue within a deranged Shylock: one part infuriated by the loss of his daughter and his ducats, the other thrilled to hear of Antonio's losses. Finally, as he screamed, "I would my daughter were / *dead* [stressed] at my foot, and the jewels in her ear" (83-84), Shylock signaled the moment when he determined to fulfill his lethal bond with Antonio. Death for death. Heald's performance throughout this scene was brilliant. By its end, his earlier hope for reconciliation with the Christians now completely shattered, Shylock quivered at the edge of madness as he strode defiantly toward his synagogue.⁷

Portia coyly waltzed around Bassanio in a kind of verbal and physical foreplay as he deliberated, and when he chose correctly the whole gathering erupted. As if sexually teasing him Portia removed her cape as she gave him the ring that he would later give away to the "doctor." After Jessica's festive joy at leaving Shylock, Gratiano's "But who comes here? Lorenzo and his infidel" (3.2.217) was jarring, and Jessica stood apart stage right as she related what she had heard her father say to Tubal and Chus about prefer-

ring Antonio's flesh to "twenty times" the value of the bond. Portia's easy dismissal of the debt owed to Antonio solidified one's sense of how little money meant to her.

In 4.1, as in the opening tableau, a dais center stage supported the judge's bench, and several small tables, each with a microphone, framed the courtroom. Two nuns stood stage left, as if ensuring a Christian presence in the courtroom. Shylock entered stage right holding a balance and a small valise from which he later withdrew a knife and a white apron. (Tying this apron around his waist created a grotesque image: Shylock as butcher.) Antonio entered stage left and sat at a table. Bassanio, Gratiano, and Salerio also entered stage left and carried beer bottles (apparently from the journey back from Belmont) which they carelessly threw on the floor. Bassanio, either overwhelmed by what his "pure innocence" had wrought or drunk, or both, vomited. He and Gratiano also carried several money bags (resembling Jessica's from 2.4) that they angrily threw at Shylock's feet when Balthasar asked about paying the bond. Rejecting any impulse towards mercy, Shylock spoke firmly about his bond and directed his accusations about "purchased slaves" (4.1.90) toward us, as if they were ours.

Balthasar, in judicial black robes, strode around the stage holding one of the portable mikes; she delivered her sermon on mercy as a scholarly lesson as much to us as to the assembled court. Shylock, standing above Antonio's bare chest and trembling after being reminded of his daughter's flight with a "Christian husband" (293), slowly lowered the knife and, with brilliant timing, pulled it back to thrust at Antonio just as Balthasar blurted "Tarry a little" (303). Spectators gasped, and for a terrifying split second I actually thought Shylock would plunge that knife into Antonio's bosom. Suddenly sensing his peril, Shylock remained bent over Antonio as Balthasar eviscerated his bond and mockingly asked him why he paused. Defeated, Shylock dropped the knife, slowly removed his apron, and then fell to his knees. As she detailed his submission to Venetian law and that law's purported mercy, Balthasar ironically returned the knife to Shylock. Then, in an immensely cruel gesture, on Antonio's "Two things provided more: that for this favor / He presently become a Christian" (384-85), a nun walked toward Shylock and removed his yarmulke. One of the main themes of this complex and difficult play is the hypocrisy of those who mistakenly assume righteousness merely because they constitute a majority, and this gesture brutally illustrated that theme: As the Christians left the court they celebrated with handshakes and shouts, as if at a sporting match. They left the beer bottles but took the money bags.

After the emotional power of 4.1, the resolution of the romantic themes seemed anti-climactic. Lorenzo and Jessica were drinking wine in 5.1, and Jessica's last line, "I am never merry when I hear sweet music" (69), a reminder of her father's criticism of the "vile squealing of the wry-necked fife" (2.5.31), foretold her end; she stood alone stage right as Nerissa gave Lorenzo the "special deed of gift" from "the rich Jew" (292) who is now neither rich nor a Jew. (In Jessica's presence, this line has always seemed to me deliberately cruel and certainly was so here.) Portia and Nerissa entered from the stage right vomitorium, as from among us who had witnessed the court scene. Portia's statement about a "good deed in a naughty world" (91) and her assertion that "Nothing is good, I see without respect" (99) was especially apt after the vivid staging of 4.1.⁸ Portia and Nerissa claimed their moral victory over their (apparently) wayward husbands, and the couples disappeared into the darkness where love is con-

summarated. Jessica hesitated, kissed Lorenzo lightly, and then they followed. But her hesitation was enough to remind us from whom they had received their gift. Antonio remained alone stage left as the hands of the clock spun backward, returning us to Renaissance Venice and reminding us of the long history of human prejudice.



1 Henry IV: John Tufts as Prince Hal and David Kelly as Sir John Falstaff. Photo: Jenny Graham.

Bolingbroke had seized the crown. The hand belonged to John Tufts's Hal, and behind the curtain was a bed from which he and a young girl, both mostly undressed, slowly emerged. As Hal stretched and the girl straightened the sheets, the huge lump at the foot of the bed began to move, and Falstaff crawled out from under a grotesque ménage à trois. Thus did the heir apparent spend his time while Hotspur killed six or seven Scots before breakfast. Throughout the production Kelly played Falstaff with an astonishing joie de vivre and an absolute conviction that Hal could not possibly resist him. Thus even in their initial scene together, though Falstaff speaks to Hal of "when thou art king" (1.2.16), Kelly treated words like "time," "hanging," and "thief" as just so many witticisms to be bandied about with Hal like tennis balls—or young ladies of the tavern. Hal—the "most comparative, rascalliest, sweet young prince" (79–80)—clearly enjoyed Falstaff's wit and knew exactly how Falstaff would react to his suggestion to steal a purse. After plotting with Poins, played by Howie Seago, whose words Hal signed as Shylock did Tubal's, Hal spoke his soliloquy "I know you all"

Director Penny Metropulos set her *1 Henry IV* firmly in the fifteenth century, with doublet, hose, bucklers, shields and the Boar's Head: no time traveling here. On checkerboard patterns suggesting games of skill, scenic designer Michael Ganio erected huge photographs of sword hilts, the English crown, and a crucifix. Like *Merchant*, *1 HIV* opened with a tableau, this one taken from 4.1 of *Richard II*. On the upper stage Cris-tofer Jean as Richard, in a long white gown, extended the crown to Richard Howard, then Bolingbroke and soon King Henry, who seized it, pulled it from Richard's hand, and then placed it on his head as Richard laughed. Lights out, and seconds later Howard, resplendent in royal apparel, appeared down-stage center to begin the play proper.

Howard's bearing and voice effused authority and stateliness, the perfect antidote to David Kelly's slovenly Falstaff. After the king's complaints to Westmoreland, a hand moved aside a red curtain in front of the upper chamber, the space where moments before

(189ff) with no hint of irony or emotional distress. He smiled as he imagined breaking through the “base contagious clouds” (192) and of his “reformation, glittering o’er my fault” (207). Although he may regret having to pay the debt he *never* promised (stressed at 203), Hal moved downstage center to convince us that he would willingly bow to time even if that word meant nothing to Falstaff. While this reading of Hal’s soliloquy might seem to simplify what can be played as emotionally complex, Tufts’s version was nonetheless a theatrically clear statement of a young prince as calculating as his father had been in *Richard II*. The mask that Poins offered Hal to conceal their identities at Gad’s Hill became a fitting symbol for Hal.

Kevin Kenerly as the fiery Hotspur was a perfect foil to Hal. Kenerly is a short, compact, muscular actor with a booming voice whose rapid delivery contrasted sharply with Hal’s lethargy in 1.2. He thundered his complaints against Henry in 1.3, exasperated Northumberland and Worcester, and in 2.3 drove Lady Percy to tears with his evasions. She too was capable of anger, throwing his armor to the ground and pounding his chest when he would not tell her where he was going or why. Metropulos created poignant domestic scenes that stressed the human cost of war. Hotspur ridiculed Glendower, who was dressed as a magus, and his tales of his nativity and ability to call spirits from the “vasty deep” (51). Yet after their nasty quarrel over the map of Britain, Lady Mortimer and Lady Percy entered and the rebels lay down on cushions to listen to Lady Mortimer, accompanied by harps, sing beautifully in Welsh. The women cried as their soldiers headed off to war and “honor.” Hotspur’s earlier “O, let the hours be short / Till fields and blows and groans applaud our sport” (1.3.299-300) suddenly seemed puerile amid such loveliness.

In marked contrast to Hotspur’s darting around the stage, Falstaff lumbered through the robbery. He did lay down his fat guts to hear if travelers were coming and took several hilarious seconds to rise. Falstaff roared mightily when Hal and Poins “attacked” and hobbled into the Boar’s Head in 2.4. Hal’s game with Francis kept Falstaff waiting at the tavern door, and when he finally entered he was clearly furious at having been locked out of his own inn. Falstaff wore several ripped shirts over his orange and brown doublet, evidence of his battles with fifty-plus ruthless villains. Falstaff careened around the tavern describing his exploits, and as his tale of bravery expanded, so too did Hal’s obvious enjoyment of the fat knight. Kelly played Falstaff as so caught up in



I Henry IV: John Tufts as Hal and Kevin Kenerly as Hotspur. Photo by T. Charles Erickson.

the sheer joy of his spontaneous bragging that when Hal exposed Falstaff's lies as "gross as a mountain, open, palpable" (224), the game of insults that follows immediately became a further example of the inexhaustible wit and verbal dexterity that so endear Falstaff to Hal. Falstaff's narration was all a game played upon "instinct," rather than a calculated strategy that Falstaff really thought Hal would believe. Even Falstaff's attempt at naming the rebels dissolved into witty ripostes (330-55) that both deeply enjoyed. Thus ended act one of the play-within-a-play. But, since Gravity has the impertinency to be out of his bed at midnight, "Thy father's [Falstaff's?] beard is turned white with the news" (355-56), and Hal will now be summoned to the court in the morning, "If you love me, / practice an answer" (370-71). Kelly made this sequence seem perfectly logical to Falstaff, and every bit of it depended on his ability to create whole worlds—in all of which he is the center—from mere words. While one cannot know what Shakespeare might have wanted us to think is Falstaff's actual motivation in this scene, Kelly's choices made his interpretation of Falstaff's actions perfectly clear.

Act two of the playlet was equally entertaining. So as to look more kingly, Falstaff ripped off his filthy dowlas, perched a metal bowl upside down on his head, and preached with regal manliness: a king of misrule fabricating royal authority. Hal sat on a chair to Falstaff's right, and in a brilliant visual touch Falstaff offered Hal the metal bowl. As Hal grabbed it, Falstaff, like Richard II, refused to let go, so that Hal, like his father, had to "seize the crown." This moment identified Hal as being of the "blood royal": father and son are both thieves of the (real and mock) crown, and the king of England is only a harlotry player in a grubby tavern.

Hal wore the same dirty shirt to meet his father in 3.2 that he had been wearing when he crawled out of bed with Falstaff and their girl. So much for protocol at court. Tufts showed more verbal and emotional range in this scene than I had seen from him in other productions. Hal's reformation seemed at hand, and significantly when he returned to the tavern in 3.3 it was mostly empty. The riff-raff had been conscripted for war and would be peppered on Shrewsbury Field. Falstaff's insisting that Hal owed him his love, and that the "days of villainy" (167) were to blame for his "frailty" (168), led to Hal's enduring, if slightly exasperated, "Oh my sweet beef, I must still be good angel to / thee. The money is paid back" (177-78). Tufts's tone signaled that while the court and his father had called, sweetness still lay in Eastcheap.

In act four, Kenerly as Hotspur, Jeffrey King as Douglas, and James Newcomb as Worcester superbly kept spectators involved in the historical circumstances of this play. Indeed, Newcomb, whose vocal range and intensity are magnificent, raised Worcester to tragic status. He pleaded earnestly with Hotspur to wait for reinforcements in 4.1, and argued passionately with Vernon in 5.2 not to tell Hotspur of King Henry's offer to embrace and befriend the rebels, himself included. Not to be outdone, Kelly delivered with absolute conviction and not a shred of remorse Falstaff's soliloquy in 4.2 about the "commodity of warm slaves" (4.2.17-18) who appeared behind him carrying brooms and pitchforks. The verbal energy from both sets of thieves in act four, who as Hotspur learns cannot be true to one another, established superbly the contrasting views of honor and chivalry about to unfold.

Battle scenes engulfed the theater as soldiers entered from stage left and right and the two vomitoria. When Falstaff handed Hal his "pistol" that would sack a

city, Hal was genuinely furious for the first time in the play, and Falstaff's waddling offstage in pursuit of "life" suddenly seemed pathetic. Falstaff collapsed stage left before Douglas's sword, and then the fight between Hal and Hotspur became tremendously athletic, a testament to the two actors' physical skills and stamina. After Hal finally stabbed Hotspur he knelt beside him and held him in his arms for his obsequies, emphasizing the sense of waste in Hotspur's ill-woven ambition. Hal rose, turned to leave, and then, spotting Falstaff, went to him and knelt again. Hal affectionately kissed his forehead, a gesture reminiscent of his checking on Falstaff's breathing while he slept at the end of 2.4, and then exited an eerily quiet stage.

Kelly remained immobile for several seconds and thus created a pregnant silence that gained humor and impact from its duration. Suddenly, Falstaff shouted "Em-boweled" (5.4.111), arose laboriously, and triumphantly reclaimed the stage. He grotesquely stabbed Hotspur and, as he had done in his "narration" of Gad's Hill in 2.4, again reinvented history: "There is Percy. . . . If your father will do me / any honor, so; if not, let him kill the next Percy himself" (138-41). He knows that none will confute him; why would we? Being of the devil's party, we want more of this fat rogue, and our eyes see nothing amiss. Kelly reveled in the reclaimed verbal energy and inventiveness of Falstaff that keeps his enigmatic theatrical character so wonderfully alive.

The gem of the 2010 season, and one of the most riveting Shakespeare productions I have ever seen, was Bill Rauch's staging of a contemporary *Hamlet* in the Angus Bowmer Theatre. As one who has argued that many of OSF's "concept-driven" productions have denuded the Shakespearean script and produced theatrical mish-mash, I was absolutely thrilled that here Rauch and his colleagues produced as coherent a contemporary interpretation of a Shakespearean tragedy as one could imagine. They combined their production choices with a superb cast led by the brilliant Dan Donohue as Hamlet, who with this performance affirms his place among the finest and most intelligent of all Shakespearean actors working today. The individual elements of the production, a robust three and a half hours even with several cuts, were so well done, and the resulting impact of the whole was so powerful, that the totality beggars description. Perhaps the most that any review essay can do is highlight some of the production's finest moments in the vain hope that one's remarks can replicate some of the excitement of watching such an engrossing production.⁹

Scenic designer Christopher Acebo set the play on a crystal green floor in a modern Danish castle. A wall of high, dark stones, facing the audience, extended fully across the back stage, which was the long side of the horizontal set. Three doors opened into the "interior" of the castle, a fourth opening stage left was frequently used as an exit, and far stage left a much larger door, overlaid with steel maze-like patterns suggesting the "prison" that Hamlet says Denmark has become, opened into the outside world. Through this steel door Fortinbras would crash into the Danish court. Set into the wall at right angles were two sliding stone panels of equal height that moved to accommodate different scenes. For most of the play the audience faced the long back wall, above which was a parapet where Hamlet Senior's ghost appeared and where Polonius, Claudius and Gertrude sat for "The Mousetrap." While most scenes were played using this arrangement, for some, including the closet and nunnery scenes, the two panels slid out from the facade perpendicular

to the back wall to create small, claustrophobic rooms with doors through which spectators gazed. Thus in 3.1 we, as voyeurs, saw Hamlet struggling with Ophelia as



Hamlet: Dan Donohue as Hamlet. Photo by David Cooper.

in a private room, while in an adjacent room Claudius and Polonius listened to their frantic meeting via the listening devices that Ophelia wore strapped under her blouse. Peering down upon the stage from the parapet were two closed-circuit television cameras, marked by blinking red lights, that moved as the characters did. Thus, as in many modern cities, every movement of every character was watched by Claudius's police force who appeared when needed with radios and assault rifles. Even when in 3.1 Ophelia showed Hamlet one of the listening devices and he ripped it apart, Hamlet was, as Ophelia says, "Th' observed of all observers" (3.1.157). Rauch thus used a line from the play to enhance its contemporary setting. Coiled barbed wire atop a short wall stage left, while perhaps meant to increase security against invasion from the outside, also suggested Claudius's Denmark as the prison that Hamlet says it is in 2.2.

Even before the play proper began, Rauch's and Acebo's creativity was pronounced. As spectators filed into the dimly lighted theater, they saw four rows of chairs facing a casket draped in red cloth and flanked by four burning candelabra. A solitary figure, hunched over, head down, wearing a black suit, white shirt, and black tie sat alone, occasionally dabbing his teary eyes. This was Hamlet, the last person to leave his father's funeral service. Rauch and Acebo integrated this prelude superbly into the fabric of the play. As the funeral attendants removed more chairs, one would come to Hamlet, obviously asking him to leave, and then continue removing chairs until finally only a few remained. As an attendant extinguished the last of the candles, Hamlet walked to the casket, touched it gently, and the theater suddenly darkened. Stage left appeared Bernardo and Francisco fully armed. The Ghost of King Hamlet, played by Howie Seago in combat fatigues and boots, strode majestically above the parapet as the soldiers pointed their guns at and faced the opposite wall, suggesting the omnipresence of this strange visitor to their world. As Seago is deaf and mute, Horatio's "Stay! Speak, speak! I charge thee, speak!" (1.1.56) was immediately ironic, and the Ghost's refusal to speak to others anticipated his speaking to Hamlet later with sign language, as if father and son shared a secret language. This staging of 1.1 emphasized the apparition's alien nature; here was a being that Claudius's cameras could neither detect nor deter.

Attendants applauded as Claudius (Jeffrey King) and Gertrude (Greta Oglesby) entered their dazzling court. All except Hamlet, who sulked stage left, shared in the cake and wine that Gertrude wheeled in. The King was stately, authoritative, and self-assured, while Richard Elmore as Polonius was obsequious. Hamlet moved to center stage only to tell Gertrude that he would obey her and then immediately turned toward spectators to speak his first soliloquy as the court members froze. One of Donohue's supreme gifts as an actor is his ability to modulate his voice and tone instantaneously within not just a sentence or a line but even a word. His varied tones throughout this soliloquy, combined with an amazingly muscular voice, created a Hamlet already in immense distress. Kneeling in front of Gertrude, in a spotlight, Donohue carried us deeply into Hamlet's anguish. While frozen action and spotlights are hardly new theatrical devices, the anguish and pain in Donohue's voice announced his Hamlet as a man already distraught and totally alienated from this court.

Susannah Flood as Ophelia entered in muddy boots, blue jeans, and a flannel shirt carrying flowers in a bucket and tending among rocks some violets—all of which would wither when her father died—and then picked up and placed beneath her bucket a letter from Hamlet that she found among the rocks. After Laertes's intense warning to Ophelia about Hamlet's affections, which sounded quite odd in a contemporary setting, she and Laertes, who carried a backpack and a guitar case for his journey to Paris, repeated aloud some of Polonius's stale instructions. This funny domestic scene turned ugly when Polonius asked Ophelia about Hamlet, and she and he argued angrily about her relationship with Hamlet. As Ophelia started to leave, she picked up the flower bucket but left lying on the stage Hamlet's letter, which Polonius immediately seized and read. Ophelia was furious at herself for leaving the letter behind, and her "I shall obey, my lord" (1.3.137) sent her on a journey into madness.

In Hamlet's scenes with the Ghost, numerous lines were cut to minimize the amount of signing that Donohue would have to do and to emphasize the crucial information that the Ghost must convey to Hamlet. Here, as in *Merchant*, what might seem to be an obstacle to dialogue became instead a means of exploring a character's tortured mind. Because Hamlet spoke what the Ghost signed to him, and signed as well as enunciated his own responses, Hamlet experienced the Ghost's fury and anguish through both spoken language and gesture. For hearing spectators the encounter became a spoken dialogue within Hamlet of the Ghost's and his own increasingly terrifying emotions. Seago did utter "O horrible! O, horrible, most horrible" (1.5.81) and after coming downstage from the parapet he stomped about the stage to indicate his fury at his brother and Gertrude. Hamlet was frantic after the Ghost's initial exit. In his short soliloquy "O all you hosts of heaven" (1.5.93-113) Donohue fractured the rhythms as he raced and then suddenly paused—"Remember thee?"; "Yes, by heaven!" (98, 105)—to mimic a mind suddenly enraged. With Horatio and Marcellus he immediately "played" one gone mad, giggling as he urged them to swear. His sword was a knife on which all three cut their fingers, symbolizing a blood bond not to reveal what they have this night seen. In a final brilliant choice when I saw the play in July, as the ghost reappeared above Rauch reversed the usual editorial stage direction: "They wait for him to leave first."¹⁰ Hamlet ushered off Marcellus and Horatio stage left, then returning to center stage signed to the Ghost: "Nay, come, let's go together"

(1.5.199). In this version, Hamlet explicitly beckons his father's ghost to travel with him on his journey through the play. This moment was staged differently in the October performance, but in either case Rauch's staging created an entirely new meaning to this line and signaled the Ghost as Hamlet's constant companion throughout the play.

Rauch retained Reynaldo in 2.1 so that we saw another image of spying and here introduced a bizarre but again visually significant image. Polonius was not wearing pants when he walked onstage, and when Ophelia entered she was carrying a large pair of scissors; she was altering one of Polonius's suits. (Ophelia as Atropos?) The scissors went a progress through the play, and eventually became the weapon with which Hamlet stabbed Polonius. Like Polonius, Hamlet initially wore an inky, formal suit, yet as he danced through the play, usually in bare feet, and became more melancholy, clownish, and at times nearly if not actually mad, his suit was progressively more cut-up, the pant legs ripped and holes cut into the jacket, until eventually it became a suit of "shreds and patches" (3.4.106). This "suit," a matched set of clothes that implies order, became instead an image of complete disorder, a visual image not only of King Claudius that Hamlet hurls at Gertrude in 3.4 but also an image of his own emotionally ragged self. Hamlet used Ophelia's scissors to make himself into an image of Claudius's court; combined with the jester's three-pronged hat that Hamlet donned for "The Mousetrap," he became a motley fool in a criminal court.

Rosencrantz and Guildenstern were young women, daughters of Hamlet's childhood nanny and cook, whose presence as Hamlet's "excellent good friends" added some sexual intrigue to their return. (Several reviews insisted that they were played as a lesbian couple. Their holding hands at several points in the play suggested this relationship, but I don't see that as necessarily how they played their characters.) The players, in whom Hamlet took great delight, were rappers in their own leather motley, whose leader performed the Pyrrhus speech to rap rhythms. Like the use of security cameras, this choice, while utterly foreign to traditional staging of the play, blended well into the contemporary setting and not only energized Hamlet but also identified him as one of them: a clown prince playing a role in costumes and rhythms completely foreign to the dominant culture. In another surprising choice, Rauch had Rosencrantz and Guildenstern remain onstage while Hamlet spoke to the First Player about his dozen or sixteen lines, so that presumably during "The Mousetrap" Claudius might have known that Hamlet had asked to have some lines added to the night's entertainment.

In Hamlet's "Now I am alone" (2.2.549-606), Donohue was brilliant. He railed loudly at himself, gestured at spectators as if asking us to explain his inaction, and instantaneously lapsed into humor at several points, especially on "Why, what an ass am I?" (583). These shifts in tone and rhythm were so rapid, so seamless, that one recognized the genius of acting as an art that conceals art when an actor so completely embodies his character that he seems not to be "playing" at all. This element of Donohue's performance sparkled through the center of the play.

As the two panels moved outward from the back wall to carve the stage into three small rooms, in the far left room Polonius tied one small microphone around Ophelia's waist and another to her back. In the room was a single kneeler often present in side-chapels of Catholic churches. On top of the kneeler was a row of small lighted novena candles. The image of this sprightly young woman, who earlier

had argued vigorously with Polonius, now baring her naked flesh to her father as he strapped listening devices on her body was quite disturbing. Ophelia was sufficiently distraught when describing Hamlet's appearance in her closet to indicate that she had been really unsettled by his bizarre behavior. But this plot requirement notwithstanding, Ophelia's being so thoroughly controlled by her father and made a tool of the king was difficult to fathom in this contemporary setting.

Rauch's staging of Hamlet's "To be, or not to be" soliloquy (3.1.57-91) was both thrilling and unconventional, and raised some fascinating questions about what spectators were to believe about who knew what as the play progressed. Hamlet emerged into the central of the three rooms to speak his lines, while in the stage left room Ophelia knelt as if praying and holding a packet of Hamlet's letters. Polonius says to Ophelia at 3.1.43 "Ophelia, walk you here," and Shakespeare's stage directions at 3.1.55 read simply "Exeunt" (i.e., Polonius and Claudius) and "Enter Hamlet." Thus if directors follow Shakespeare's script, Ophelia is somewhere onstage when Hamlet begins his monologue. As Donohue began speaking Ophelia rose from the kneeler and looked toward the middle room, as if hearing what Hamlet was saying. Presumably also Polonius and Claudius, now in the stage right room, also heard Hamlet's soliloquy because of the two microphones strapped to Ophelia's body. Donohue sat downstage center barefoot and in shredded clothes, resembling more a pauper than a prince. Despite his ragged appearance, his monologue was nonetheless profound. He lingered over every phrase, articulating brilliantly the movements of Hamlet's mind through the many questions and possible answers that he contemplates. Each unit of thought was given equal weight, and Donohue's clear pronunciation and measured pace allowed spectators to follow easily the speech's complex ideas and intricate structure. Donohue initially spoke calmly but with palpable tension in his voice, evoking a Hamlet fascinated by the powers of his own mind yet recognizing that these very powers demanded that he think too precisely on the event. This recognition of the paradox of his own mind gradually created greater tension in his voice as Donohue moved through the soliloquy, and increased the sense that for Hamlet just being in this castle-prison, and having to think about that fact, was becoming unbearable.

That tension exploded when he encountered Ophelia. As if having decided to leave, Hamlet walked through the door into the stage left room where Ophelia had resumed kneeling. Hamlet saw Ophelia and bolted toward her. He grabbed the packet of letters that Ophelia offered and stuffed them in his pocket, as he will later tell Gertrude Claudius did with the diadem, while railing at her about her honesty and beauty. She clung to Hamlet, desperately trying to calm him, and after Hamlet pushed her away she pulled up her blouse to reveal the microphone. Hamlet immediately rushed through the door back into the middle room and stopped (knowingly?) on the other side of the wall from where Polonius and Claudius stood listening. Returning to her, knowing she had been used and that she had betrayed them, Hamlet suddenly kissed her hard and for a second they desperately embraced, as if seeking to flee together. He then pushed her to the floor, lay upon her in a sexual embrace, then stood up and raged at her to join a nunnery. Hamlet was unhinged, and the contrast between his profound meditation and this violent outburst was frightening. In that brief, desperate embrace and the violence that followed, Donohue and Flood superbly evoked

two young people trapped in a prison from which neither could escape. In 5.1, when Hamlet leaped into Ophelia's grave and claimed that he loved her, one believed him.

Like a director instructing during a rehearsal, Hamlet critiqued his actors as he walked toward the stage from behind the spectators. This staging neatly transformed the Bowmer into the actual theater in Claudius's court where the actors were to perform. Rauch cut the dumb show—rappers don't do them—and *The Murder of Gonzago* became a rap opera accompanied by music spun on a turntable that appeared from below stage right. Claudius and Gertrude sat above on the parapet, and often during the performance Claudius leaned to his right, ostensibly to ask Polonius about the show. In his now thoroughly ragged clothing, Hamlet sat at Ophelia's feet and bawdily intoned "COUN-try" matters. All references to the Duke of Gonzago were cut, so the playlet moved quickly through shortened versions of the Player King's and Player Queen's lines toward Lucianus. Among his rapid-fire lyrics Lucianus included Hamlet's "Bloody, bawdy villain! / Remorseless, treacherous, lecherous, kindles villain!" from his soliloquy in 2.2 (580-81), suggesting that these lines were among those that Hamlet had asked the first player to include. Hamlet grabbed the microphone from the gyrating Lucianus after his "Thoughts black" (253-58) speech to narrate the poisoning "i' the garden." Here Claudius suddenly fell to his right in obvious despair, and when he and Gertrude bolted Hamlet leaped all over the stage. He spoke his soliloquy about "drink[ing] hot blood" (3.2.389) downstage, directly to us, then crept up behind Claudius stage right as he knelt to pray. Unnerved and distraught, Claudius vomited into a toilet bowl in front of him. Hamlet held above Claudius's left ear not a knife but Ophelia's lethal scissors. Rauch's staging of this scene again challenged spectators sitting at an Elizabethan play transposed to their own time. Hamlet came right up behind Claudius and spoke standing over him, even making the line "That would be scanned" (75) a funny bit of self-reflection.

Hamlet attacked Gertrude furiously. More than any other Hamlet I have ever seen, he meant "And—would it were not so—you are my mother" (3.4.17). He killed Polonius with Ophelia's scissors that he yanked from his back pocket, and then in an amazing crescendo of emotion Donohue convincingly played Hamlet's descent into manic rage. He climbed onto Gertrude's bed screaming his abusive correction at her so violently that she fell to the floor trying to evade him. As if he had been with Hamlet invisibly from the end of 1.5, King Hamlet's Ghost entered through one of the doors that led into the castle's interior. Hamlet's plunge into madness seemed irrevocable; he not only raved about his criminal uncle and his sinful mother but also suddenly began signing the words of a ghost. While here the use of a deaf actor in a crucial scene of an Elizabethan play, and the director's staging of it, created some difficulty in understanding exactly what Rauch, Donohue and Oglesby intended, nonetheless the actors' skills created an immensely powerful and frightening scene.¹¹

Speaking calmly and deliberately, Donohue spoke directly to spectators Hamlet's "How all occasions do inform against me" (4.4.33-67), as if now finally resolved to action. Here and for the rest of the play he wore a red T-shirt, with the word VOLCOM (perhaps a telecommunication company) across it in large white letters. Conversely, Ophelia charged into Gertrude's bedroom wearing formal black for her father's funeral service, which she in her madness believed was to be held in Ger-



Hamlet: Dan Donohue as Hamlet, David DeSantos as Laertes, and Jeffrey King as Claudius. Photo by David Cooper.

trude's room. She tumbled into Gertrude's bed, like the lass in her song, and at one point curled up on the bed in a fetal position, suggesting perhaps the child that she and Hamlet might have had. After Laertes's entrance with a gun that he pointed at Claudius's head, Ophelia reentered and the "flowers" that she distributed were her sunglasses and several small objects that she took from a black purse. As she finished distributing these objects to Gertrude and Claudius, and thinking perhaps of Hamlet as "bonny sweet Robin [who] is all my joy" (4.5.190), she stood on a chair and began undressing, finally exiting into the castle as she removed her blouse and bra. Perhaps she imagined that inside the castle her lover Hamlet-Robin longed for her. Further signifying the dissolution of Claudius's reign, Gertrude stayed onstage when Claudius urged "I pray you, go with me" (4.5.222).

The bottom of Gertrude's skirt was wet as she entered 4.7.163, indicating her presence at Ophelia's death and perhaps an attempt to save her. As Gertrude narrated Ophelia's drowning, Ophelia, wrapped in a white shroud, emerged from the castle and stood stage right on a slowly descending platform. By Gertrude's "To muddy death" (184) Ophelia had disappeared, and this same open space became her grave in 5.1.

Donohue's loving caress of Yorick's skull implied intimacy and joy in King Hamlet's court. Laertes and Hamlet jumped into Ophelia's grave and wrestled so violently that Hamlet could justifiably say to Laertes in 5.2 that what he had done to him was madness. As Hamlet left the stage he dropped into Ophelia's grave the letters she had

returned to him in 3.1; he had been carrying them with him ever since their parting. In the final court scene Hamlet wore only his red T-shirt, sneakers, and torn jeans amid Claudius's regal court. After Hamlet's second "hit" against Laertes, Gertrude approached Hamlet with a cloth to wipe his brow and in exchange took the poisoned chalice from him. As Oglesby explained in a talk-back, Gertrude, who had seen King Hamlet's ghost, drank knowingly from the poisoned cup to spare her son's life. Horatio lovingly spoke his eulogy over Hamlet's prone body, and after Fortinbras and his soldiers rudely pushed Horatio aside, King Hamlet's Ghost, still in his battle fatigues, reentered from inside the castle, as he had in 3.4, and cradled his son's body in his arms. They had indeed gone together on Hamlet's journey, and now King Hamlet grieved the lethal cost of his dread commands.

Notes

1. Amy Richard, *Online Press Release*. Accessed November 1, 2010. The 770 performances generated \$18,473,563, and overall, achieved 94 percent capacity. Rauch's *Hamlet* played to 99 percent capacity, *Twelfth Night* to 98 percent, *Merchant* to 92 percent, and *1 Henry IV* to 70 percent.
2. Darko Tresnjak, "Of Romance and Rudeness," Oregon Shakespeare Festival *Prologue* (Summer 2010), 10.
3. *Ibid.*
4. 1.3.69. All textual references are to *The Complete Works of Shakespeare*, ed. David Bevington (New York: Harper Collins, 1992).
5. *Prologue*, 4.
6. *Prologue*, 5.
7. Heald notes that he and Rauch decided to include Tubal, who tries to restrain Shylock, in 3.3 when Shylock insists on his bond, because they wanted to show that ". . . what Shylock is doing is seen as abhorrent, even by his fellow Jews, because demanding a pound of flesh is completely against Jewish morality" (*Prologue*, 5).
8. Bevington glosses respect as "comparison, context" (215).
9. I saw this production twice, first about mid-run on July 22 and then at the last performance on October 30. This second viewing allowed me to catch some elements of the staging that I had missed during the first viewing, and I also noticed that there were some changes between the two performances that I shall briefly note. Overall though, I was astonished to see such thrilling energy in the final performance—the 116th of the run.
10. Bevington, 1077.
11. King Hamlet never accuses Gertrude of complicity in his murder. Rather, he urges Hamlet to "Leave her to heaven / And to those thorns that in her bosom lodge, / To prick and sting her" (1.5.87-89). Those thorns are never explicitly identified; however, Hamlet's attack was so vicious, and Gertrude's grief so profound, that this production strongly implied her knowledge of, if not her involvement with, her husband's death.

THE 2011 ALABAMA SHAKESPEARE FESTIVAL: *JULIUS CAESAR*

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Caesar's assassination was a messy bit of business. With as much blood squirting as we might find in a 1980s slasher movie, it gave new meaning to Alabama's Crimson Tide. When the house lights were raised at intermission, I turned to my companion with eagerness and trepidation and asked, "Well, how do you like it so far?" It was my eleven-year-old daughter's first experience seeing a professional production of a Shakespearean play. An odd choice on my part, perhaps, to initiate her into the mysteries; we could have seen the Festival's production of *Much Ado About Nothing* instead. But since she had been studying classical civilization, mythology, and Latin during the school year, director Geoffrey Sherman's production of *Julius Caesar* at the 2011 Alabama Shakespeare Festival seemed like the suitable *telos* of the academic year. She raised her eyebrows, grinned, and replied, "It's good. But it's like watching Spanish TV. It's entertaining, but I don't understand anything."

This was an honest, and unwittingly profound, response to a play whose principal action centers on the thorny, if not impossible, task of understanding. What, precisely, is the significance of Casca's seeing a "tempest dropping fire" from the heavens (1.3.10), or men "all in fire" walking the streets (25)?¹ What about the lack of a heart found in Caesar's sacrificial offering (2.2.39-41)? Do these signs indicate the favor or displeasure of the gods, and toward whom? Is Caesar to be feared for what he is? What *is* he? Cassius enviously views him as the "Colossus" that "bestride[s] the narrow world" (1.2.135-36) at everyone else's expense. Is Caesar to be feared for what he might become? Brutus confesses him not to be a tyrant, for "to speak truth of Caesar, / I have not known when his affections swayed / More than his reason" (2.1.19-21). But are we then to consent to his fears over Caesar's ambitions, when crowning him "might change his nature" (13)? Do we believe Calpurnia's ominous interpretation of her dream of Caesar's statue running with blood while Romans bathe their hands in it (2.2.78-82)? Or do we believe the interpretation of the conspirator Decius Brutus, whose quick thinking renders these details as Caesar's nourishing legacy to Rome (83-90)? The action of the play indicates that both interpretations of the statue appear to be true, bearing out Cicero's warning that "men may construe things after their own fashion" (1.3.34)—a statement driven home in Cassius's breast by his own sword when his friend Titinius laments, "Alas, thou hast misconstrued everything" (5.3.84).

Geoffrey Sherman's period production, with authentic costuming richly designed by Elizabeth Novak, managed these ambiguities well. Before the play began, the audience was instructed to participate in the role of the fickle Roman mob at crucial scenes when stirred and prompted to echo the actors stationed in the aisles. Shouting "Caesar! Caesar!" while trumpets sound in the background, we hail Rodney Clark's dignified Caesar at his entrance (1.2) as he strides with *gravitas* across the stage dressed in regal red and gold; after the assassination, we as the angry mob demand satisfaction from the conspirators (3.2.1); swayed by rhetoric, we chant

“Live, Brutus, live, live!” (3.2.48) to a Brutus portrayed by Stephen Paul Johnson in a dynamic performance that earns every bit of Marc Antony’s praise at the close of the play (5.5.68); and we shout fervent cries of revenge and mutiny (3.2.205, 232) when the charismatic Peter Simon Hilton, as Antony, delicately removes the ripped, crimson-stained toga covering Caesar’s body or teases us with the contents of Caesar’s will. The front of his tunic is as bloody as Caesar’s toga, indicating that he has perhaps been embracing his fallen friend. In tears, he paces the stage as well as the aisles of the theatre and holds Caesar’s toga before the gaze of various audience members who examine “the most unkindest cut of all” (3.2.184). Sherman’s production allowed the audience to experience and to participate in both sides of the political contention, such that we witness Caesar in just the terms that Brutus describes. Caesar is at once sacred and profane: a “dish fit for the gods” (2.1.174) because he represents the best that Rome has to offer, and the serpent in the egg (32) whose venom must be purged from the republic that he threatens.

As Sigurd Burckhardt relates, critics of the play have been split about its political meaning and where Shakespeare’s own sympathies lie, whether with Brutus’s republican ideals or Caesar’s monarchical tendencies. For Burckhardt, Brutus himself is an anachronism, misjudging his audience by assuming they share the same time-honored nobility as him; the striking clock in 2.1 (in the production, tolling like a medieval church bell) indicates not that the time is ripe for Brutus to defend the republican virtues to which he holds fast, but that the moment is now fit for a Caesar to be placed in the crucible of history. “The political point of the play,” Burckhardt asserts, “is not that the monarchical principle is superior to the republican—nor the reverse—but that the form of government, the style of politics, must take account of the time and the temper of the people. . . .”² The “time and temper” of the Roman people, as well as the competing political ideals between the *optimates* (the conservative aristocrats represented by the conspirators) and the *populares* (the progressive party represented by Caesar and Antony) are subtly reflected in Peter Hicks’s set design. Large, circular bronze plaques are placed on the two massive columns that frame the stage; before the assassination these plaques bore the image of Caesar, but when the action resumed in 3.2 after the intermission they displayed the Roman eagle atop the republican standard bearing *SPQR* (*Senatus Populusque Romanus*). Hanging in the background are three panels that raise and lower at various heights to indicate scene changes in private settings. These panels ascend while a set of three pillars descends to indicate the public forum. Stairs rise to create three distinct but connected areas for staging the action, and Sherman takes advantage of Hicks’s set design to emphasize the political tensions. In 1.2 Caesar entered with fanfare from a slightly higher platform at stage right, whose stairs descend to the other two platforms which share the same level, but which are offset downstage and upstage. Brutus and Cassius occupied this lower level as they gazed upon the new dictator, with plebians scattering about them or descending to the main stage. When Caesar (con) descended to this lower level to engage Antony, Brutus and Cassius crossed his path and descended several steps. As a passionate Cassius, Thom Rivera uncannily resembles a Roman version of Gordon Gekko, Michael Douglas’s cutthroat anti-hero from *Wall Street*, and with the ego to match. His black hair slicked back, he sneers

and flashes his dark eyes. While Brutus remained facing the audience and glancing at Caesar, Cassius turned his back to Caesar in a private gesture of contempt and conspiracy. Peter Hicks's set also incorporated a rain machine to accompany peals of thunder as a frightened Casca (Phillip Christian) crept about in the shadows on his way to meet Cicero (a bit part played by veteran actor Eric Hoffmann), cloaked and hobbling on a cane. The added novelty of the rain intensified the bleakness of the scene, but the sound unfortunately drowned out some of the dialogue between the characters, including Cicero's apt warning about interpreting signs.



Julius Caesar: The cast of Julius Caesar. Photo by Stephen Poff.

With the stage lights turned low, it was a menacing sight when the conspirators entered, heavily cloaked and hooded. They stood this way for several seconds in silence. One by one, they doffed their hoods and Brutus welcomed them. As the scene progressed and talk of conspiracy mounted, the men surrounded Brutus, giving us the impression that he was trapped—not just by his ideals but also by these men who will use them for their own gain. The sound engineer, Brett Rominger, orchestrates the eruption of thunder throughout the scene, such that its continual presence adds another character to the scene. As G. Wilson Knight observes, the weird phenomena, combined with the storm, “stand for contest, destruction, and disorder in the outer world and in the reader’s mind, mirroring the contest, destruction, and disorder . . . in the soul of the hero. . . .”³ Rivera’s Cassius shared none of Brutus’s interior contest or disorder. He was obviously impatient and annoyed, pacing the area, furrowing his brows, and shaking his head when Brutus suggests they ought to be “sacrificers, but not butchers” (2.167). Cassius was the last to leave and cast a hesitating backward glance towards an already ruminating Brutus, but he said nothing when he exited.

In a play with few parts for women, Jenny Mercein (Portia) and Tara Herweg (Calpurnia) leave their marks. Both ably summon anxiety and concern over their husbands' impending circumstances, and we feel their frustrations. There is palpable tenderness and affection between Mercein and Johnson, especially; Clark and Herweg display no less, but the obvious age difference between them tends to suggest that their love is categorically different. Clark's Caesar cannot completely escape the elevation of his public persona, even when he is dressed in his gown and pacing about the household, and his gestures of affection toward his young wife, such as when he squares up with her and places his hands on her shoulders when he concedes to stay home (2.2.55-56), impress us as being parental rather than spousal. Sherman made the atypical choice to cast the Soothsayer as a woman, played by Greta Lambert, who has been with the ASF since 1985. Dressed in a ragged tunic and wrapped in an animal skin, Lambert's Soothsayer is frenetic and afflicted with her divine burden, reminding us of the mad prophetess Cassandra from Homer's *Iliad*. Rather than being oppositional toward the prideful Caesar who scorns her, she is desperate, wringing her hands and pulling her hair. This portrait of the Soothsayer is one that I had never entertained. These interpretive choices render a Caesar who is not being punished outright for his hubris ("Wilt thou lift up Olympus?" he cries to everyone kneeling before him on the steps of the Capitol in 3.1.75), but a Caesar whom the gods perhaps favor and desire to give fair warning.

In the assassination scene, the conspirators surrounded Caesar just as they had previously surrounded Brutus, slowly closing ranks about him. Casca delivered the first dagger thrust from behind and unhesitatingly Brutus delivered the last in a movement that resembled a frontal embrace. Rodney Clark is among the taller actors in the production, and his lanky height and erect posture give him a regal bearing. That makes it all the more striking to see him crumple and fall on the stage. At Brutus's prompting, the conspirators knelt in a circle around his body, bathing their arms in his blood and looking like scavenger birds feeding on a corpse. They seemed a little unsure of what to do when Antony entered the scene, but with daggers drawn they backed away while he kissed Caesar's face. His forearms became bloody as he steadily shook the hands of the assassins and studied their faces for a moment before moving to the next. Afterward, he again knelt at Caesar's corpse and began to weep as he compared Caesar to the deer hunted and "strucken by many princes" (3.1.211). Cassius bellowed his name (213), startling him out of his indulgent grief. Sherman's staging at this point is exceptionally calculated. The conspirators clustered menacingly yet again with daggers drawn around Antony, still on his knees. Standing off to the side, Brutus was not included in this circle. Clearly, he did not share Cassius's or the others' envy of Caesar or malice towards Antony. Neither was Trebonius (Corey Triplett, who doubles as an Octavius without enough choler) included; he was in the background paralyzed and uncomprehending, staring at the body, and loosely holding his dagger by his fingertips. There is no compelling textual reason why Trebonius should be singled out here among the other conspirators, but the effect is stunning. Caesar's blood not yet cold, his death is already splintering the *optimates'* unity of purpose; not everyone is convinced that they have done the right thing. As the conspirators left, thinking they had gained Antony's trust, the general dipped his hand

in Caesar's blood and streaked it across his face in a gesture of vengeance before servants bore the body away.

When we are transported to Asia Minor for the culminating action, a huge map lowers in the background to indicate Brutus's tent as the strategic command center for the impending battle. The separation between Brutus and Cassius that was physically demarcated in the earlier scene by the former's exclusion from the circle has now come to fruition during their heated argument in 4.3. Johnson's consistent display of Roman *dignitas* and *gravitas* throughout the play pays off here, as we are drawn to Brutus in his indignation at Cassius's taking of bribes. "Did not great Julius bleed for justice' sake?" he asks his friend, and "shall we now / Contaminate our fingers with base bribes, / And sell the mighty space of our large honors / For so much trash as may be grasped thus?" (4.3.19-26). As the scene progressed, Rivera dropped to his knees, pulled a dagger from his belt, and extended its handle to Brutus, who slowly approached and clasped Cassius's hands about the hilt. For a split second we wonder if Brutus will plunge the point into Cassius's awaiting breast before they are reconciled. His anger is "as the flint bears fire" which "shows a hasty spark / And straight is cold again" (111-113).

The news of Portia's death immediately follows. When Brutus narrates the story of the desperate Portia, who "swallowed fire" (4.3.155) out of the fear that Antony and Octavius had grown too powerful, Cassius is obviously dumbstruck. As Messala enters to inform Brutus of her death, Cassius stares blankly into the audience in shock during the entire exchange. The double report of Portia's death is a moment of textual ambiguity in the play. In the process of revision, did Shakespeare mistakenly forget to erase one of the accounts or are both intended? If the latter, the scene presents a ripe opportunity for an actor to nuance Brutus's character, upon which Sherman's production did not capitalize. Telling Cassius the news first gives the audience another glimpse of the "private" Brutus, while the second report delivered in the presence of other soldiers allows the audience to see the "public" Brutus. Is his response in both cases consistent? If not, there might be room to develop the private/public dichotomy in Brutus that we find plaguing Caesar himself—displayed so well in 2.2, when Caesar begins the scene resolute about going to the Capitol, then caves to Calpurnia's pleading when in the private household, and then reaffirms the



Julius Caesar: Stephen Paul Johnson as Brutus and Seth Rabinowitz as a soldier. Photo by Stephen Poff.

power of Caesar's will to decide ("I am constant as the northern star," he proclaims in 3.1.61) when the public sphere invades as Decius enters. As Marjorie Garber points out, Shakespeare takes "considerable pains, from the first, to demonstrate the resemblance between Brutus and Caesar."⁴ Brutus's tent offers a space where he and Cassius retreat for their confrontation so that their officers and soldiers are not privy to their division and quarrel (4.2.41-47). But this private space is similarly invaded by the public demands of the army when the officers Messala (James Bowen) and Titinius (Brik Berkes) enter. Brutus's private grief in front of Cassius may be put into check by the public persona when Messala utters the news with the prefatory, "Then like a Roman bear the truth I tell" (187)—that is, with stoicism in the face of death, which Brutus appears to recognize, given his curt response: "Why, farewell, Portia. We must all die, Messala," (189). Stephen Paul Johnson's performance at this point showed little awareness of this dynamic tension, and he was consistent and sober throughout the scene. Better than Caesar, his Brutus lives up to the analogy of being as steady as the "northern star." The appearance of Caesar's ghost later in the scene rattled him, however. Brutus's tent is dimly lit with a few soft spotlights when Caesar's bloody corpse slowly emerges from one of the sets of entrance/exit stairs which ascends/descends at the front of the main stage and connects to tunnels and dressing rooms underneath the audience. When the ghost uttered his lines, Clark's clear baritone voice was raspy, amplified with a microphone and modulated with an eerie echo. Brutus nearly fell off his seat in response.

As the battle begins, the fog of war descends. Shakespeare has already set us up for internal conflict, as we are not sure for whom we should be rooting. Sherman's production continues to take advantage of the turmoil. Soldiers and officers from both sides of the conflict are helmeted and wearing the same armor, so that those less familiar with the play may have difficulty discerning the difference. The confusion is intensified when the production adds a billowing fog machine as well. Pindarus (Kevin Callaghan) ascended a ladder at stage left when he was commanded by Cassius to report on the fate of Titinius, an order which he misconstrues, leading to Cassius's suicide. Cassius knelt facing the audience while Pindarus stood above and behind him, driving the sword downward into his neck. The manner of this death seems slightly more dignified than it is in the text, where Cassius requests that his servant stab him only after his face is covered (5.3.44). While Cassius dies in his full battle armor, Brutus dies dressed only in his tunic, suggesting that he has already realized that his republican ideals will not win the day. The soldier Strato (Tyler Jakes) reluctantly served his master by holding the sword, but turned and covered his own face as Brutus impaled himself with eyes wide open. Given Johnson's unflinchingly noble performance through the production, Strato's words to Messala and Octavius are indeed apt: "The conquerors can but make a fire of him, / For Brutus only overcame himself, / And no man else hath honor by his death" (5.5.55-57). Similar words will be said by Cleopatra about the doomed Antony in *Antony and Cleopatra* (4.15.17-18).

At the conclusion of last year's Festival production of *Hamlet*, I was pleasantly surprised to see three of the lead actors take the stage to field audience questions about the play and their interpretive decisions. That practice was taken up again

when the curtain fell on *Julius Caesar*. Johnson and Rivera make an effective tag team, adding a witty and improvisational spit-shine to the production whose polishing began with an energetic and entertaining mini-lecture by the dramaturg, Dr. Susan Willis. On this occasion, I was pleased “to part the glories of this happy day” (5.5.81) with my daughter in a theater that is one of the true gems of the South. Hail, Sherman!

Notes

1. All citations of the play text are from *Julius Caesar*, ed. David Bevington (New York: Bantam Books, 1988).
2. Sigurd Burckhardt, *Shakespearean Meanings* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968); reprinted in *Shakespeare: An Anthology of Criticism and Theory from 1945-2000*, ed. Russ McDonald (Oxford: Blackwell, 2004), 213.
3. G. Wilson Knight, *The Wheel of Fire: Interpretations of Shakespearian Tragedy* (London: Methuen & Co., 1949), 130.
4. For more on the private/public split in Caesar’s character, see Marjorie Garber, *Shakespeare After All* (New York: Anchor Books, 2004), 425.

**THE 2010 STRATFORD FESTIVAL:
KISS ME, KATE AND *THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA***

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The Stratford Festival of Canada (or at least, its directors) knows who comes to watch its plays: theater lovers. With *Kiss Me, Kate* and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, the Stratford Festival played to its strengths by highlighting the theatrical and metatheatrical. Director John Doyle saw *Kiss Me, Kate* as an opportunity to explore “vaudevillian musical theatre” on a thrust stage.¹ Director Dean Gaborie based his production of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* on George Bernard Shaw’s description of the play as “not exactly a comic opera, though there is plenty of music in it, and not exactly a serpentine dance, though it proceeds under a play of changing colored lights. It is something more old-fashioned than either: to wit, a vaudeville.”² Although both performances were set in similar time periods and both presented backstage peeks into life at the theater, *Kiss Me, Kate* was one of the flagship musicals performed in the large Festival Theatre from mid-April until October 30, 2010, whereas *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was presented in the more intimate Studio Theatre and only ran from July 30 to September 19, 2010. *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was the first Shakespeare play to be staged in the small Studio Theatre, perhaps because, as Anne Barton puts it, this play “has the unenviable distinction of being the least loved and least regarded of Shakespeare’s comedies.”³ Gaborie’s production proved that Shakespeare’s early comedy deserves reconsideration and that it can be just as entertaining for audiences as a twentieth-century musical.

“Another op’nin’, another show,” sings Hattie, played by Keisha T. Fraser. She is soon joined by the rest of the cast as they sing the opening number to Cole Porter’s most famous musical, *Kiss Me, Kate*. Written by Sam and Bella Spewack, *Kiss Me, Kate* is about a theater company staging *The Taming of the Shrew*. The director of the play within a play, Fred Graham (Juan Chioran), was formerly married to the star of the play, Lilli Vanessi (Monique Lund). Graham not only directs the show, he performs the role of Petruchio opposite Vanessi’s Katherine. Graham’s role as both Petruchio and director is not far from Shakespeare’s version: Petruchio attempts to direct Katherine by controlling her clothes, her speech, her sleep, and her food.

Graham’s inset production of *The Taming of the Shrew* in some ways mirrors *Pyramus and Thisbe*, the play within a play that the rude mechanicals perform in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*. As in *Pyramus and Thisbe*, in which the mechanicals perform the roles of Wall and Moonlight, in Graham’s *Shrew*, some of the cast perform inanimate objects, most memorably, a lit-up caricatured statue of the Virgin Mary, anachronistically wearing a wristwatch. In both cases, the actors are woefully unprepared: Lois Lane and Bill Calhoun are merely nightclub performers. Chilina Kennedy, as Lois, complained of the difficulty of deciphering Shakespeare’s “thees and thous.” Kennedy’s portrayal of Lois’s Bianca (pronounced with a New York accent: Bee-YANK-ah) was a hilarious combination of overly declamatory lines, bad

recitation of iambic pentameter, and broad physical actions to illustrate her words. Although Kennedy's Bianca clearly could not act, Kennedy herself was the highlight of the show, with her dancing, singing, and flirting with the audience.



Kiss Me, Kate: Mike Jackson as Bill Calhoun (playing Lucentio), Chilina Kennedy as Lois Lane (playing Bianca), Jaz Sealey as the Stage Electrician (playing Hortensio), and Kyle Golemba as Stage Carpenter (playing Gremio). Photo by David Hou. Courtesy Stratford Shakespeare Festival Archives.

Doyle, the director of Stratford's production, never let his audience forget the performed and constructed nature of theater. His Shakespearean performers engaged in inept stage fighting, said "whisper whisper whisper," and brushed against scenery that was clearly made of canvas. These moments earned some of the biggest laughs from Stratford's audience, some of whom have presumably seen their share of amateur Shakespearean performances. The set (designed by David Farley), although built on the thrust stage of the Festival Theatre, suggested three proscenium arches, perhaps intended to capture the three levels of theater within this play: the play within a play, Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*; the lives of the actors and the action of *Kiss Me, Kate*; and the intentional breaking of the fourth wall that commented on both the other levels. Memorable examples of this interaction with the audience include Bianca's exclamation "I said dick . . . ten times!" while moving through the aisles during the song, "Tom, Dick or Harry." The most compelling moment in the third, and perhaps most metatheatrical, layer of the play was the

gangsters' song, "Brush up your Shakespeare," which had the house in hysterics. Doyle perhaps intended to complicate the theatrical and metatheatrical elements in *Kiss Me, Kate* by playing with the degrees of truth within the play: for instance, Fred Graham and Lilli Vanessi did not seem to have a genuine relationship until the last moments of the play. Doyle's decisions, coupled with the distractingly eclectic design of the play, were confusing, however, and did not clearly define the level of realism or the style of acting that was being used for each section, with the exception of the play within a play that was clearly intended to be ridiculous.

Farley's set for the inset production of *The Taming of the Shrew* was brightly colored and cartoonish—even the straight lines did not lead to right angles, leaving everything unsettlingly crooked. Farley emphasized this cartoonish feel by clothing his Shakespearean characters in larger-than-life costumes with vivid colors (lime greens, bright pinks, dazzling whites) and mismatched patterns that disconcerted the audience and distracted them from the actors' lines. Farley's costumes, most notably for Lilli and Lois, pointed to their disposition with strokes as broad and obvious as Graham's (and Doyle's) actors use. Lois, as Bianca, wore a puffy, pink dress covered in hearts, representing Bianca's multiple suitors and Lois's multiple sexual relationships. Contrastingly, Kate's costume, while also featuring a large, round skirt, was full of jagged edges, possibly resembling teeth, topped off with a headpiece reminiscent of devils' horns.

The Taming of the Shrew concludes with Kate's famous speech on women's role in a marriage: "Thy husband is thy lord, thy life, thy keeper / Thy head, thy sovereign" (5.2.146-47). This speech has been interpreted in a gamut of ways: from the straightforward portrayal of Kate's conversion imagined by Anne Barton to Mary Pickford's subversive final wink. Kate's capitulation to Petruchio is often unpalatable to modern audiences: even Elizabeth Taylor's Kate, who seemed to deliver her final speech earnestly, leaves the hall without Petruchio's consent so that, in the end, the nobles laugh at him. *Kiss Me, Kate* concludes with a similarly challenging ending: Lilli leaves her boyfriend, the powerful and rich Harrison, for her ex-husband, Graham. At the end of the performance, I was left wondering if Lilli's sudden change of heart and expression of love for Graham were meant to be taken as contrived or genuine.

After the gangsters' rousing "Brush up your Shakespeare," Kate's last song, "I Am Ashamed That Women Are So Simple," seemed, well, tame. The original musical score printed from Sam Spewack's West End stage version (1951) anticipated a large-scale finale that began with the full company belting out perhaps the most memorable line in the play, "Brush up your Shakspeare."⁷ Doyle's production concluded, instead, with a self-conscious circularity as a few bars of "Another Op'nin', Another Show" drifted onstage and a stagehand quietly swept away the debris of another finished performance. This anti-climactic ending of *Kiss Me, Kate* contrasted with the final spectacle delivered in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona has an equally contentious ending: after her lover betrays her and falls in love with (and attempts to rape) another woman, Julia takes Proteus back with no proof that he will, this time, be true to her. Furthermore, the play ends with Valentine forgiving his best friend for attempting to win his love, Silvia, and both Silvia and Valentine forgiving Proteus for his attempted rape. Un-

like Doyle's *Kiss Me, Kate*, Gabourie's *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* offered a strong interpretation of the play's conclusion.

Even before the play started, the audience knew that *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* would not be set in Renaissance Italy: a projector showed slightly distorted images of ragtime dancing on the front curtains of the Studio Theatre. Although the whole audience could hear the projector clicking like an early movie reel, the sightlines of the thrust stage meant that those closest to the curtains could not see the images. The vaudeville began with the opening scene: Proteus (Gareth Potter) and Valentine (Dion Johnstone) entered in straw hats, striped suits, and orange spats. While discussing the nature of love, Valentine gestured to the erotic by using his cane as a wilting phallus to illustrate his point about "one fading moment's mirth" (1.1.30). Initially, I found the vaudevillian stage business of the first scene (including Valentine picking Proteus's pocket and some awkward games with hats) distracting, but in later scenes I warmed to Gabourie's directorial vision.

Gabourie's Julia (Sophia Walker) and Silvia (Claire Lautier) were both actresses by trade. At first, Proteus pledged his love to Julia, who worked at a lower-budget theater in Verona; later, he fell in love with Silvia, the star of a large theater in Milan. Reimagining Julia and Silvia as actresses added some credibility to parts of the play: perhaps Proteus's fickleness can be explained by being starstruck. Even though Silvia was a bigger star, the rest of the show suggested that Julia was the better actress: her disguise as a boy actor, Sebastian, was surprisingly believable, whereas Silvia declaimed her lines histrionically in a melodramatic inset abridgment of *Othello's* conclusion. Silvia's melodramatic inclinations led her to cry an impressively long wail before storming offstage just before her father said, "Sir Thurio, fear not but that she will love you" (3.2.1), drawing huge laughs from the audience. Just like the poorly-acted *Shrew* in *Kiss Me, Kate*, the ridiculously exaggerated *Othello* (starring Silvia as Desdemona and Thurio, played by Timothy D. Stickney, as Othello) that Gabourie added to *Two Gentlemen of Verona* was a crowd-pleaser.

Although *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* has clear associations with Shakespeare's other plays (the failed balcony wooing scene cannot help but remind the audience of *Romeo and Juliet*, and the noble outlaws in the forest evoke Duke Senior's attendants in Arden in *As You Like It*), Gabourie's use of *Othello* as an intertext reminds the audience that there is a fine line between tragedy and comedy. Shakespeare himself toyed with this generic boundary in his later plays, particularly in the "romances" or "problem plays": in *Cymbeline*, Imogen awakes from a sleeping potion next to what she thinks is the body of her dead lover, just as Juliet awakes next to Romeo's corpse; and in *The Winter's Tale*, Leontes becomes irrationally jealous of his wife Hermione, just as Othello does of Desdemona. The reference to *Othello* suggested some parallels: Proteus is an Iago figure, trying to ruin the love between Valentine and Silvia.⁸ Gabourie's choice of a black actor, Johnstone, to play Valentine heightened (perhaps unintentionally) the parallel, particularly when the onstage Othello, performed by Stickney, was also black. In *Othello*, Othello will not believe Desdemona's infidelity until he has "ocular proof" (3.3.360): "No, Iago, / I'll see before I doubt," (3.3.189-90) he says. While Othello's jealousy develops even with inadequate evidence, Valentine has ample ocular proof: "Nought but mine eye / Could have persuaded me"

(5.4.64-65). As *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is a comedy, however, even after Valentine swears that he “must never trust [Proteus] more” (5.4.69), he allows Proteus’s unconvincing five-line apology to be a pretext for forgiveness.

Gabourie played every angle he could to increase the humor in this play. Throughout the show, John Vickery, as the Duke of Milan (Silvia’s father), played up the comedy by exaggerating the contrast between his haughty attitude toward both Valentine and Proteus and his markedly gentler treatment of Thurio, his favorite match for Silvia. Vickery’s best scene was one of dramatic irony and physical humor: Valentine was on his way to elope with Silvia, but Proteus had forewarned the Duke of their departure, in hopes that he would be able to woo Silvia himself. In this production, Valentine’s rope ladder was clearly visible under his trenchcoat when the Duke stopped him. Vickery played up the joke that both he and the audience knew Valentine had a rope ladder under his coat while Valentine did not know he was caught.

Shakespeare knew it, and Gabourie knows it: audiences love onstage animals. As Launce, Robert Persichini’s talent as a clown was at times upstaged by his dog, Crab (played by Otto the beagle). Launce and Speed’s witty banter played second fiddle to Otto’s ability to lick himself on cue. Scholars generally agree that Shakespeare included the clown scenes for a particular actor in the company: in the case of Launce, it was Will Kempe.⁹ Although Launce’s lines seem only tangentially related to the plot, the disconnect between different scenes worked in Gabourie’s vaudevillian framework: vaudeville was a form in which a coherent plot was secondary to entertaining the audience. In keeping with his vaudevillian theme, Gabourie added more music to this play: both Julia and Silvia sing “A Good Man Is Hard to Find” to recapture the audience’s attention after intermission. Sir Eglamour (Stephen Russell) was a character straight out of a melodrama, with an evil-looking hat and with ominous but clichéd piano music to introduce him: the audience enjoyed his exaggerated character.

Gabourie’s vaudeville-inspired direction offered an answer to the play’s ending: it’s only a play, and a comedy at that, the final scene implied, and so everyone



The Two Gentlemen of Verona: Timothy D. Stickney as Thurio. Photo by David Hou. Courtesy of Stratford Shakespeare Festival Archives.

must pair off. The forest was a maze of sandbags that dropped ominously onto the stage. Silvia, the outlaws, Proteus, and Valentine engaged in a Three Stooges-esque chase scene, complete with comic-book sound effects (“boing!”), synchronized running and jumping, and people crisscrossing the stage yet never catching up with each other until they collided. In Shakespeare’s conclusion, the Duke forgives the Foresters, Valentine, Silvia, and Julia forgive Proteus, and the two couples, it is understood, live happily ever after: the final words in the play are, after all, “mutual happiness” (5.4.174). Gabourie undermined this overly facile and unrealistic ending by dropping another sandbag into the forest to shatter the pleasantness of the final tableau and to remind playgoers that they were, indeed, in a theater. The falling sandbag parallels Pickford’s final wink to her early movie audience: both the wink and the sandbag subvert an awkward conclusion by reminding the audience that we can interpret the plays “as we like it.” If the startling thud of the sandbag was not enough to break the fourth wall, the finale of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* was a singing and dancing spectacle that could have come straight from an early twentieth-century musical hit. The cast reprised “A Good Man Is Hard to Find” with elaborate choreography. Gareth Potter and Dion Johnstone (no longer in character as Proteus and Valentine) donned pants with two extra legs apiece for the final dance, and so the play ended with as much extraneous comic business as it began. By the time the company had finished the dance number, Shakespeare’s forced conclusion was already a fading memory.

The Taming of the Shrew and *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* are two of Shakespeare’s earliest comedies; often the problematic moments in the text are written off as the Bard’s apprentice work.¹⁰ Gabourie capitalized on the problems he found in this “apprentice work”: for instance, when Thurio is left onstage during long conversations by other characters (such as 3.2), Gabourie had him slyly edging away to sneak a drink from his flask. With *Kiss Me, Kate*, the Spewacks and Cole Porter attempted to make Shakespeare’s early play into a new style of musical: one with a coherent plot that was supported by music, set, and costume. On the one hand, Doyle’s portrayal of the vaudevillian that slips into *Kiss Me, Kate*, such as “those gangsters shoehorned into the plot,”¹¹ left his production with an unfocused feel. On the other hand, Gabourie’s vaudevillian interpretation of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* provided a unifying and comedic theme for what could have been a confusing or frustrating play. If Doyle had embraced the variety-entertainment style of vaudeville that is already built into *Kiss Me, Kate* as enthusiastically as Gabourie grafted the vaudevillian onto *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Kiss Me, Kate* might have (perhaps counterintuitively) been more thematically coherent. The Stratford audiences enjoyed both shows, perhaps because the only thing more entertaining than Shakespeare is a show that can laugh at Shakespeare.

Notes

1. John Doyle, “Having a Ball with the Bard,” in *Kiss Me, Kate Program* (Stratford Festival, 2010), 6.
2. George Bernard Shaw, quoted by Dean Gabourie, “A Comic Riff on Courtly Romance,” in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona Program* (Stratford Festival, 2010), 6.

3. Anne Barton, introduction to *The Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Riverside Shakespeare*, 2nd ed., ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 177.
4. All line numbers from Shakespeare's plays correspond with Evans, *The Riverside Shakespeare*.
5. Barton writes that "On the stage, unless the actor deliberately coarsens his part, Petruchio comes over far less as an aggressive male out to bully a refractory wife into total submission than he does as a man who genuinely prizes Katherina and, by exploiting an age-old and basic antagonism between the sexes, manoeuvres her into an understanding of his nature and also her own" (138). Barton writes, furthermore, that "the integrated and quietly confident Kate who wins Petruchio's wager for him at the end of the comedy is a woman who has discovered and come to terms with her own genuine nature" (139). Pickford's Kate went to the extreme of beating Petruchio and never lost her strongheadedness: after the final speech, her wink made it clear to the audience that she did not believe the words she had spoken. Mary Pickford, Douglas Fairbanks, *The Taming of the Shrew*, DVD, directed by Sam Taylor (1929; Televista, 2007).
6. Elizabeth Taylor, Richard Burton, *The Taming of the Shrew*, DVD, directed by Franco Zeffirelli (1967; Sony Pictures, 1999). In a recent television adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, Shirley Henderson's Kate is similarly earnest in her delivery of the final speech. This Kate firmly opposed prenuptial agreements and claimed that she would put her hands below her husband's feet, though she added that he would never ask her to do so and he would be equally willing to do so for her. The *Shakespeare Retold* version of *Shrew* concluded with Kate continuing her career while Petruchio stays at home to take care of their triplets. Shirley Henderson, Rufus Sewell, *The Taming of the Shrew, Shakespeare Retold*, DVD, written by Sally Wainwright, directed by David Richards (BBC, 2005).
7. *Kiss Me, Kate* score from the 1951 production at the Coliseum Theatre in London; music and lyrics by Cole Porter; book by Sam and Bella Spewack (London: Chappell & Co), 140.
8. Iago at one point claims that he is bent on destroying Othello's relationship because he loves Desdemona, "Now I do love her too" (2.1.291), just as Silvia justifies Proteus's betrayal of both Valentine and Julia by his love for Silvia.
9. See David Wiles, *Shakespeare's Clown: Actor and Text in the Elizabethan Playhouse* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), esp. 73-74.
10. Evans and J. J. M. Tobin suggest that Shakespeare wrote *The Taming of the Shrew* within a year of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* (1594) in "Chronology and Sources," *The Riverside Shakespeare*, 80.
11. James Magruder, "Why Can't You Behave?," in *Kiss Me, Kate Program*, 3.

THE 2010 STRATFORD FESTIVAL: *THE WINTER'S TALE* AND *THE TEMPEST*

Owen E. Brady, *Clarkson University*

The Stratford Festival's productions of *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* explored the dialectic between power and compassion, anger and forgiveness, in highly effective theatrical terms. The conflict in both productions flowed essentially from gendered conflict, an *agon* between ego-driven male anger and socially-oriented female forgiveness. In their resolutions, both productions emphasized the necessity of unifying the masculine and feminine in redeeming Leontes's and Prospero's humanity. Ensemble acting and Marti Maraden's intelligent direction solved *The Winter's Tale's* notorious tone-shift problem, creating an exciting tragicomic experience; Christopher Plummer's subtle, benign portrayal of Prospero held *The Tempest* together and mitigated Des McAnuff's directorial eccentricities.

In Maraden's *Winter's Tale*, produced on the long, narrow thrust stage of the Tom Patterson Theatre, Ben Carlson's King Leontes displays the sexual insecurity of a politically powerful man and its horrific consequences: the destruction of the domesticity he values most. In the tragic movement set primarily in Sicilia, Carlson's Leontes slid precipitously and credibly from friendship and domestic bliss into frothing jealousy. His ill-conceived passion, full of ranting and violent movement, pits itself against powerfully attractive images of domesticity generated by Hermione, the strong, self-possessed woman who creates his sense of home. Carlson provided a visual and verbal representation of the "*tremor cordis*" (1.2.112) Leontes experiences as, Othello-like, he observes the innocent, friendly hand-holding, done at his urging, between his loyal wife Hermione and his boyhood friend King Polixenes.¹ In his portrayal of a man cuckolding himself, he vibrated physically and verbally as he heated himself to boiling point. Parading around the stage's perimeter like a raging bear at the stake, his jealousy fueled a sputtering tirade against women as he lectured the audience and his innocent young son on the licentiousness of a "slippery" wife (1.2.275).

Dealing with the beast inside is, of course, a Shakespearean theme, and this *Winter's Tale* finds the beast in the bear, using it as a trope to unify the production. Initially in a minor key, the figure of the bear helps establish an idyllic domesticity in Leontes's Sicilia, but later it represents the destructive power of male authority. In the production's opening sequence, the bear appeared first as a wooden toy in the hands of Leontes's son Mamillius who ironically will be destroyed by his father's monstrous jealousy. As Leontes and Polixenes reminisced nostalgically about their prepubescent boyhood friendship downstage center, Mamillius sat with his mother Queen Hermione, playing with the bear upstage, creating a sense of homey warmth. In the figure of Mamillius playing with the toy bear, Maraden links the bear with both the boyish innocence that Leontes and Polixenes nostalgically recall as well as with the terrifying male power that will ultimately undo the Sicilian home. As the action unfolds and Leontes descends into a paroxysm of sexual jealousy, the bear takes on a more sinister aspect as it comes to represent his inner demon.

Most famously, the bear appears almost dead center in the text (3.3.57) as a literal monster pursuing Antigonus, then rending his body. This production waxed Freudian, as the literal bear in the text is clearly an emanation of Leontes's id, his sexual jealousy and anger, that sends Antigonus on his doomed voyage to dispatch Princess Perdita and that shakes the foundations of civilizing domesticity. When the play shifted from its tragic movement in passion-ruled Sicilia to the comic movement in pastoral Bohemia, the bear reappeared as a metaphor for male power. The Clown's comment about his fear of King Polixenes's potentially destructive anger at his son's wooing of a seeming shepherdess linked unrestricted male power and "authority" to "a stubborn bear" (4.4.773-4) and opposed it to the harmony of the pastoral and domestic represented by the union of Florizel and Perdita.

How to represent the famous bear that pursues Antigonus is always a challenging directorial decision, but this production succeeded in making the bear integral to the theme of destructive male power. Though Shakespeare may have had access to a tame bear (and the audience may have had fresh in mind the ferocity of the bears in nearby bear-baiting arenas), modern productions have difficulty with fake bear-suited actors or expensive, mechanical bears (as in Peter Moss's 1978 Stratford production). Both alternatives are likely to provoke laughter from an audience rather than climax the play's tragic first movement. But this production struck the right note with a frightening, surreal apparition born in a storm's din and lightning. Two actors bound together as a fantastical monster, costumed in shining silver foil with a gigantic head that is mostly maw, and festooned with trailing silver "dreadlocks," leapfrogged acrobatically in tandem in breakneck pursuit of Antigonus. The effect was startling and frightening, a perfect climax to the tragic destruction of a domestic idyll by irrational male anger.

Throughout the production, Maraden carefully counterpoised the power of male aggression with the power of domesticity centered in female strength and virtue. Recapitulating the opening image of domesticity created by Yanna McIntosh's Hermione interacting with her son, Mamillius, Seana McKenna's small but powerful Paulina confronted Leontes with an image of maternal love and power as she stood cradling the newborn Perdita. Darting eyes and words spoken with a throaty, almost hoarse, power gave McKenna's Paulina a dominating presence that persuades all, except the tempest-tossed Leontes, of Hermione's love, loyalty, and innocence.

The three strong female leads in this production gave it gravity and delicacy. In the opening scenes, McIntosh's Hermione, as she persuaded Polixenes to tarry in Sicilia at her husband's request, is an empowered wife: a woman sure of her position and power. After Polixenes agreed to lengthen his stay, she almost smugly and seductively told her husband of her success. The trial scene, in which she is accused of adultery, revealed both her strength and vulnerability as she vainly defended herself against Leontes's unfounded but passionately believed charges of infidelity. McIntosh used her statuesque physique and long, expressive arms to convey Hermione's pride as well as her vulnerability. At times during the trial she was erect, proud, certain; at other times, arms spread wide, she was vulnerable and rent violently by the futility of her defense. When Leontes even rejected the oracle's proclamation of her innocence, she collapsed monumentally. Diminutive though she is, McKenna's

Paulina exuded power as she fumed against Leontes's unfounded anger; sometimes gloating, sometimes arch, she commanded the stage and Leontes's attention. But she also felt the pain of his remorse as they knelt together, bent with grief, joining hands across an empty space, bound together forever by the memory of Hermione's pain and humiliation. Cara Ricketts's Perdita was both innocent and sexually attractive, a source of vibrant life, smiling engagingly and beguiling the disguised Polixenes with literal and verbal flowers. Her carriage, brisk actions, and the clarity of her delivery left little wonder about her ability to attract Prince Florizel.

The challenges of staging *The Winter's Tale's* quicksilver shifts in emotion and in tone, from tragic to comic, are well-known. Maraden handled the tonal transition with an effective and funny staging of the Chorus, Time. As Act Four opened, an absurdly funny choric Time appeared, dangling in space above the stage, and swung toward the various parts of the audience on a crane-like arm. He did a cartwheel in thin air when talking of his glass being turned, thus demonstrating Time's figurative power to "o'erthrow law" and "overwhelm custom" (4.1.8-9) as the play slid over sixteen years, moving from terror to joy. Time was a hiatus, a stoppage in the action, grabbing the audience's imagination. Its idiosyncratic and funny representation prepares for the shift to a world of springtime and flowers, populated not by Italianate passions but by pastoral innocence. Another daunting transition occurs at the play's climactic, final scene, the resurrection of Hermione, because it must balance and resolve the play's tragicomic tensions. It strains credibility yet must transcend doubts. This is the lesson, of course, that Leontes must learn. This production emphasized Hermione's transformation as a deeply human event that has the aspect of eternity rather than as a seemingly supernatural event. Maraden effectively balanced realism and magic. On the starkly set platform, upstage center (which in the Tom Patterson is very close to spectators on the sides of the elongated thrust stage), Paulina moved a simple curtain to reveal the statuesque McIntosh, her dark skin glowing against her white robe, frozen against a simple trellis-like grating flanked by a few burning tapers. While the moment has aspects of sacred ritual, the audience laughed at Leontes's comment that Hermione's statue is a perfect likeness but marked by the effects of time: "Hermione was not so much wrinkled" (5.3.28). Recognizing the power of time to change, he also recognizes the enduring warmth of the civilizing feminine. The resurrection of Hermione in this production finally tames the bear. As Hermione moved, family and friends reunite and domesticity reigns again.

In this *Winter's Tale*, costume, music, and ensemble dancing also helped create the contrasting worlds of an emotionally overwrought Sicilia and the more laid-back, pastoral Bohemia. Leontes and his court in Sicilia wore dark costumes in tones of plum and gray, suggestive of Persia; the costumes in Bohemia tended to be bright, parti-colored, and vaguely Nepalese, but also reminiscent of hippie clothing, suggesting a world less bound by courtly courtesy and less uptight emotionally, a world harmonious but bordering on a pleasant anarchy. The musical numbers in Bohemia vibrated with Middle Eastern rhythms and instruments like the Persian sitar and drums; dance numbers recalled Bollywood spectacle and a Russian Cosack celebration—vigorous ensemble images of swirling color.

While *The Winter's Tale* used the bear trope to unify, McAnuff's *The Tempest* used the figure of the book to establish a central tension between power and compassion. The production opened with an image of Prospero's drowned book, as if the story we were about to see was a flashback. Before the typical opening storm, the vast Festival Theatre's stage was bare and dark except for a dim blue spotlight on a large medieval-looking book far down stage center. Suddenly, high above the stage, a small, compact iridescent figure moved headlong down, as if diving into the darkness of full five fathoms. As the figure reached the book, it took it up, reversed course, elevating the book like a sacred object, and swam into the darkness above. The ghostly diver is Ariel, redeeming the magic book just as she would help Prospero redeem his humanity in the course of the story to follow. With this opening recovery of the book, the production presents *The Tempest's* action as perhaps a cyclical ritual: the story of Prospero's redemption from revenge and the ultimate drowning of the obsession with egotistical power that the book represents.

Featuring Christopher Plummer, *The Tempest* was obviously a festival cash cow this year, a star vehicle. Refreshingly, Plummer's Prospero was a nuanced, human-scale portrayal. Though the anger that generated the opening storm seemed titanic, Plummer's Prospero leavened it in his interactions with other characters, with a sweet, paternal love in the case of Miranda, Ferdinand, and Ariel, and with a sad and sighing familiarity in the case of his betrayers, Sebastian, Alonso, and Caliban. Plummer's Prospero is a novel portrayal in my experience of *The Tempest*. Several physically imposing actors have played Prospero using not just cloaks, books, and staffs but also bulk and bellowing to suggest his power. Plummer, a rather slight man, refreshed the role with a sort of world-weariness and comic distance that lighten his anger. Railing against Ariel's premature concern for promised freedom, Plummer's Prospero paused briefly, then became conciliatory, kindly explaining his sternness and reasserting his promise. Later, when he revealed to Ferdinand and Miranda his blessing on their love, he momentarily became hot, warning Ferdinand against any premarital relations. But as both his daughter and her beloved stood chastened, heads downcast as if already caught *in flagrante delicto*, this Prospero sensed their chagrin and, again pausing briefly, delivered his next lines with a smiling paternal concern signaling to them that he was playing a necessary role and eliciting the audience's sympathy and laughter.

Trish Lindström's Miranda is nature's child. Both costume and manner bespeak her upbringing away from the deceptive mannered surfaces of the court. Clothed in an off-the-shoulder dress with tattered hem, with long, unkempt reddish hair, this Miranda was sensual, frank, and bold, direct in her wooing of the handsome Ferdinand and capable of soundly cursing Caliban. At one point, assisting Ferdinand in bearing an oversized log that is clearly phallic, she managed to seize the wooing initiative. Forcing him to stop working momentarily, she straddled the log like a shoeless child on a primitive seesaw, leaning toward him, smiling as in the ecstasy of play. While frankly sexual, the moment was also refreshingly innocent. The difficulty, of course, in this nature-girl portrayal arises in the final chess-playing scene where she appeared diminished, somewhat subdued, sitting primly at the game board, dressed in a satin court gown, a vibrant character turned wooden symbol.

While the plotting courtiers moved within rather stock portrayals, effective but unremarkable, the three comic plotters—Caliban, Trinculo, and Stephano—stood out as colorful and curious. In this regard, they seem typical of Des McAnuff's directorial eccentricities. Often McAnuff has an interesting design or interpretive idea that provides memorable moments but is not always completely integrated into a coherent production concept. In the case of these three characters, McAnuff seems to be paying tribute to the postcolonial readings of *The Tempest* by making each a member of an oppressed or marginalized group. Geraint Wyn Davies's Stephano is a big, boisterous, drunken Scotsman fitted with a yellow and green tartan and tam; and Bruce Dow's Trinculo is tricked up foppishly as a sibilant, flabby homosexual man in a brilliant red velvet coat and flowing ruffled shirt. While their antics elicited laughter, they were cheap laughs, reactions to stereotypes that did little to forward a postcolonial perspective unless to show how oppression debases identity.

Dion Johnstone's Caliban, however, is a more complex, hybrid creature. Counterpoising Miranda, he represents the darker side of nature. From one angle, he seems half reptile, from another a half-naked savage, a slithering movie Indian with his Mohawk-like hair, a sometimes silly, sour Magua out of *Last of the Mohicans*. At times he was threatening as he slunk and scurried, lizard-like, on all fours around the stage. At other times he seemed pathetic, as he licked Stephano's foot or knelt, mouth gaping, to receive sack from Stephano's bottle. Unlike Trinculo and Stephano, who never escape the stereotypes impressed upon them, Johnstone's Caliban manages moments of redemption. After Prospero acknowledges "this thing of darkness" (5.1.278) his own, Caliban briefly stood erect, man-like. Later, as he rejected his own foolish notions of freedom and the sovereignty of his two confederates, he stood again, in open space on a small platform raised above his former stage positions, facing the audience. Stage position reinforced the dark and intimate connection between master and man as this small platform is one that Prospero had periodically occupied as he invisibly observed those he manipulated to salve his anger at injustice.

While Caliban represents Prospero's dark, vengeful identity, this production's Ariel powerfully counterpoises revenge and rebellion with a sober sympathy for human distress. McAnuff keeps the redemptive interaction between Plummer's Prospero and Julyana Soelistyo's Ariel central to this production; together onstage, they riveted the audience's attention. Soelistyo's Ariel is the best I have ever seen. Small, compact, athletic, with a throaty, clear, and powerfully expressive voice, she adds a surprising emotional range to Ariel, suggesting the energy of youth and the wisdom of age. This Ariel is male and female, young and old, and an effective alter ego to Plummer's periodically pensive Prospero. The critical role Ariel plays in the ultimate redemption of Prospero's humanity occurred quite simply in intimate and powerfully effective staging. On the downstage apron close to the audience, near each other, sat the old, grizzled man and the ageless spirit. The simple staging evoked an image of grandfather and grandchild at dusk on a summer day, a moment wrested from the frantic pace of Prospero's plotting. Ariel sat hugging her knees, feet propped on the apron edge, nearby but not next to Prospero, both initially looking forward, as if biding time casually while they reflected on the distraction, "sorrow and dismay" of the characters suffering under Prospero's "charm" (5.1.14, 17). When Ariel re-

marked that were she human her affections “Would become tender” (5.1.19), she did so without emotional inflection. After a brief, reflective pause, Prospero reassumes his humanity, noting quietly as if responding to an inner voice: “And mine shall” (5.1.20). The undramatic staging ironically served to underscore the magnitude of the moment, the depth of the renunciation of revenge, as Prospero recognized his own fleeting mortality and chose the virtuous “rarer action” (5.1.27) of mercy.

Stratford’s *Tempest* combined its low-keyed Prospero with spectacular effects suggesting his inner turmoil and power. To establish Prospero’s omniscience, the production used quick blackouts and strobe lighting to position Prospero at varying platforms situated around the stage. He would appear on one platform observing his shipwrecked targets, then disappear, reappearing quickly on another platform. The versatile, technologically sophisticated Festival Theatre stage used elevators and a variety of trap doors to create a cave or an island slope. As Prospero conjured, the stage’s innermost platform revolved, becoming his magic circle sprouting fires. To create the wedding masque, Plummer’s Prospero sat center stage at a small harpsichord that blared electronic music to conjure up robotic, eight-foot-tall Stepford-wife goddesses in the left, center, and right stage exits. As he became more agitated when recalling the incipient rebellions still festering among the shipwrecked, the music rose, becoming discordant, and the goddesses disappeared in smoke as if immolated by his anger. In a play of theatrical wit, McAnuff uses this scene and the depiction of Prospero’s elves and spirits to allude to sci-fi classics. Prospero at the keyboard recalls Dr. Morbius conjuring his own id in *Forbidden Planet*, and the elves, though appearing only briefly, tie Prospero’s dark power to the sea, recalling the anthropomorphic fish monster in *Creature from the Black Lagoon*. Both allusions support the production’s interpretation and add a bit of fun for pop culture cognoscenti.

Notes

1. All references to *The Winter’s Tale* and *The Tempest* are from *The Norton Shakespeare*, 2nd ed., ed. Stephen Greenblatt et al. (New York: W. W. Norton, 2008).



BOOK REVIEWS



Carole Levin and John Watkins, *Shakespeare's Foreign Worlds: National and Transnational Identities in the Elizabethan Age*. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2009. Pp. xi + 217.

Reviewed by Lara Bovilsky, *University of Oregon*

Some of the most interesting material in Carole Levin and John Watkins's *Shakespeare's Foreign Worlds* results from their use of that rare form, the joint monograph, to present "double readings" that offer, at their best, linked arguments about the exclusion of individuals and groups from membership in a real and fictive England influentially crafted by Shakespeare. Levin, a historian, and Watkins, a literary critic, join forces in order to mount an indirect argument about how they think the English came to see England "as a unique social, political, and cultural space—a kind of monad insulated from the rest of Europe" (14). Levin and Watkins assume that such a sense of England's "coherence and distinctiveness" (14) derives not from direct portrayals of England itself (as theorists of the rise of nationalism who take their cue from Benedict Anderson might argue). Rather, they believe, this cohesive England emerges as the endpoint of acts of exclusion and alienation and also by "reducing an almost infinite number of groups and individuals to the general category of the foreign" (9). In such serial reductions and exclusions, they see the emergence not just of England (by default, as it were), but of an idea of the foreign as "portable" (10), an abstract attribute that might apply as much to a Welshman as a Venetian, as much to an assertive Englishwoman as to a female Jewish *conversa*. Individuals and groups ranging from residents of other nations to English folk deemed religiously, sexually, or even regionally eccentric are, according to this argument, rendered interchangeably non-English in their common foreignness.

This idea of foreignness as an abstraction that may assimilate multiple kinds of people is well-served by Levin and Watkins's paired readings, in which each of three Shakespeare plays (*1 Henry VI*, *The Merchant of Venice*, and *The Taming of the Shrew*) tells two different stories about characters, practices, and ideas rendered alien in a way that reflects on English self-perceptions. The two authors pursue different subject matter and expose layered forms of foreignness in their readings of Shakespeare, with Levin focused on the plays' depictions of England's internal estrangements and Watkins on the plays' critique of Europe as England's most ready foil.

Each of Levin's chapters relates a thematic from Shakespeare to real-world trends excluding women in England from full political or cultural membership in the polity. For instance, Levin argues that legal protection from execution during pregnancy was increasingly denied to certain problematic women after the Reformation (Protestant women in strongly Catholic regions, for instance). She ties this trend to the mockery of Joan of Arc in *Henry VI, Part 1* for claiming protection from execution by virtue of being pregnant. Next she tracks the insistence with which nominal Jewish converts to Christianity, particularly female ones, were imagined as possessed of "irreducible foreignness" (17) in order to think through the depiction of Jessica in *The Merchant of Venice*; her material here draws on and accords with the bulk of recent work on Jessica and on *conversos*. Last, Levin apposes sixteenth-

century representations of Henry VIII's forcible humbling of Katherine Parr with Petruchio's mistreatment of Katherine in *The Taming of the Shrew*.

Occasionally Levin is unclear how strongly and in what ways she wishes to tie her engagingly narrated historical exempla to her literary case studies. Shakespeare's Joan's story has "certain resonances" (47) with the stories of Protestant martyrs who were not allowed to plead pregnancy. Katherine the shrew and her sister Bianca are the "symbolic daughters" (176) of Katherine Parr, though outside of being represented as threatened for their outspokenness, it is not clear what precisely is the symbolic lineage that connects them (unlike Parr, Kate is not in danger for advocating for a new religion, or for correcting her social better and liege). Levin doesn't clarify the nature or upshot of these "echoes" (169). Instead, in a presentist vein that both enlivens her historicism and troubles her commitment to it, she highlights her own sense of the "troubling" (30) and "tragic" (49) elements in the representation of these women, their loneliness and mistreatment, without clarifying how such (reasonable) reactions should shape our analysis of these texts and their mutual relation.

Watkins's chapters are more intricately and ambitiously argued. Spending time on Shakespeare's figuration of foreign locales and digestion (and indigestion) of foreign source materials, Watkins sees the same plays as dramatizing an English turn away from European political and social culture. He argues that *1 Henry VI's* condemnation of Margaret of Anjou and Joan of Arc reflects a new rejection of older forms of international diplomacy that worked through dynastic links and often relied on female leaders and go-betweens. *Henry VI's* representation of such diplomacy as unattractively foreign and female illuminates "the misogynistic underpinnings of [the] new patriotism" (54), under whose influence councilors and Parliament were moved to speak up against the Queen (and her possible diplomatically efficient marriage). The argument extends prior readings of these characters merely as proxies for a simpler sort of English bad feeling about Elizabeth.

Watkins's chapters on *Merchant* and *Taming of the Shrew* engage productively in source study. He assesses Shakespeare's transformation of Ser Giovanni's *Suppositi* to focus on England's identification with Venetian eminence in trade (which Watkins imagines as simultaneously triumphant and elegiac, given that England's fortunes rise while Venice's decline). Finally, Watkins suggests that Shakespeare's addition of an eventually dominated Kate to Ariosto's tolerant story about the Bianca character's disobedient agency in matchmaking reflects Shakespeare's preference for English folkways of wife domination over Italianate humanism (which Shakespeare also introduces into his version of the story), since humanistic education of women fails to produce biddable daughters and wives. Watkins finds a poignant contrast between the domination of women that Shakespeare thereby seems to favor and Italian norms that more reliably protected the property of married women and permitted a flowering of Italian women writers in relatively large numbers.

While this duet is enjoyable, with individual chapters offering strong readings and some arresting contextualizations of the plays, Levin and Watkins offer little reflection synthesizing their case studies, a palpable absence. How similar *are* English rejections of the agency of Englishwomen as "foreign" to rejections of people born elsewhere? Do acts of or stories about institutional exclusion or violence bespeak

the same affective relationship to the foreign as less tangible English uncertainties about the lingering foreignness of European cultural imports such as the Reformation or humanism that even Levin and Watkins note were substantially naturalized in England by the 1590s and that, after all, shaped the worldview and enabled the success of Shakespeare, the authors' great stranger? For that matter, is it so clear that Shakespeare's depictions of acts of exclusion only solicit corporate identification with the excluders and not with the excluded or the foreign? The authors' account would be strengthened by sustained attention to such theoretical questions about their category of foreignness. The net effect of their book is a familiar image of the big tent of early modern English xenophobia—we never arrive at the English uniqueness or distinctiveness they reference early on. Perhaps this true Englishness is to be found in Levin and Watkins's success at capturing the (distinctive?) productivity of Shakespearean England's simultaneously anxious and expansive sense of foreignness, both outside and, as Levin rightly insists, within English borders. For Levin and Watkins's examples clearly reveal the social and cultural heterogeneity of Shakespeare's England more than its monad-like coherence.



Jonathan Gil Harris, *Shakespeare and Literary Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010. Pp. 224.

Reviewed by Drew Daniel, *The Johns Hopkins University*

As a contribution to the Oxford Shakespeare Topics series nestled between *Shakespeare and the Bible* and *Shakespeare and Marx*, this is the kind of clearly organized and comprehensive guidebook that is intended to serve ambitious undergraduates and more advanced scholars with equal facility. After tilting contrary Shakespearean estimations of “theoric” against each other (King Henry is sanguine, Iago skeptical), Harris tightens the friction implicit in his title into a double-bow of synthesis with the decisive declaration that “theory has always been Shakespearian, [and] Shakespeare’s writing has itself always been theoretical” (4). Hoping to banish the specter of retroactive “applicationist” encounters between rapacious, probably French, grave-diggers and the Bardic reservoir of cultural capital, Harris savvily reverses temporal priority with this opening benediction. It’s a polychronic gesture that extends the agenda of his previous book, *Untimely Matter in the Time of Shakespeare*. Given its slender length and brisk tempo, Harris’ new work does not pursue and ground its own fusions and exclusions beyond this opening salvo—Shakespeare and theory have always already been in cahoots and that is that. Without tarrying in an extended justification of the right to theorize with Shakespeare, Harris wisely lets the pungent, diverse, and broad-ranging examples of his critical assemblage make such a case for him. The result is an elegant feat of condensation and curatorial savvy.

Like Caesar’s Gaul, Harris’s theoretical terrain is divided into three parts: “Language and Structure,” “Desire and Identity,” and “Culture and Society.” Each is itself subdivided into taxonomic kingdoms, and their roll call is instructive in conveying Harris’ eclectic world map of a fractious horde. The first group, surely the most debatable in its disciplinary line of flight, comprises formalism, structuralism, deconstruction and “Rhizome and Actor-Network Theory” (which here denotes a nomadic clustering of Gilles Deleuze, Michel Serres and Bruno Latour). The second group brings Freudian psychoanalysis, Lacanian psychoanalysis, feminism, and queer theory into alignment as a developmental arc, while the third rubric circles the wagons of marxism, poststructuralist marxism, new historicism, cultural materialism, and postcolonial theory together. Sketched roughly, the movement from the categorical generality of the first group towards the knotty interiorities of the second group and then on to the widescreen political and nationalist frameworks of the final section provides a kind of subterranean narrative flow to Harris’s catalog. In a familiar dialectic oscillation, theory is a pendulum that swings outwards toward the world, then inwards toward the self, then outward again. This grand scheme has several virtues: given the simultaneous flowering of incongruous theoretical movements, an entirely diachronic sequence would become cluttered, and would reify a kind of “market share” account of methodological boom-and-bust. Within each section, there are lineages and dynasties, as Freud begets Lacan, feminism begets queer theory, but there are also curveballs: in a fittingly auto-disjunctive wormhole, Jacques Derrida first appears as an avatar of deconstruction

only to return, stage left, as a poststructuralist marxist. It's a second coming he would savor.

Harris's field guide rubric seems to have prevented him from showing his claws: techniques are described rather than evaluated, and this scrupulous withholding of judgment, however fair-minded in its presentation of best-case-scenarios, drives the perverse reader to parse the prose for trace elements of actual *criticism* of the theories on parade. Against such a backdrop, the assertion that "in a largely untheorized variation on Althusser's theory of structural causality, new historicists seek to clarify the formal homologies between literature and other aspects of the cultural superstructure" (176) rings out like a gunshot. Not the longed-for killing blow, but at least a palpable hit. Overall, the energy here is constructive rather than critical, and Harris is at his most engaging when he actively extends the potential of emergent theories, as when, pushing off from Bruno Latour's inclusion of Menenius's parable of the belly from *Coriolanus* in an exhibition catalogue, he provides a sketch of what a Shakespeare criticism based in actor network theory might look like. If the inclusion of Latour on such slender evidence might look to some like a case of wishful thinking, such risks seem to this reader eminently worth taking.

Given the breadth of its target audience, the value of the book is a function of where you are already standing. For those ignorant of—or fresh to—the very possibility of theoretical approaches to Shakespeare, Harris offers a richly various sampling, and his vibrant sketches of thirty-six different theorists in just over two hundred pages gallops forward crisply. But this is not simply a convoy of discreet five page response essays laid end-to-end. Each chapter works through the continuities shared by Harris' groupings, and attempts to suggest through their family resemblance and internecine squabbles the larger terrain occupied by a particular approach, and the totem of Shakespeare each tribe fashions as a result. For a devotee of a particular approach, the book's appeal is less straight-forward, if only because one feels an inevitable pang at what has been left out, or feels inclined to carp at minor territorial boundary lines (a side effect of any such guide, and no fault to Harris).

But the inclusion is ultimately more worrying than the exclusion. As we careen between wildly incongruous readings and stances, all of which find aid and comfort in the fertile textual soil of Shakespeare, a cumulative effect of suspicious pliancy emerges. To quote the ugly misogyny of sonnet 137, Shakespeare serves a function for his literary critics here rather like that served by Dark Lady for her admirers: he is a "bay where all men ride." To the implied reader new to this terrain, a question is likely to arise: can Shakespeare really accommodate all of these perspectives and agendas with equal facility?

The implicitly affirmative message provided by the richly laden theory smorgasbord of *Shakespeare and Literary Theory* recalls a familiar rhetorical trope of the Renaissance: copia. As such, the richness of Shakespeare's text is seemingly redoubled and confirmed by the cornucopia of this book: a glittering hoard for newcomers, and a nostalgic mixtape for devotees. But then as now, the fact of copia stands in a relation of complicity to the nurturing petri dish of a (once nascent, now late) capitalist marketplace. To grant the obvious, the very pluralism of Harris' approach is perhaps the only scholarly and responsible way to capture the totality of the field—

but that very mandate of pluralism should itself make us suspicious. The current vogue within theory for variously inflected militant stances constitutes an allergic reaction to precisely such a liberal climate in which consumerist freedom of choice neutralizes the critical virulence of any particular theory through the smoothing operation of a tokenizing, repressive tolerance for all-of-them-in-general. This oceanic plenitude is not a problem with Harris but a problem with Shakespeare, for it casts the originary context of the productive reciprocal fusion of Shakespeare with “theory” in a darker light. The radical French Marxist Tiqqun group terms this “the fiction of the neutral center,” but Keats had another phrase for it: negative capability.



Jeffrey Knapp, *Shakespeare Only*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009. Pp. xvi + 238.

Reviewed by Adam G. Hooks, *University of Iowa*

The author has recently and forcefully returned in Shakespeare studies—or, more accurately, as the final chapter in Jeffrey Knapp's newest book puts it, the author has been "revived." Once pronounced dead by poststructuralist theory, in the past two decades the author has been redefined by a rigorously historicist criticism that focuses on the collaborative economies that produced early modern plays, in both the theaters and in the bookshops. Our modern notion of an author—and particularly of Shakespeare—as a single, creative agent has been exposed as a kind of wish-fulfillment, as a concept that emerged only gradually over time, and which functioned very differently (if it existed at all) within the environment of the early modern theater. In *Shakespeare Only*, Knapp sets out to revise this historical narrative, and Shakespeare's place in it, by arguing not only for the plausibility of a model of single authorship, but for Shakespeare's awareness of and response to this model. In Knapp's view, Shakespeare inhabited a privileged position: isolated from the travails of workaday playwrights struggling to survive, Shakespeare profited, in all the senses of that term. Rather than needing or wanting to overcome the relatively low status of writing for the stage, Shakespeare embraced and absorbed the world of mass entertainment as a necessary step in his artistic development. The "only" of the title thus signifies Shakespeare's status as a singular author, as well as his exceptional exploitation of that role.

Shakespeare Only is a thoughtful, if often puzzling, contribution to the historicist debates over the nature of early modern authorship and authority, and the introduction offers a valuable survey of the foundational scholarship in the field, even as it seeks to offer a corrective to the narratives that have become the new orthodoxy. Knapp argues that single authorship, rather than collaboration, was the norm, drawing on evidence from classical models and contemporary comments, and reinterpreting (or simply discounting) much of the evidence emphasized by previous scholars, such as changes in title-page attributions. Several key binaries are exploded, as Shakespeare is characterized as traversing the boundaries of mass entertainment and art, professional profit and elite connoisseurship, in the process infusing literary authorship with the dynamism of the stage—*theatricalizing* authorship, in Knapp's term. This line of argument is consciously revisionist, but it does risk reasserting the standard account of the drama's rise from a sub-literary form to canonical acceptance by claiming that Shakespeare either superseded its status as mass entertainment, or had already attained the status of a literary author that would be subsequently thrust upon him (what we might call the doctrine of Shakespearean exceptionalism).

A central difficulty here is the slipperiness of the term "author": Knapp criticizes the tendency to conflate different versions of authorship—dramatic and literary, modern and early modern, commercial and canonical—but, surprisingly, he neither offers his own definition nor specifies which of these possible variations he means to use. The closest we get here is a common-sense validation of some form of individuated agency which previous scholarship tended to minimize. However, Knapp often protests too much

against this scholarship: while arguing for a more generous view of early modern writers and readers, who were perfectly capable of recognizing an author, he does not extend this generosity to the scholars that have preceded him. This is in part a failure to present the context of the earlier arguments against the author—in the wake of theory, along with the ever-present threat of bardolatry, the case had to be stated strongly. The idea of authorship as a collective activity was not intended to deny the agency of individuals, but rather to credit the individuals and institutions that helped to create and shape that idea. There is also little attention paid here to developments in Shakespeare studies in the last decade, in which a newer generation of scholars has brought a range of innovative perspectives (not to mention new evidence, primarily in the more quantitative branch of scholarship) to bear on the status of authorship and of early modern drama.

The introduction to *Shakespeare Only* attempts to intervene in a historical debate, arguing for the existence and importance of an early modern understanding of individuated authorship. The remaining four chapters, though, seem to belong to an entirely different book. Here Knapp provides readings of several of Shakespeare's works with the goal of tracing Shakespeare's changing conception of himself as an author. The readings themselves are provocative, if not quite convincing, but all traces of the rigorous historicist and demanding critic of the introduction have disappeared. Each chapter is based on a rather dubious (if well-established) myth about Shakespeare and the ease with which we can access the man through his works. The first chapter reads the sonnets as pure autobiography, in which Shakespeare portrayed himself as a common theater professional, thereby affirming the traditional opposition between the vulgar theater and more respectable literary activities. The second chapter begins by overturning the identification of Hamlet as a figure for an elitist Shakespeare in conflict with his actors, only to redefine Hamlet's own brand of authorship in a way that exemplifies Shakespeare's more diverse personal views. The third chapter reads the *Henry IV* plays and *Henry V* as a secularized version of religious cycle plays, identifying Shakespeare not only with his titular protagonists, but as a martyred Christ figure, sacrificing himself on the altar of mass entertainment. The final chapter has the most potential, focusing on the co-authored (and often overlooked) plays *Pericles* and *Two Noble Kinsmen*. So powerful is the model of single authorship, though, that any form of real collaboration is impossible—for Knapp, co-authorship is "mutually achieved singleness" (131), which reduces dramatic collaboration itself to nothing more than a "bundle of single authorships" (134). Even at his most collaborative, then, Shakespeare's exceptionality and individuality must be preserved.

In the preface, Knapp identifies Shakespeare with Prince Hal: both demonstrate an engagement with diverse elements of society, willingly descending into the lowly world of the tavern or theater, with the ultimate goal of reforming and transcending that world. This identification assumes some form of preexisting authority from which to start; it also ignores Hal's opportunistic exploitation and unsympathetic rejection of his companions. The version of Shakespeare, and of Shakespearean authorship, that Knapp sets out in *Shakespeare Only* is intriguing, but it is not the only, or even most convincing, Shakespeare that emerges from this book.



Alexander Nemerov, *Acting in the Night: Macbeth and the Places of the American Civil War*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2010. Pp. 312.

Reviewed by Sujata Iyengar, *University of Georgia*

This brilliant, rigorous, beautifully illustrated and written book argues that a seemingly ephemeral expression or experience of human culture—a single performance of a play—can function as a Heideggerian “Thing,” an object that can incorporate into itself all the world and the elements that make it up in a process of “gathering.” Nemerov, an art historian by training, identifies Wallace Stevens’ “jar in Tennessee” as one such Heideggerian thing, one that coheres the “slovenly wilderness” inside itself. Another such gathering might be Blake’s “world in a grain of sand,” and another metaphor for this kind of expansive extrapolation of an entire cultural history from a single event in time and space might be (as Nemerov mentions in a later chapter) George Eliot’s polished pier-glass in *Middlemarch*, which at first seems smooth and polished but when a candle is brought close by, demonstrates dozens of tiny scratches that appear to form perfect circles around the source of illumination. So, Nemerov argues, a single performance of *Macbeth* in 1863 can enlighten the material and cultural spaces surrounding it. The performance in question took place on October 17, 1863, at the National Theater in Washington, D.C., but Nemerov is anxious that his readers not misconstrue his readings as an allegory of Lincoln’s life and the Civil War: rather, he writes, “the spatial and place-making powers of art in a given time are more interesting to me than any life” (5).

Early chapters exhaustively and immersively investigate an aspect of physical space in the theater: the space embodied by the actress, Charlotte Cushman, who played Lady Macbeth; the “hereness” enabled by room-illumination (the new gas-light in the theatre); the rowdiness of the streets and the quiet of interior life. Later chapters extend the reach of *Macbeth* to other contemporary spaces: the battlefield at Bristoe Station; Castle Murray, built in homage to Sir Walter Scott and the Medieval Revival; the grave of the Confederate General Thomas Ruffin. The final chapter takes us back to the National Theatre, or rather, to the cavern underneath its stage.

“A Stone’s Throw: Charlotte Cushman” condenses space around the emanation or influence of the famous actress as Lady Macbeth. Cushman “commanded space” and figured in contemporary accounts as present everywhere—not only on the stage, which she dominated, but also in the real world, geographically, as she built a coastal house so that she could view “[her] sea” and “[her] sunsets” unobscured, and mechanically through new technologies of dissemination: the post office (correspondence and letters to fans), photographic reproductions, newspapers, telegraphs. “A Flame of Place: Abraham Lincoln” connects the “Macbeth-like remorse” of the murderer David Wright (whose trial preyed upon Lincoln’s mind, in part through the ability of the new telegraph to collapse time and space) to Lincoln’s preoccupation with the Scottish play, and also brilliantly connects Lincoln’s “spot resolutions” to the “damned spot” of blood on Lady Macbeth’s hand. Nemerov beautifully reads the material texture of “hereness” in Lincoln’s face in Mills’ life-mask. Suffering

etched wrinkles on Lincoln's mask and face even as he recited Macbeth's elegy to Duncan on board ship, bringing "here" wherever he went. "The Glass Case: Interior Life in Washington, D.C." contrasts the rowdy streets outside with the carefully preserved calm within the theater. Lincoln's melancholy introspection took place through a "dialogic" communication between inside and out, just as Julia Ward Howe's rousing hymn of exhortation developed from the gray light streaming through her window.

"Acoustic Shadows" addresses the gunshots from the Battle of Bristoe Station in the war outside the theater. Again, Nemerov resists reading *Macbeth* as an allegory of the Civil War, finding such a reading untrue to the material and historical suffering of the "fragments of bodies and stories . . . in the dark and the smoke." He continues:

Instead we can say that the war *came into* the theater . . . gathered there as though by functionaries assembled for the purpose, as . . . a scattering of sand. The play then took responsibility for fashioning these scattered experiences into the great, resounding, concentric circles of singular purpose it would throw back into that shot-blasted world, now ostensibly unified through the shaping power of a work of art. (147)

Such "shadows" or scatterings appear as the ghostly soldiers (artifacts of the necessarily long exposure time in early photographs) in contemporary images of Castle Murray, an analog to Macbeth's castle, steeped in blood. Both pro- and anti-slavery advocates deployed the Gothic mode, and an adapted medievalism. The uncanny soldiers are not "portentous allegory" but "shaped emptiness in the air" (179). Shadowy emptiness takes form with breathtaking suddenness in "Ghosts: The Death of Colonel Thomas Ruffin" when the letters on the Colonel's tombstone, worn away with age, are rendered dramatically visible by a sprinkling of cornmeal that displays them in luminous brightness, a metaphor for the work of history. Nemerov's final chapter returns to the physical space of the National Theatre, to the waterway that allegedly ran beneath the stage in 1863 in a cavernous hollow that enabled the venue's excellent acoustic. Nemerov imagines Cushman imagining that watery void in order to summon the emptiness of chaos so present in *Macbeth* and to unite the natural and performed worlds.

Shakespeareans familiar with the work of Joseph Roach (who is mentioned in the acknowledgements) will immediately appreciate that Nemerov's work, like Roach's, will define the emerging field of place studies. Nemerov's range is vast and erudite, moving from sculpture, lyric poetry, photography, music, to science and of course performance, both within the theater and as street life. Although this book is not a work of traditional Shakespearean criticism, Nemerov offers us sensitive close readings of passages from the play and, more importantly, a methodology and a mode for profound engagement with the emanations of a work of art in material space and time.



Scott L. Newstok and Ayanna Thompson (eds.), *Weyward Macbeth: Intersections of Race and Performance*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010. Pp. 308.

Reviewed by Allison Kellar Lenhardt, *University of Georgia*

W*eyward Macbeth: Intersections of Race and Performance* offers an informative approach to productions and appropriations of *Macbeth* from the nineteenth to the twenty-first century. The collection brings forth new and sometimes forgotten stories about how directors, rhetoricians, and performers use *Macbeth* both to interrogate and confirm racial disparity in the United States. Essays in the book's seven sections range from analyses of European audiences' reception of actor Ira Aldridge's whiteface performance as Macbeth (Bernth Lindfors) to colorblind casting of the Lady Macbeth and Macbeth characters in contemporary productions and adaptations (Amy Scott-Douglass). The book covers a great deal of ground, and the twenty-six essays, some of which were first presented at a symposium at Rhodes College, each provide a different viewpoint regarding "intersections" of *Macbeth* and race in American history.

Opening the first section, co-editor Ayanna Thompson explains why *Macbeth* was chosen for the Signs of Race series and how the multiple meanings of "weyward" speak to racialized appropriations of *Macbeth* in America (3). Celia Daileader's essay on Middleton's contributions to *Macbeth* questions what we see as the "weird" or "weyward" sisters (or brothers), concluding that "*Macbeth's* demonized—and sexualized—rhetorical darkness is a distinctly Shakespearean feature" (19).

We are then transported over two hundred years ahead and across the seas, as the second section, "Early American Intersections," focuses on nineteenth-century sentimentalities about race and America by examining *Macbeth's* prolific appearance in Civil War and Reconstruction rhetoric. Heather S. Nathans' essay provides fascinating research and visuals regarding how American abolitionists and slavery advocates referred to one another as Macbeths, Banquos, and witches, each appropriating the play's characters, language, and plot points to judge the other side's failings. John C. Briggs's essay on Frederick Douglass deftly contributes to this discussion. Joyce MacDonald's "Minstrel Show *Macbeth*" reveals how "blackface is the weapon" white working class New Yorkers used to combat Shakespearean elitists as well as the city's minority populations (62).

The essay grouping "Federal Theatre Project(s)" recovers African-American theater productions of *Macbeth*, offering new research on the 1935 Boston Players' production (Lisa N. Simmons) and *The Vo-Du Macbeth* 2001-2005 project (Lenwood Sloan). This section problematizes Orson Welles's "Voodoo" *Macbeth's* direct and indirect contributions to African-American productions of the play. Maguerite Rippey argues that Welles's 1936 production has become a troubling paradox for critics and practitioners: "It should be justly celebrated for showcasing a black-cast *Macbeth* on a national tour when segregation was still dominant. Yet we also need to scrutinize the production's more disturbing aspects, which too easily trade in stereotypical fantasies of the primitive" (89). But as co-editor Scott L. Newstok observes in his essay on African-American theater productions of *Mac-*

beth post-Voodoo, “even when you do not really re-do voodoo, you are bound to re-do it” (96).

Even non-African-American productions, such as director Anita Maynard-Losh’s 2003 Tlingit production of *Macbeth*, often allude to the “Voodoo” production unintentionally. But unlike Welles, Maynard-Losh, also a white director, worked alongside the Tlingit community in Alaska to adapt the play (130). Actor Harry J. Lennix’s narrative about preparing to play *Macbeth* reveals how he found his character’s “entry point” through researching nineteenth-century British performances, which he then layered onto the production’s African Diaspora concept (119). The “Further Stages” section also nicely describes other recent productions of *Macbeth*, such as the Asian-American *Shogun Macbeth* (Alexander C.Y. Huang) and the University of Hawaii’s *Macbeth 2029* (José A. Esquea), but this unit could use more images to help recover “weyward” *Macbeths*.

The fifth and sixth sections, “Music” and “Screen,” both possess persuasive arguments. The versatile music section includes essays on opera (Wallace McClain Cheatham), jazz (Douglas Lanier), and hip-hop (Todd London Barnes). Douglas Lanier’s piece challenges assumptions about Duke Ellington’s *Lady Mac* song from *Such Sweet Thunder*, arguing that critics have misunderstood the song as an all-encompassing interpretation of *Lady Macbeth* instead of seeing the composition as “*Lady Mac*” in Act One, scene seven. Francesca Royster’s perceptive essay articulates Roman Polanski’s *Macbeth’s* pervasive whiteness, analyzing the film’s “complicated constructions of nationalism and racial purity” (174). In a similar vein, Courtney Lehmann’s treatment of Nina Menke’s *The Bloody Child* describes the film’s preoccupation with what Lehmann terms a “new whiteness” as the “strategic *desertion* of reality” (190).

The last section, “Shakespearean (A)Versions,” examines “intersections” of race and Shakespeare in African-American women’s poetry (Charita Gainey-O’Toole and Elizabeth Alexander) and African-American playwrights’ works (Philip C. Kolin and Peter Erickson). Philip C. Kolin lucidly argues that playwrights like Adrienne Kennedy, Ntozake Shange, August Wilson, and Suzan-Lori Parks “battled *Macbeth* for suppressing or displacing a black presence while, ironically, embracing and orchestrating a black agon” (220). Finally, Richard Burt’s Epilogue on “national transition as national traumission” recovers political references to *Macbeth* before Obama’s Inauguration to remind us that America’s history and racial discourse are still “haunted by ghosts of Shakespeare and racist violence” (237).

With seven sections and an appendix on “weyward” *Macbeth* productions from 1822 onward, readers might long for more sustained arguments since the research presented is so fascinating, but the range of media and time periods covered is quite commendable, as is the inclusion of both scholars’ and practitioners’ perspectives. Because the essays are shorter, this collection could supplement course material or provide an excellent primer for scholars interested in how race has informed American appropriations of *Macbeth*.



Geraldo U. de Sousa, *At Home in Shakespeare's Tragedies*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2010. Pp. xii + 204 pp.

Reviewed by Tripti Pillai, *Coastal Carolina University*

In light of growing interest in the representation of spatial relations in early modern literature, Geraldo U. de Sousa's book is a timely one that extends the scholarship produced in the last decade by Andrew Hiscock, Lisa Hopkins, Wendy Wall, Russell West, and Linda Woodbridge, among others.

Sousa's central claim emphasizes the inseparability of the physical and virtual constitution of Shakespeare's architecture of domestic space in *King Lear*, *Othello*, *Hamlet*, and *Macbeth*. He proposes that the skeletal public stages of London engaged the audience's own architectural sensibility and emphasized their shifting relations to domesticity. As a result, the virtuality of spatial representation on the early modern stage required the audiences not only to suspend their sense of disbelief but also to create the spaces and their values. Sousa's work focuses "on the extent to which images of the house, home, and the household become visually and emotionally vibrant, and thus reflect, define, and support a powerful tragic narrative" (21). While most of the major theorists of spatial culture—Bachelard, Deleuze, and Lefebvre, for example—are brought up only on occasion and mostly in the Introduction, Sousa develops *At Home in Shakespeare's Tragedies* within an interdisciplinary framework that combines familiar historicist methods of reading Renaissance visual culture with cross-cultural analysis that combines seamlessly western and non-western approaches to spatiality. In this sense his most recent work builds systematically on his earlier publications, including *Shakespeare's Cross-Cultural Encounters*.

Each chapter of Sousa's *At Home in Shakespeare's Tragedies* offers a critical or cultural context within which domestic space is defined. The chapters comprise sections that elaborate on the particular spaces and geographies inhabited by characters in the plays. The first of these, on *Lear*, focuses on the disconnection between the spatial and political architecture of various sites featured in the play, including Lear's castle, Goneril's household, Gloucester's wrecked house, and the hovel. Sousa points to the contrast between the historical developments within domestic architecture and the play's disassembling of domesticity. The disappearance of Lear's castle is an especially profound loss, then, given the disintegration during the early modern period of the defensive structures of medieval homes and the proliferation in their place of manor style homes that became increasingly popular. The split between the old and new manifests itself in gendered terms as well. Lear's castle in the opening scene of the play is the model of medieval space insofar as it is a "masculine-gendered royal palace" (37). But this space soon disappears, as does the culture it upholds. In its place, Sousa suggests, the play raises up Goneril's home as the center of an emergent domestic culture that is rooted in the feminine "will" (37). While he elaborates on the impregnability or inaccessibility of Regan's home, the insides of which we never can explore in the play, surprisingly he omits a discussion of France, the location of Cordelia's new home from which she returns to rescue her father and her state. Notably, the implications of gendered space are not developed further in subsequent chapters.

In the second chapter the focus shifts slightly from the discussion of home and homelessness to distinctions that are made in Shakespeare's tragedies between stable and unfixed conditions of domicile. Sousa's reading of *Othello* suggests there is a strong connection between the function of narrative and the geographic movements within or between households. While Venice and Venetians offer stability and rootedness to citizens, the wandering "Other" offers to them (and the audience) a series of narrative vacations, journeys through the unfamiliar "routes" or paths that he has traversed in the past (65). Neither like Venice nor like the shifty geographies of Othello's past wanderings, Cyprus marks a third location in the play, a site of possibility insofar as in it "seemingly incompatible modes of dwelling intermingle and modify each other" (94). The spatial distinctions, however, Sousa argues, are eventually eradicated in the play to reveal instead a darkness that unites in its destructiveness both "Venetian and alien spaces of residence" (82). This destructiveness is also staged in darkness, a device that collapses characters' abilities to see and therefore process accurately the borders or structures of differentiation. In the third chapter Sousa once again picks up the discussion of darkness in his analysis of the mutability of the locations of body and home in *Hamlet*. Sousa's reading of the play hinges on the spatial dimensions of conflict: "competing perceptions of reality" (120), he notes, determine characters' approaches to navigating the body and the home. Claudius' court, house, and body, for example, occupy a zone of pleasure that he designs chiefly to forget or overcome the past and move forward. Hamlet retaliates against the transformations made to his home and situation by immersing himself in relationships defined by the past and marked by disembodiment, fluidity, and pain.

The final chapter of the book is devoted to the analysis of spatial seepage in *Macbeth*. Here Sousa proposes that the architecture of "the house creates adjacency" so that "domestic life abuts a fantastical, wild world" (143). Studying various sites of invasion and habitation in the play, including the Scottish wilderness inhabited by the witches, the castles of Inverness and Forres that serve as homes to the Macbeths, and the fortified watchtower of Dunsinane, the chapter traces the inability of architecture, specifically of walled-in, domestic spaces, consistently to protect inhabitants from themselves or the world outside. In the brief conclusion to his book Sousa reiterates the fundamental connection he has established among the four plays of Shakespeare: in each of them "tragic experience hinges on the emplacement of embodied tragic subjects in houses and home spaces" (169).

At Home in Shakespeare's Tragedies is part of a growing body of scholarly texts on early modern constructions of space and time. Like most of these, Sousa's book also offers ample historical context within which to construct the dramatic geographies of the plays. Some readers might find that the book does not always offer a theoretically charged exploration of spatial culture. What it does instead is adopt cross-cultural and cross-historical analytical approaches to offer innovative readings of some of the most familiar plays by Shakespeare. Readers interested in these practices and methodologies of literary critical studies will find the book both accessible and engaging.



Kenneth J. E. Graham and Philip D. Collington (eds.), *Shakespeare and Religious Change*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009. Pp. 288.

Reviewed by Paul J. Voss, *Georgia State University*

The early modern period in England witnessed a vast amount of religious controversy—before, during, and after Shakespeare’s lifetime. Even a casual survey of the magisterial *Short-Title Catalogue of English Books 1475-1640* reveals a stunning array of religious texts, written from a variety of perspectives over many decades. It would be impossible for anyone living during this turbulent and fascinating period to escape such a powerful “circulation of social energy.” Yet many scholars and critics working in the 1980s and 1990s conspicuously ignored the possibility of personal religious expression as an authentic and vital area of investigation.

During that expansive period of research and scholarship—and the ascendancy of the New Historicism—any articulation of religious sentiment in literature simply masked a deeper yearning, often a substitute for simmering physical desire, frustrated professional advancement, base economic greed, turbulent political strife, or confused sexual identity. Religious expression *qua* religious expression, by contrast, seemed boring, parochial, and uninteresting.

The past decade, of course, has redressed that obvious myopia. Scores of scholars and critics have produced compelling and rich accounts, examining the various ways that the religious impulse might contribute to, and even enhance, the artistic impulse. The same desire that propels the worship of the ineffable, some now assert, may provide meaningful insight into artistic and poetic production.

The essays collected in this volume demonstrate the richness and diversity of religious expression in the early modern period. The essays seek to examine ways in which religion and religious experience might animate the works of Shakespeare (often considered to be agnostic or non-sectarian in terms of religion). The editors seek to “present a balanced view of the variety of religious identities” (3) available in this period (and they succeed admirably in this task) while placing Shakespeare in relationship to earlier religious theater. Toward that end, the editors group the essays into four sections: “Shakespeare and Social History,” “Dramatic Continuities and Religious Change,” “Religious Identities,” and “Shakespeare and the Changing Theater.”

Although a brief review cannot address each essay in detail, a few of the arguments merit attention. Richard Strier, always thought-provoking and insightful, examines “companionate marriage” in *The Comedy of Errors*. Although Shakespeare almost always uses the Catholic *form* of marriage in his plays (most marriages, for example, were contracted in the presence of a priest and treated as a sacrament), Strier argues that Shakespeare “presents a consciously Protestant conception” (17) of the married, domestic life (at least in this play). According to Strier, the abbey no longer remains a sacred site (as in the Catholic tradition), but is rather transformed into a “locus for a high form of ordinary social life, a feast” (31). Thus, personal sanctification comes not from the priestly class but from the quotidian activities of domestic life.

Elizabeth Williamson intelligently examines the various resurrection scenes found in early modern drama (the most famous, of course, occurring in *The Winter's Tale*). Williamson insightfully juxtaposes material and affective technologies employed by the theater in order to provoke wonder and suspense onstage. She examines the palpable power of the scene stripped of its Catholic trappings. One encounters this refrain frequently in these essays: the power of a vibrant Catholic past, still capable of producing a spiritual catharsis, but now refined for Protestant sensibilities. It's an intriguing argument, even if it, at times, confuses essential and accidental properties.

Phebe Jensen continues her impressive work on festive practices and mirth in the early modern period. Jensen establishes the significant role festivity (often called "feast days") played in Catholic culture and how Protestants tried to tame and even eliminate this cultural practice of mirth and revelry. According to Jensen, "Shakespeare's plays do not simply reflect a culture in which festivity is already entirely secularized; rather, they participate in debates about that ongoing process" (154).

Glenn Clark's essay—among the most intriguing in the collection—examines the methods used by ministers when preaching to their congregations. Such preaching, it turns out, is rhetorically complex and rife with competing aims: "English Protestant pastors faced a dilemma. They needed to follow their hearts, but they also needed hearts that would be both loving and comforting and angry and rebuking in quick succession. They needed to found pastoral anger in pastoral love" (182). Clark then effectively applies this tension to both Hamlet and Duke Vincentio (two obvious cases), but one wonders if it could function with Shakespeare's other clerics—Friars Lawrence or Francis, or the priest from *Twelfth Night*.

Essays by Tom Bishop (on the "Exodus" narrative and related texts of exile and prophecy), Jeffrey Knapp (especially good on the often-neglected history plays), and Debora Shuger (on zero-sum morality in *Richard II*) add to the depth and scope of the collection.

The volume ends, fittingly enough, with a polemical piece of metacriticism (far and away the most entertaining type of metacriticism) by Anthony Dawson, who finds the emergent religious slant bothersome. As with all such corrections, the revision may fall victim to the excess it seeks to redress. Might it be possible that the religious card is being over-played? Dawson answers with a resounding affirmative. The worst offenders, it seems, are scholars of a Catholic perspective (and he names names), but "sometimes those on the Protestant side, like their Catholic *confrères*, can also go overboard" (240). For Dawson, "the theater is a secular, and secularizing, institution" (240). Dawson points to the 1559 proclamation forbidding the theater to meddle in "matters of religion." True enough, but not all representation equals meddling and not all Elizabethans faithfully observed state proclamations. Dramatists especially tended to push boundaries.

As this volume clearly displays, a lively interest in religion—especially for a period and culture so steeped in religious sensibilities—can indeed provide fresh insights into the works of the most studied author of all time.



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— Robert Greene, *Groatsworth of Wit* (1592)



For those persons who have become subscribers this year, I want to welcome you and extend my personal thanks to you, as well as to continuing subscribers, for your support. I know I speak for the journal’s editors, staff, and advisory board. Your help makes a great difference as the Center for Electronic and Digital Publishing (CEDP) endeavors to maintain high standards and strives to do new things with this publication for Clemson University Digital Press (CUDP). The two shoulders of our publishing house are *The South Carolina Review* and *The Upstart Crow*. The latter is one reason Clemson is associated with William Shakespeare’s good name (and Greene’s epithet). *The Upstart Crow* continues its transformation in the new millennium. Outwardly, the annual has generated a new appearance—starting with volume XXI (2001). Inwardly, its organization, policies, and operating procedures are also new. In memory of Jim Andreas, late editor and co-founder (in 1990) of the Clemson Shakespeare Festival, we decided to change the cover and include a special section each year to match the theme of the festival. Although the Clemson festival had its last season in spring 2008, we plan to stick to the format for the journal, with themes announced in advance.

Another change to acknowledge is that CEDP, given the opportunity of staff changes in the English Department in 2010, has a new Accounting Fiscal Analyst and both journals have a new Business Manager. Respectively, Beverly Pressley and Kristin Sindorf have made it possible for us to begin accepting credit card purchases, including subscriptions, to help shore up our fiscal infrastructure in these challenging times. The advent of e-commerce and direct online transactions from our website should be advantageous for all of us, particularly our audience, who will find it faster and easier to purchase copies and to subscribe to *The Upstart Crow*. We expect the new system to be operating by March 2011.

Subscriptions and sales are crucial to running a successful journal. That’s why your help is appreciated. Tell your friends about us, visit our website, and watch us grow at <http://www.clemson.edu/cedp/cudp/crow/>

Wayne K. Chapman
CEDP Director / CUDP Executive Editor