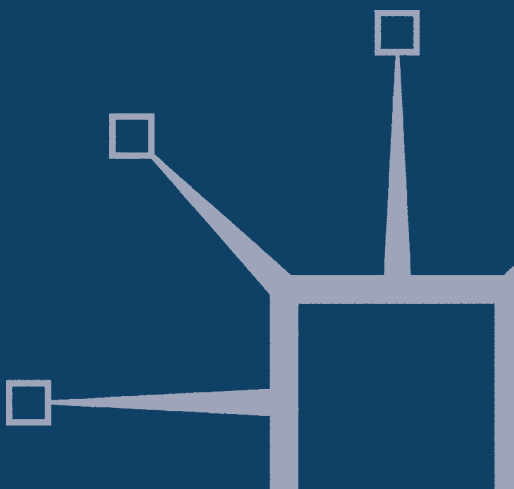
palgrave
macmillan

# Gender and Power in Shrew-Taming Narratives, 1500–1700

Edited by

David Wootton and Graham Holderness



Gender and Power in Shrew-Taming Narratives, 1500–1700

*Also by David Wootton*

GALILEO: Watcher of the Skies
BAD MEDICINE: Doctors Doing Harm Since Hippocrates
PAOLO SARPI BETWEEN RENAISSANCE AND ENLIGHTENMENT

*Also by Graham Holderness*

SHAKESPEARE AND VENICE
SHAKESPEARE: The Histories
THE SHAKESPEARE MYTH

# Gender and Power in Shrew-Taming Narratives, 1500–1700

Edited by

David Wootton
*Anniversary Professor of History, University of York, UK*

and

Graham Holderness
*Professor of English, University of Hertfordshire, UK*

palgrave
macmillan



Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 2010 978-0-230-24092-6



First published 2010 by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN

Palgrave Macmillan in the UK is an imprint of Macmillan Publishers Limited, registered in England, company number 785998, of Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS.

Palgrave Macmillan in the US is a division of St Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010.

Palgrave Macmillan is the global academic imprint of the above companies and has companies and representatives throughout the world.

Palgrave® and Macmillan® are registered trademarks in the United States, the United Kingdom, Europe and other countries.

ISBN 978-1-349-31661-8 ISBN 978-0-230-27748-9 (eBook)
DOI 10.1057/9780230277489

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources. Logging, pulping and manufacturing processes are expected to conform to the environmental regulations of the country of origin.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Gender and power in shrew-taming narratives, 1500–1700 / edited by David Wootton, Graham Holderness.
p. cm.
Includes bibliographical references and index.

1. English drama—Early modern and Elizabethan, 1500–1600—History and criticism. 2. English drama—17th century—History and criticism. 3. Women in literature. 4. Sex role in literature. 5. Man-woman relationships in literature. 6. Power (Social sciences) in literature. 7. Shakespeare, William, 1564–1616. Taming of the shrew. I. Wootton, David, 1952–. II. Holderness, Graham.
PR658.W6G46 2010
822'.3093522—dc22

2010002691

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1
19 18 17 16 15 14 13 12 11 10

# Contents

# Notes on Contributors

**Anna Bayman** is Assistant Editor of the *English Historical Review*, based in the History Faculty, University of Oxford. She works on the pamphlet literature of early modern England and has published on the *querelle des femmes*, rogues, witches and the cross-dressing pamphlets. She is completing a book on Thomas Dekker and the culture of pamphleteering in early Stuart London.

**Sandra Clark** is Emeritus Professor of Renaissance Literature at Birkbeck, University of London. She has published extensively on the literature of the period, particularly the drama and popular literature, including pamphlets and broadside ballads. Recent books have included *Women and Crime in the Street Literature of Early Modern England* (2003), and *Renaissance Drama* (2007). She is currently editing *Macbeth* for the Arden Shakespeare, third series.

**Charles Conaway** is Assistant Professor of English at the University of Southern Indiana. His research focuses on the afterlife of Shakespeare, particularly in the long eighteenth century and in more recent adaptations and appropriations in film, theatre and popular music.

**Holly A. Crocker** is Associate Professor of English at the University of South Carolina. She is the author of *Chaucer's Visions of Manhood* (2007), and the editor of *Comic Provocations: Exposing the Corpus of Old French Fabliaux* (2006). Currently, she is completing a manuscript, *The Reformation of Feminine Virtue from Chaucer to Shakespeare*, which investigates the impact of a cultivated ideal of femininity on literary formations of masculinity in the works of several major authors, including Chaucer, Spenser and Shakespeare.

**Barry Gaines** is Professor of English Literature at the University of New Mexico. He was Associate Editor of *Shakespeare Studies* for eighteen years and has edited *A Yorkshire Tragedy* (with A. C. Cawley for the Revels Plays), *Q1 Romeo and Juliet* (with Jill Levenson for the Malone Society), and *Antony and Cleopatra* (with production notes by Janet Suzman for the Applause Shakespeare).

**Helmer J. Helmers** is a Ph.D. student at the English Department of the University of Leiden, in the Netherlands. He has published on Dutch

adaptations of Shakespeare and Kyd, and is currently working on a dissertation about the Dutch Stuart Cult in the mid-seventeenth century.

**Graham Holderness** is Professor of English at the University of Hertfordshire, and author or editor of numerous studies in early modern and modern literature and drama. Recent books include *Cultural Shakespeare: Essays in the Shakespeare Myth* (2001), *Visual Shakespeare: Essays in Film and Television* (2002) and *Textual Shakespeare: Writing and the Word* (2004). He is author of *Shakespeare in Performance: the Taming of the Shrew* (1989), and editor of the *Taming of A Shrew* (1992).

**Richard Madelaine** is a graduate of the universities of Adelaide and London and Associate Professor of English at the University of New South Wales. He has published widely on Shakespearean staging issues and stage history. He is author of *Antony and Cleopatra* in the Shakespeare in Production series (1998) and joint editor of *'O Brave New World': Two Centuries of Shakespeare on the Australian Stage* (2001); he wrote on apprentices in *Shakespeare Matters* (ed. Lloyd Davis, 2003) and recently contributed to *Shakespeare in Southern Africa*, vol. 19 (2007).

**Leah S. Marcus** is Edwin Mims Professor of English at Vanderbilt University. She has published *Childhood and Cultural Despair* (1978), *The Politics of Mirth* (1989), *Puzzling Shakespeare: Unediting the Renaissance* (1989), and editions of Elizabeth I, Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice* and (forthcoming 2010) *The Duchess of Malfi*.

**Margaret Maurer** is the William Henry Crawshaw Professor of Literature in the English Department of Colgate University. She has published essays on *Two Gentlemen of Verona, The Taming of the Shrew*, and *As You Like It* as well as on the occasional poetry of Ben Jonson, Samuel Daniel and John Donne. She is a member of the editorial board of *The John Donne Journal*.

**Jan Purnis** is a Ph.D. student in the Department of English at the University of Toronto. She is currently completing her dissertation on early modern uses of bodily metaphors of digestion to articulate larger structures of abstract thought, particularly economics, colonialism, gender and religion.

**George Southcombe** is a British Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at Somerville College, Oxford. He is the co-author (with Grant Topsell, 2010) of *Restoration Politics, Religion and Culture*. He works primarily on late seventeenth-century dissenters, and he is currently completing a number of projects on their literary and liturgical writings.

**Ann Thompson** is a Professor of English at King's College London. She has previously taught at the University of Liverpool and at Roehampton University; she has also held visiting positions at the University of Hawaii and the University of Cincinnati, Ohio. She is a General Editor of the Arden Shakespeare for which, in 2006, she co-edited with Neil Taylor all three texts of *Hamlet*. She has also edited *The Taming of the Shrew for* Cambridge. Other publications include *Shakespeare's Chaucer* (1978), *Shakespeare, Meaning and Metaphor* (1987 co-authored with John O. Thompson), *Women Reading Shakespeare, 1660–1900* (1997 co-edited with Sasha Roberts) and *In Arden*: *Editing Shakespeare* (2002 co-edited with Gordon McMullan).

**David Wootton** is Anniversary Professor of History at the University of York. He has published widely on intellectual history in the Renaissance and Enlightenment. His next book is on Galileo.

# Introduction

*Graham Holderness*

A decade ago materialist-feminist and historicist criticism of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* had reached something of an impasse. In 1996, summarising the fortunes of the shrew over the previous ten years, Paul Yachnin argued that modern opinion on Shakespeare's play could be divided between the two dominant schools of thought in contemporary Shakespeare criticism, 'knowledge' and 'power'.[1] 'Power' readings see literature as 'merely reproductive' of the 'social formation' and its 'ideological complex' (Yachnin para. 1); 'knowledge' readings adopt the rationalist view that 'Shakespeare's plays are alive in some uncanny way, persistently conscious of their own production of meaning and therefore free of the history in which they were produced and in which their meanings are constantly being revised' (para. 3). In this latter perspective *The Taming of the Shrew* is a document of enlightenment, which resolves the harsh discords of its crude 'taming' materials, to produce visions of reciprocal accommodation and free mutuality between the sexes.

All Yachnin's examples of arguments from 'knowledge' are works published in the early 1980s, and this seems to have been the dominant paradigm up to about 1990. Linda Boose opened her influential materialist-feminist essay 'Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds', published in 1991,[2] by stating her conviction that the field had long been occupied by such 'knowing' readings, readings that sought to interpret the play in terms of 'mutuality' and a positive fulfilment for both sexes. 'Everyone it seems, wants this play to emphasize "Kate's and Petruchio's mutual sexual attraction, affection, and satisfaction … and deemphasize her coerced submission to him"' (Boose quoting Carol Thomas Neeley). 'The critical history of *Shrew* reflects a tradition in which such revisionism has become a kind of orthodoxy' (Boose 181), an orthodoxy Boose and others found it necessary to challenge.

In response to this development, Yachnin lamented the demise of 'knowing', complaining that 'intentionalist interpretive models have been displaced by functionalist models of cultural reproduction and contestation and because aestheticizing interpretive practices have been replaced more or less by politicizing practices' (para. 23). The critical ground of *The Taming of the Shrew* became dominated in particular by a materialist-feminist consensus, which 'reads the play historically for information about early modern, and modern, gender relations' (para. 2).

The verdict of 'power' on *The Taming of the Shrew* and shrew-literature in general, as delivered in much work from this period, was clear and uncompromising: the play and its central trope of 'taming' are documents of barbarism. Historical studies had shown how the shrew-plays grew out of a context of male supremacy and female oppression. Stories of women tamed, exemplified in ballads, tales and jests as well as theatrical versions, are not merely records of female subjugation, but ideological methods of endorsing and indoctrinating the misogynist ideas underpinning patriarchal society. Although a more sophisticated adaptation of the taming motif than many of its sources, Shakespeare's play nonetheless encodes the same crudely sexist ideology as its common sources. At the very least such taming-narratives support and sustain domestic repression, including physical 'correction'; at the worst they celebrate and endorse such extreme forms of female punishment as the cucking stool and the scold's bridle.

Paul Yachnin summarised the position as he saw it in 1996: *The Taming of the Shrew* was 'beyond redemption':

> In the case of *The Taming of the Shrew* … the central reason for the dominance of power readings is that feminist Shakespeareans have marked this play off as beyond redemption. Shirley Nelson Garner has argued that history has passed *The Taming of the Shrew* by. As such, it can no longer be said to be a work of literature which might be saved in one way or another by virtue of the presence of a knowing author; instead it is of the nature of a joke whose spirit has long since vanished, the dead letter of an outmoded misogynist culture. (Yachnin para. 23)

These sentiments now seem to belong to the category of dead letters much more securely than does *The Taming of the Shrew*. This indicates the extent to which recent historiography and cultural criticism have revised and reassessed gender relations in the early modern period.

Historical work on early modern women, gender, marriage, the home, property and social customs has largely overturned the grimly oppressive scenarios of earlier scholars, in which women could scarcely dare to speak up for fear of cruel physical punishment. New and enhanced insights were generated by social and cultural historians who penetrated deeper into what later became the 'private' spaces of the home and conjugal inter-relationship, to reveal that peoples' lives were not invariably aligned with the doctrines of social order preached from ecclesiastical pulpit and judicial bench, or with the most extreme forms of coercion and corrective punishment. Keith Wrightson, in his immensely influential *English Society 1580–1680*,[3] insisted on 'the private existence of a strong complementary and companionate ethos, side by side with, and overshadowing theoretical adherence to, the doctrine of male authority and public female subordination' (92). Anthony Fletcher[4] went so far as to claim that the period saw 'a crisis in men's control over women' (xvi), and called for an exposure of 'the huge untold story of the contestedness of English patriarchy within the early modern home' (191).

Scholars have exhaustively mined public and private records to pursue these hypotheses, and successfully demonstrated that women wielded and exercised power and authority in many areas of social life: control over medicine, food production and other peoples' bodies (Wendy Wall[5]); or power over moveable property and assets within the home (Natasha Korda[6]). Frances Dolan showed that women were perpetrators of, as well as victims of, domestic violence and punishment;[7] Garthine Walker that women were by no means 'characterised by passivity and weakness';[8] and Pamela Brown that women could exercise considerable power through the verbal and intellectual dexterity of jesting.[9] Together these scholars and critics have greatly complicated our understanding of gender conflict, marriage and domestic authority in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The net effect of these various studies has been to allow for a recognition that in the early modern period, authority in marriage and the domestic polity was contested and unstable; women commanded kinds of authority previously underestimated, and were therefore relatively empowered; and gender was much less of a binary absolute than it later became. Laura Gowing[10] even suggested that gender divisions in themselves were not at this time stable, that 'sex was a matter of degree' rather than of kind (4).

Naturally the scholars cited here do not portray early modern England as a woman's paradise, nor do they seek to quarrel with the established evidence of female oppression. Their concern is rather to complicate our historical picture, to expose the conflicts and contradictions within

received ideologies, and to describe the consequent slippages and instabilities in the practice of ideology. They have 'sought to discover', as Pamela Brown says in a book that forms an important reference point for several of our authors,[11]

> How women may have taken part in revising, negotiating, or resisting ideological paradigms rather than assuming that women were tragic victims, passive ciphers, or cultural sponges. (8)

It remains essential, Brown goes on, to recognise the depth and extent of patriarchal oppression.

> While it is crucial for historians and literary scholars to study the increasing enclose of women within the household, the rise of witchcraft persecutions, and the horrifying controls placed on women's tongues from cuckstool to scold's bridle, it is also important to consider … the fissures between the theory and practice of subordination. (8–9)

Or as Bernard Capp[12] puts it, 'a significant gulf existed between patriarchal ideal and social practice' (375). The contributors to this volume embrace this new historiography of early modern gender and power, the position of women in family, household and society, the domestic polity, the fates and fortunes of real-life 'shrews'. In our collective view this excavated history makes *The Taming of the Shrew* a more rather than less interesting play; a fuller rather than flatter document of historical experience; a richer rather than thinner source of insight and understanding on crucial issues of sexual politics, culture and language. By the same token the Shakespeare play also needs to be read in its intertextual relations with other dramatic works that flow from and against it, constituting a unique tidal rhythm of protracted cultural conversation.

Much of the interest generated in and around the early modern 'shrew', archetype of female insubordination, naturally takes its bearings, if not its origins, from Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* and its innumerable stage, film and critical interpretations. This volume of essays assumes the First Folio play-text to be part of a much larger body of dramatic and literary material, congregated around the archetypal figure of the shrew, and produced from the Middle Ages through to the Restoration and beyond. We are concerned here with *shrews*, rather than with 'the' (or even 'a') shrew, and with the multiple connotations

and denotations attaching to a type that could be a man as well as a woman, and could attract positive as well negative valencies.

We take a long historical view of the shrew, tracing its pre-history in the Middle Ages and its changing fortunes through the reigns of the Stuart kings. We are interested in the shrew as a dramatic figure in its many theatrical representations, often interlinked, through this period: in Shakespeare; in the anonymous play *The Taming of A Shrew,* that preceded the publication of the First Folio version by almost 30 years; in Fletcher's 'response' play *The Tamer Tamed*, performed in 1611 alongside a revived *Taming of the Shrew*; in free adaptations of the earlier shrew plays that enjoyed currency in the Restoration period, such as John Lacey's *Sauny the Scot*; and in adaptations and translations that took the English shrew abroad to the European stage. At the same time we recognise that the audiences who flocked to see new and revived shrew-plays were also simultaneously consuming shrew-stories in multiple discursive sites such as poems, ballads, folk-tales, jest-books and prose pamphlets, and that these extra-theatrical manifestations of the shrew, and the social practice and custom they reflected, were equally part of their cultural experience.

The history that emerges from the following studies is not only extremely complex but also deeply contested. The dynamic of theatrical 'response' visible in *The Tamer Tamed* was, these scholars argue, indicative of a subversive and oppositional energy that was almost always present or contingent in discourses around the figure of the shrew. From mediaeval devotional manuals to dramatic productions of the 1630s, the shrew is presented as a corrective exemplum of the need for patriarchal authority and wifely obedience. And yet, in practice, such representations frequently provoke resistance, argument, a paradoxical destabilisation of patterns of authority and the dissolution of gender norms. Anna Bayman and George Southcombe observe that shrews hit the cultural headlines at certain key moments in this period: notably 1602–4, with Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, Dekker's *Medicine for a Curst Wife,* and possibly the genesis of *The Taming of the Shrew*; and 1607–12, with Ben Jonson's *The Silent Woman*, Dekker and Middleton's portrait of the notorious Mary Frith or Moll Cutpurse, *The Roaring Girl*, and a republication of the anonymous *The Taming of A Shrew*. In each case, as our authors show, it is possible to integrate the dramatic works into lively contemporary controversies on gender and power, active in popular culture and political debate as well as on the stage. And in none of these do we find anything resembling a fixed, secure or stable evaluation of the shrew.

In the course of revisiting the shrew in this new context, the contributors to this volume extend the semiotic and chronological range of the term and its uses. They study shrews in a long theatrical history from the Middle Ages to the reign of Charles II, and in a wide range of discursive contexts. They explore reproductions of the shrew-plays in different English contexts, and from as far afield as the Low Countries. They also consider a number of other related and controversial questions: the dating of *The Taming of the Shrew*, and its connection with other shrew-narratives; the relation between the various textual formations of the shrew-drama, and the modern editions that have been constructed from them; and the salient problems of gender and power around which these texts and performances persistently revolve.

Bayman and Southcombe suggest that *The Taming of the Shrew* is beginning to look less rooted in the 1590s, when *A Shrew* was first published, and more like a Jacobean play that might be linked to the accession of James I, a revived interest in issues of patriarchy and a vigorous series of debates about gender and the role of women. They compare the Shrew-plays with the treatment of shrews and shrewishness in contemporary pamphlet literature, and find 'a great variety' of perspectives and opinions. By contrast Sandra Clark shows that ballads about unruly women make close links between shrewishness and domestic violence, though on the part of the woman, not the man. Clark's collection of grimly comic tales highlights masculine anxieties about dangerous, even murderous women. At the same time Clark shows that there were also ballads of 'negotiation' which apportion equal blame for unruly conduct among men and women, and recommend compromise rather than subjection as the preferred solution.

The contributors to this volume are acutely aware of the enlarged historical context lying behind these plays. They are also attuned to new currents in bibliography and textual theory, springing from a general reaction against the dominance of New Bibliography in the format of the modern edition. Leah Marcus for instance shows how many of the textual characteristics that can appear to reinforce the Shakespearean play's assumed patriarchalism are not features of the early printed texts, but subsequent editorial accretions. The placing of the Sly-scenes, the arrangement of *Dramatis Personae*, the treatment of theatrical 'asides', the impact of accrued stage directions that have no primary authority, all contribute to the play's effect on its readers. An 'unedited' text that removes much of this accretion offers the reader a strikingly different play. Pursuing a similar textual inquiry Margaret Maurer and Barry Gaines focus on Bianca, and offer a radical revision of her role by

reference to *The Tamer Tamed*, and by restoring the unedited F1 text in which we find quite a different Bianca.

Holly Crocker traces the history of the term 'shrew' (initially a masculine descriptor) from mediaeval sources, and shows that it remained a term of 'gendered bivalence'. Both men and women can behave as shrews, and as such neither could be capable of ruling either themselves or the household economy: 'wife and husband might be guilty of shrewish behaviour in a disordered domicile'. The Petruchios of both Shakespeare and Fletcher manifest themselves behaviourally as male shrews through 'feminized displays of frenzied misrule', and thereby 'forfeit their presumption to wield masculine authority'. Richard Madelaine also interrogates the gender connotations of the shrew in an essay that draws parallels between shrew-taming and the training of theatrical apprentices. If shrew and shrew-tamer are in one sense respectively trainee and veteran actor, then the gender issues become complicated, since both were male, and the trainee would aspire to become the trainer. In this dimension of the action, which could become overt in theatrical performance, the acquisition of skill and accomplishment through discipline and correction is the shrew's route to professional success and the claim to mature male and female roles.

*The Taming of the Shrew* and the other shrew-plays reveal a remarkable richness of iterability and a protean capacity for appropriation. Helmer Helmers examines Dutch adaptations of the shrew-taming drama from the mid-seventeenth century, showing that Shakespeare was not only introduced to Holland but mediated to Europe via Dutch translations and adaptations. The best-known example is an adaptation of *The Taming of the Shrew,* Abraham Sybant's *The Mad Wedding* (1654). Helmers goes on however to introduce two unfamiliar Dutch farces, both of which are adaptations of the Christopher Sly dramatic framework. Detailed comparisons prove that these plays derived from the English shrew-drama and not from any independent or common source. Since they both use the whole Sly story, and incorporate verbal imitations of lines unique to *The Taming of A Shrew,* the prima facie assumption would be that the 1593 play was the immediate source. But the farces also contain echoes of the First Folio version, indicating that both texts had somehow combined, either in print or in performance, or indeed that their combination occurred at an earlier date. In the second example, which was popular between 1657 and 1664, the tale of the drunken tinker has mutated into a ribald piece of Dutch anti-Cromwellian propaganda. These examples of translation and adaptation further complicate the history of the shrew, not

least in their conflation of *The Shrew* with *A Shrew,* and as Helmers observes, show some interesting interactions between the questionable categories of 'foreign' and 'native' Shakespeare. Charles Conaway focuses on John Lacy's *Sauney the Scot*, seen in its immediate historical context as a coded rebuke to the uxorious weaknesses of King Charles II. Conaway reads the adaptation diachronically in relation to its predecessors, but also illuminates the immediate cultural context of its production in the risky world of anti-monarchical satire and lampoon. Whereas in general the theatre celebrated the Stuart Restoration, *Sauney the Scot* 'uses Shakespeare to pit the theatre's supposed moral authority against the licence and authority of the king'. In this respect it aligns less with the tradition of shrew-taming plays, and more 'in dialogue with the satires of Charles II'. 'Nagging' and 'troubling' the monarch, the play and the dramatist here adopt the role and function of the shrew.

The volume closes with three essays that review the shrew-plays in the context of contemporary Jacobean ideas on the body, religion and ethics. Graham Holderness focuses in on what may be the substantive difference between *The Shrew and A Shrew,* which is that Katherine/Kate's final speech of submission is predominantly political in the Shakespearean text, but visionary and theological in the anonymous play. Though A Shrew's incorporation of lines from Du Bartas' *Creation of the World* has been noted, little significance has been attached to it. Holderness uses it as the basis for arguing that *A Shrew* constructs a Manichean universe in which chaos and creation, darkness and light, violence and amity are equally matched and in perpetual creative conflict. Thus the normal gender differences that structure *The Shrew* here recede, as both man and woman enact fantasies of sexual violence, chaotic untimeliness and diabolic perversion. Jan Purnis applies recent insights into the early modern understanding of the internal workings of the body to the language and imagery of the stomach in *The Taming of the Shrew.* Metaphors that confer significance on such processes as digestion and starvation are explained by reference to Galenic physiology, but then also linked to other discursive domains to do with military conquest, surrender, and starvation of besieged towns. In this analysis the materiality of the body and the physical processes of nutrition form a crucial link between the shrew-taming drama and significant historical and ideological events of the time. Finally David Wootton reviews early modern notions of equality in order to question the 'feminist' character attributed to John Fletcher's *The Tamer Tamed* in recent productions and editions of that play. Wootton argues that

the common word 'equality' is widely misunderstood, since its range of meanings has diminished since early modern times, when it could mean anything from equality to inequality. Suggesting a new source for the sub-title of *The Tamer Tamed* ('*The Woman's Prize*') in Paschalius' *False Complaints* (1601), which illuminates the lack of opportunity for women to win 'prizes', Wootton appeals to early modern science and philosophy to challenge some of the easy assumptions that these plays embodied immediately accessible modern understandings of gender and sexual politics.

Regarded as a complex totality rather than as embodied in the single canonical master-text of Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, shrew-literature requires a different historical context and different critical methods for its elucidation. It is not sufficient to attempt to locate, within a single play-text, fixed and consistent views on matters of gender and sexuality, when the reader is confronted by a much more diverse body of cultural production, often inter-related in conversational or dialogue form as are *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Tamer Tamed*. At the end of James Worsdale's *A Cure for a Scold,* the actress playing Katherine is given an epilogue in which she distances herself, as actress and woman, from what she has just said in character as Katherine.

> Well! I must own, it wounds me to the heart
> To play – unwomanly – so mean a part.

But as the following pages abundantly demonstrate, what is formally decoded here might have been implicitly encoded in the earlier Shrew-texts.

This volume of essays offers a range of new perspectives on Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew,* and the other shrew-plays and writings with which it is inseparably interlinked. It aims to recuperate Shakespeare's play and its associates for new kinds of historically and politically-informed readings. Finally, to use Paul Yachnin's still-useful terminology, this volume aims to reunite 'the contending twins … power and knowing, siblings which were born together in the plays of the theatre, but which are kept separate in theory-driven interpretations'. We hope in this book to have given new life to *The Taming of the Shrew*, relocated it in a different historical and cultural context, highlighted the potential interest of the other shrew-dramas and contributed a little to a necessary restoration of 'the twofold position of power and knowing'.

## Notes

1. Paul Yachnin, 'Personations: *The Taming of the Shrew* and the Limits of Theoretical Criticism', *Early Modern Literary Studies* (1996): 2.1.
2. Linda E. Boose, 'Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42.2 (1991): 179–213.
3. Keith Wrightson, *English Society 1580–1680* (London: Routledge, 1993).
4. Anthony Fletcher, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).
5. Wendy Wall, *Staging Domesticity; household work and English identity in early modern drama (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).
6. Natasha Korda, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies: gender and property in early modern England (*Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).
7. Frances Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: representations of domestic crime in England 1550–1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).
8. Garthine Walker, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England (*Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
9. Pamela Brown, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: women, drama and the culture of jest in early modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).
10. Laura Gowing, *Common Bodies: women, touch and power in 17th century England (*New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).
11. Brown, op. cit.
12. Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: women, family and neighbourhood in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

## Works cited

Boose, Linda E., 'Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42.2 (1991): 179–213.

Brown, Pamela, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: women, drama and the culture of jest in early modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002).

Capp, Bernard, *When Gossips Meet: women, family and neighbourhood in early modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

Dolan, Frances, *Dangerous Familiars: representations of domestic crime in England 1550–1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).

Fletcher, Anthony, *Gender, Sex and Subordination in England 1500–1800* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1995).

Gowing, Laura, *Common Bodies: women, touch and power in 17th century England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003).

Korda, Natasha, *Shakespeare's Domestic Economies: gender and property in early modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

Walker, Garthine, *Crime, Gender and Social Order in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Wall, Wendy, *Staging Domesticity; household work and English identity in early modern drama* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Wrightson, Keith, *English Society 1580–1680* (London: Routledge, 1993).

Yachnin, Paul 'Personations: The Taming of the Shrew and the Limits of Theoretical Criticism', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 2.1. (1996): n.p.

# 1
# Shrews in Pamphlets and Plays

*Anna Bayman and George Southcombe*

It is a commonplace that to read *The Taming of the Shrew* followed by *Much Ado about Nothing* is to witness the same author examining gender relationships in wholly different ways. According to one line of argument the shift in the author's perspective is to be explained by the 'bad' Shakespeare getting better.[1] However, instead of trying to account for the different approaches to gender taken by Shakespeare in his various plays by positing some kind of change in his psychological profile, it is clear that if his work is examined within its proper historical context, and most particularly the context provided by other popular media produced at the time, then the heterogeneity of his attitudes towards gender becomes something which, far from requiring complex explanation, is in fact totally unsurprising. Increasingly, historians have come to recognise that a simplistic patriarchal model lacks the nuance required to explain the competing and overlapping discourses concerning gender roles prevalent in early modern England,[2] while those who have predominantly studied the literature of the period have long found tensions within certain works that threaten any overriding patriarchy. The purpose of the present article is first to read Shakespeare's play in conjunction with a body of literature which has not been adequately exploited in this context: the prose pamphlets. This provides a way of considering the possible response of at least one section of Shakespeare's audience, for whom pamphlets and plays were both forms of entertainment. The pamphlets suggest that while Katherine's final speech in *The Taming of the Shrew* encodes a powerful message of patriarchal dominance, there is no reason to assume that all of his audience would have wholly accepted this. Furthermore, this suggests a reason both for the varieties of Shakespeare's own considerations of gender and John Fletcher's motivation in writing his response to Shakespeare's play in *The Tamer Tamed*.

Shakespeare and Fletcher were writing in part as a response to popular demand, and that demand was for material that challenged the dominance of any one model of gender relations. Secondly, we examine the ways in which the plays themselves participated in the development of different constructions of gender, and how these changed depending on the political context in which they were (re)performed, (re)published or (re)read. The dynamic interaction between the diverse forms of popular media and historical circumstances is shown to have both reflected and fashioned variant positions in the gender debate.

The context for understanding the pamphlet literature may in part be gleaned from the findings of social historians. While David Underdown posited that the period under consideration witnessed a crisis of gender relations – encapsulated in the increased application of the humiliating and painful punishments of the scold's bridle and the cucking stool – Martin Ingram, in his study of the punishment of scolding as a crime, has done much to revise this picture. It seems clear that those tried for 'scolding' were in general not simply loquacious or assertive women. Indeed, there clearly existed a degree of tolerance for loquacity and assertiveness which led to men in some cases speaking on behalf of the accused scold. Scolding in most cases, Ingram suggests, was akin to what we would call harassment, and its prosecution cannot therefore be characterised as a generalised attack on female verbal power. There also seems to be evidence in many places of a marked reticence to carry out the physical punishment of cucking. This was partly because the maintenance of a cucking stool was an expensive business, but partly because there was a humane wish not to place a neighbour in a situation of physical peril.[3] This is not to suggest that patriarchy was not pervasive and powerful. The 'toleration' of female verbal power was, as Ingram points out, deeply patronising. That the cucking stool may have been seen as something of a last resort does not negate the fact that it was used on occasion, or that it was considered important for communities to maintain one as a symbol of what could happen to a woman who transgressed what were male-drawn boundaries. In a different context Clive Holmes has pointed to the ways in which female agency was limited, controlled and used towards a patriarchal agenda in the witch trials.[4] Nonetheless in Ingram's evidence we can see that patriarchy operated in ways more subtle than the simple repression of *all* forms of female agency and vocality. A conceptual space was opened up in which it was possible for men to admit of the positive aspects of female verbal power. It was the limits of this conceptual space that were tested in the plays and pamphlets.

It has long been recognised that even within *The Taming of the Shrew* there are a number of different representations of female agency which, although ultimately closed down by the outcome of the main plot, create a series of tensions within the play. We witness, for example, the emergence of shrewish qualities within Katherine's sister, the supposedly more compliant Bianca. When she says, 'I am no breeching scholar in the schools: / I'll not be tied to hours nor 'pointed times / But learn my lessons as I please myself' (III.i.18–20) she articulates precisely a defence of the freedom of action which will be denied to Katherine when Petruchio enforces her submission to his 'control' over time.[5] At the end of the play the men test their women's subservience by demanding their presence – only Katherine comes forward, while Bianca and the widow resist. This final gamble, were it not for the powerful performance of Katherine's subservience (and that is a big *were*), would seem to indicate the triumph of shrews. So although the play eventually vindicates domination, it contains within it the possibility that a different narrative could be constructed.[6] However, considering the pamphlets should make it clear that although the play might ultimately close down these alternative narratives it is less than certain that a contemporary audience would have accepted this closing down. The tensions raised in the play thus take on a new significance because rather than simply being echoes of possible stories that remained largely untold, they may in fact have been the genesis of a series of different readings of the plays by an audience well-versed in the pamphlets regarding gender.

Pamphlets treated shrews and shrewishness in a great variety of ways. (Those pamphlets which are based in, and aimed at an audience from, London tended to discuss shrewishness rather than simply shrews, treating it as an attribute, often adopted according to circumstance, as much as a character-type.) Certainly, they contain those who might be thought of as conventional shrews, women with 'curst tongues' and 'proud hearts' who make those around them, especially their husbands, miserable. Equally conventionally we find the shrew's counterpart in pamphlet exhortations to women to behave modestly and dutifully, which echo a wealth of conduct literature, sermons and ballads – such as Samuel Rowlands's *The bride* (1617). Conversely, as Pamela Allen Brown has shown in her excellent book, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep*, shrews were often celebrated in the popular literature.[7] Rowlands's praise of modest wives did not inhibit his portrait of their opposites; his 1602 pamphlet, *Tis merry when gossips meet*, sees a widow, wife, and maid get drunk in a tavern and debate how to manage their men. They are clearly capable of behaving like shrews; indeed, this is one of the strategies

they use in their domestic skirmishes in the war of the sexes. But the reader is not invited to condemn these women so much as to laugh with them, and at them – which their tavern boy does at regular intervals. It is genuinely a 'merry' pamphlet, albeit one that exploits misogynistic conventions for its merriment. Rowlands wrote a new version of the pamphlet, called *A whole crew of kind gossips*, which was published in 1609. Here he included the husbands' replies to the gossips' complaints. One claims he is going to tame his wife according to the strategy of 'a worke cald taming of the Shrow', indicating the overlap of audience and subject matter between plays and pamphlets.[8] Although the husbands cast doubts on the verity of their wives' shrewish complaints, the gossips' voices are far from occluded. The important point is not simply that different views of shrews were available, but that they were available simultaneously. Rowlands's capacity for multiple perspectives would have come as no surprise to early modern readers, who were familiar with authors from Chaucer and John Lyly to the balladeer Martin Parker offering them views from both sides of the war of the sexes.[9] Indeed, Rowlands was not the first pamphlet writer to use this technique. In around 1542 Edward Gosynhyll had written a defensive response to an earlier attack that was probably also his work. Two pamphlets were published with the title *The praise and dispraise of women*, in 1569 and 1579. John Taylor, never one to miss a bandwagon, wrote two attacks on women *and* a defence.[10]

Different perspectives on the discourse about women were therefore readily available, and individual writers were prepared to exploit several of these perspectives. That this might induce more sophisticated or complicated readings of the debate about women is clearly suggested by a pamphlet of 1589, *Jane Anger her protection for women*, itself a response to a misogynistic pamphlet that has not survived. Anger's text is knowingly polyvocal. Her pseudonym alerts the reader to a central problem: is female vocality problematic or admirable? The two epistles to her readers express starkly different sentiments; one is diffident, belittling the text as 'that which my chollericke vaine hath rashly set downe';[11] the other locates the problem in excessive *male* vocality, which is a preoccupation throughout the text. There is frequent mention of the slipperiness of men's tongues, and in particular their excessive need to publish: 'The desire that every man hath to shewe his true vaine in writing is unspeakable'.[12] Anger's own intervention in the printed debate is often scholarly and earnestly effective, but there are also passages of nonsense, and she does not allow the reader to forget that female vocality is disorderly; indeed its efficacy lies in part in that disorderliness.[13]

This ambivalence about excessive loquacity, both female and male, was developed between 1615 and 1617 in the most notorious of the Jacobean pamphlets about women, the attack by Joseph Swetnam, and the defences of Rachel Speght, Ester Sowernam and Constantia Munda. Following Jane Anger, these new protectors of women took shrewishness back from the detractors to make it a sharp, if double edged, weapon in the arsenal for the defence, making it very comparable with the railing (misogynistic or not) of male pamphleteers. In the hands of Munda especially, scolding merges with wit to produce genuinely powerful assertions of female superiority. The same combination of wit and transgression emerged again in a notorious pamphlet exchange of 1620 that dealt with cross-dressing: the character Hic Mulier, a transvestite 'man-woman', is certainly transgressive but alarmingly articulate, in particular by comparison with her counterpart, the male cross-dresser, as they quarrel about sexual and gender propriety.[14]

So that most distinctive of the shrewish traits, the 'curst tongue', was something that early modern readers could understand as both damaging and beneficial, reprehensible and amusing, feminine and masculine, wasteful and profitable, and which they were invited to admire as well as condemn. The unresolved interweaving of misogyny with the defence of women, the mockery of earnest attacks on both men and women, and the subsequent reduction of the Swetnam character to a comic railer (as for example in the play *Swetnam the Woman-Hater*) only make sense if some readers were capable of this kind of multi-layered response. Reactions to the public punishment in 1612 of Moll Frith – the cross-dressing Roaring Girl of Thomas Dekker and Thomas Middleton's play – illustrate the range of possibilities. Although the Consistory Court of London condemned her in conventional, moralising language for lewd behaviour, John Chamberlain seems to have found the episode amusing enough, and observed that the preacher 'did extreem badly, and so wearied the audience that the best part went away, and the rest taried rather to hear Mall Cutpurse then him'. Moll, it should be noted, had managed 'to have tipled of three quarts of sacke before she came to her penaunce'.[15] Moll's punishment fed what seems to have been a particular wave of interest around 1609–1612 in transgressive, but often sympathetic, female characters.

That this commercial moment occurred in the Jacobean period might seem ostensibly unexpected. With the new king had come a strengthened interest in a particularly politicised version of patriarchal gender discourse. James's analogy between state and marriage – a peculiarly precise, and heavily divine-right-oriented, articulation of a commonplace – made its

way into the pamphlet literature, just as another of the commonplaces of his divine-right theory – that kings were gods on earth – also found frequent, fawning expression in middle range print. These ideas were not novel, but they were carefully delineated by the man at the apex of the political system. However, despite James's prominence on one side of the debate there were in fact a number of reasons why it was safer for pamphleteers to engage with the languages and subject matter of political debate in the early years of the new king's reign: the end of the war with Spain, and the resolution of the succession crisis, both promoted greater liberty in the press than had been experienced in Elizabeth's last decade. Despite his fierce protection of the *arcana imperii*, it also seems that James was far more prepared to tolerate some overt political discussion in drama and the press than Elizabeth had been.

James's interest in the politically-inflected gender order was not limited to pronouncements in parliament on the nature of his kingship; his interest in the careful ordering of gender relations, and his misogyny, were clearly exposed to his new subjects in the English publication in 1603 of his *Daemonologie*. He later instigated a preaching campaign against women wearing inappropriate clothes, which in turn triggered the Hic Mulier pamphlet exchange about cross-dressing. These pamphlets make it very clear that the political implications of the arguments about apparel and gender roles were not lost in the transition to cheap print.[16]

Jane Anger's pamphlet suggests that it was not just Jacobean audiences who might have understood that there were a variety of ways to think about shrews, but at the turn of the century the circumstances in which a person might talk or think about shrewishness thus embarked on a rapid process of change. This process was not simply driven by high politics. From the 1590s, and as the interests of the pamphleteers turned more closely to London, some pamphlets began to develop a sense that the conventional virtues might not hold all the answers to the city's ills, which were particularly profound in the final decade of the sixteenth century. A subversive undercurrent emerged to the dominant moralising literature that pleaded for a return to conventional virtues as the solution to the sin-induced misery of Elizabeth's last years, and this undercurrent turned conventional morality on its head: the vices of the city were made its virtues, and deceitfulness, misrepresentation, and verbal dexterity such as shrewishness were recognised as effective strategies for negotiating the threatening streets, at once alien and familiar, of the metropolis.[17]

Shrewishness was treated especially sympathetically in the pamphlets when it was represented as a strategy to cope with husbandly cruelty, often with the connivance of other women.[18] It was also shown to have economic or commercial applications, ranging from persuading husbands to part with their money to exploiting naïve country-men and gallants, the usual prey of the crafty Londoners whose chief purpose was apparently to fleece the farmers and to consume the inheritance of the gentry sons who flocked to the city.[19] Shrewish female versions of these roguish citizens include Middleton and Dekker's 'light-heelde Wag-tailes', active during the 1603 plague, whose tongues were 'worse than plague-sores'; but the scolding and shrewishness that was part of the female rogue's armoury might also be used to combat tricksters, as with the group of women who set about a deceitful collier in one of Robert Greene's rogue pamphlets of 1591.[20] Shrewishness is often something to be used at will; the female rogues, like Rowlands's gossips, know when to appear modest as well as when to play the shrew. Some of the pamphlets – for example, *The batchelars banquet* (1603), which like a number of the texts of the woman debate was adapted from a French work – engage in the kind of closing down operation that is seen in *The Taming of the Shrew*. But others are left deliberately and provocatively open. They are peculiarly enabled to do this by the unstable quality of cheap print, something which the pamphlet writers and publishers endlessly exploited. Like shrews, pamphlets themselves were commonly represented as a profoundly disorderly form of vocality, and as has been shown Jane Anger and some of the responses to Swetnam took full advantage of the opportunities this presented – both in terms of pamphlets providing a semi-legitimate forum for otherwise transgressive speech, and by exploiting the conventional condemnations of scurrilous print to denigrate the detractors of women. Gabriel Harvey blamed the market and the 'mad worlde, where such shameful stuffe is bought, and sould'.[21] The pamphlets which Harvey so regretted rated resourcefulness and cunning, as well as entertainment value, over the more conventional virtues, and it was more and more common from the 1590s onwards to represent certain transgressions as useful or even necessary.

In the first decade of James's reign, then, there may well have been a greater market for a deeply patriarchal reading of gender relations, but the provocative readings that made virtues out of London's vices might well have appealed more to readers. The qualities of the trickster, the rogue, the sharp-tongued woman, all savvy exploiters of the commerce in fantastical fashions and the anonymity afforded by the swelling

metropolis, were key attributes that enabled them to operate successfully in – and contribute substantially to – the blossoming peacetime economy. The shrew plays' use of the language of market and commodity is both misogynistic and evocative of a literature in which female sharpness and vocality is far less problematic. The audiences for the shrew plays were capable of seeing Katherine's behaviour as resourceful: many of the pamphlets invite us to admire behaviour that they also criticise in a more conventional moralising discourse as reprehensible.

Many of the pamphlet readers and therefore, many of the playgoers, were capable of enjoying the gender debate on a number of levels, and the writers, taking advantage of the particular opportunities offered by the pamphlet genre to engage simultaneously with a range of competing discourses, pander to all of these – they are at once voyeuristic, titillating, posturing, street-smart and self-effacing. Shrewishness could certainly be understood in its conventional misogynistic form, and the pamphlet writers exploited it as a shorthand for many female transgressions. But it could also be seen to deliver individual and collective benefits, in the London context especially, enabling women to exploit the city's streets and markets as well as to negotiate the complexities of a deeply patriarchal society.

In the pamphlet literature the reader experiences the testing of patriarchy, and the development of a series of inflections within that discourse, which both predate the first of the plays under consideration (regardless of when *The Taming of the Shrew* is dated) and continue after the first performance of *The Tamer Tamed*. The pamphlets thus provide key cultural context for the Shrew plays which were performed at times when these competing accounts of female transgression were very much in the minds of the London public. This public was volatile, fixating upon a certain subject for a period before losing interest and then regaining it later. The grouping of the pamphlets concerned with gender suggests that there were four key phases during which shrews were 'fashionable': 1602–4, 1607–12, 1615–17 and 1620–21. To concentrate on the first two of these, the overlap between the stage and the pamphlets is clear. In 1602 audiences had their appetites whetted by Heywood's *A Woman Killed with Kindness*, and Dekker's *Medicine for a Curst Wife*, and it might be speculated that the death of the shrewish Elizabeth was to give the genre a particular political edge. Shakespeare's play was perhaps revived, or even written, as part of this group of Shrew plays, and in this context Katherine's final speech seems to resonate strongly with James's views on marriage.[22] Between 1607 and around 1612, another period of creativity on the stage is witnessed,

fed by the republishing of *A Shrew*, Jonson's speculations about *The Silent Woman*, and Mary Frith's antics drawing yet more attention to misbehaving women. The likely date for the first performance of the *Roaring Girl* is around 1611, and it was printed in the same year. As Linda Woodbridge has noted, around the same time, Nathan Field wrote plays that followed the form of the formal controversy about women, being in matched attack-defence pairs, and Middleton continued the trend.[23] Fletcher's sequel to Shakespeare's play, which was also probably a product of these years, thus had obvious popular potential within this commercial climate – and, depending on when Shakespeare's play was written, perhaps returned the compliment – with interest – of what might be a reference in *The Shrew* to his *Women Pleas'd*.[24]

*The Tamer Tamed* was a commercially viable play in part, at least, because it fitted into a pre-existing set of ways of considering gender, expressed in other popular media, and because it sought to exploit the increasingly fashionable technique of the response play. Some have expressed surprise that having had his play replied to in this way Shakespeare went on to collaborate with Fletcher, but it is clear that what Fletcher was doing would not have seemed alien or offensive to a Jacobean playwright. It is also clear that in creating *The Tamer Tamed* Fletcher was able to produce an imagined history of the marriage of Petruchio and Katherine, which rejected the success of the taming by the end of Shakespeare's play as a sham. As Fletcher's character Moroso says, '… his other wife, / Out of her most abundant stubborness, / Out of her daily hue and cries upon him – / For, sure, she was a rebel – turned his temper' (I.i.17–20), and Tranio further supplies the details that 'For yet the bare remembrance of his first wife – / I tell ye on my knowledge, and a truth too – / Will make him start in's sleep, and very often / Cry out for cudgels, cowl-staves, anything, / Hiding his breeches, out of fear her ghost / Should walk and wear 'em yet.' (I.i.31–6). An early commentator took this as evidence that Fletcher may not have originally intended *The Tamer Tamed* as a response to Shakespeare's play, and that he did not study Shakespeare's play that effectively before he wrote. How could a woman apparently so obviously and successfully tamed have continued in her shrewishness after marriage?[25] There is no mystery. Fletcher's starting point was a rejection of Shakespeare's ending, but it was a rejection which may have been shared by some of Shakespeare's original audience. Certainly those who read the pamphlet literature in which shrewish behaviour was represented in myriad ways would have had little trouble in thinking beyond Katherine's speech and imagining an alternative.

Furthermore, the various approaches to gender articulated in plays and pamphlets continued to be explored, refined and challenged in the period after Fletcher's play. The pamphlet debate continued vigorously and the plays too had an afterlife. Shakespeare's play was first published in the folio of 1623 and in a quarto of 1631. *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Tamer Tamed* were then revived in 1633, and performed at court on 26 and 28 November respectively. This revival was another moment in which both plays' representation of the gender question was subtly altered and redefined. First, in October 1633 Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, having banned a performance, took his censor's pen to *The Tamer Tamed* excising 'oaths, prophaness, and ribaldrye', and pointing out that old plays as well as new should be shown to him because 'in former time the poets tooke greater liberty than is allowed them by mee'.[26] Secondly, at court at least, by performing the plays successively the company weakened the ending of Shakespeare's play, showing it to be one stage in a longer story that is not finished with Katherine's submission. Thirdly, the prologue and epilogue, which it has been argued were written for performance in 1633, interpret the play in a rather more cautious way than might be expected.[27] The extreme inversion of *The Tamer Tamed* is tempered, 'Nor can the women from this precedent / Insult or triumph, it being aptly meant / To teach both sexes due equality / And, as they stand bound, to love mutually' (V.iv.95–8). In these changes we perhaps see an attempt to blunt the extremity of both plays, creating moderation where there is little.[28]

It is also the case that these plays were being produced in a new political context and that the terms of the gender debate were altered as a result. James had used a powerfully patriarchal language to discuss both politics and those questions of the gender order with which he intermittently became engaged. Charles followed him to an extent, but what is most striking about the analogies drawn by Charles and the Caroline court writers between marriage and government is the employment of a language of harmony and chaste fertile union, epitomised in Thomas Carew's 1634 masque *Coelum Brittanicum* and its praise of Charles and Henrietta Maria's 'exemplar life'.[29] In this context, the need to temper the more brutal aspects of each of the plays becomes apparent, and one explanation is provided for the remarkable emphasis on equality within marriage that we find in the epilogue of *The Tamer Tamed*. As James's patriarchal outlook resonated with the final speech of Shakespeare's *Shrew*, so the Caroline court's interest in the conduct of mutual and loving marriages seems echoed in the final speech of

Fletcher's play. This provides some clue as to what Charles's decorous, orderly court may have found to enjoy in the disorder and ribaldry of Fletcher's play. It also gives us an alternative – although importantly not an exclusive one – to the usual 'puritan conduct literature' context for the epilogue's emphasis on mutuality and to David Wootton's reading of the speech below.[30] We accept that Wootton's reading of the epilogue is one which an audience both well-versed in the literature he discusses and sceptical about the cultural emphases of the Caroline court may have produced. But, as we make clear, it would be surprising if any interpretation of the epilogue was privileged by audience members over their experience of the play as a whole, which is, as we have shown, in tension with the epilogue. Whether even Charles's courtiers thought that the festive had truly been contained, as it routinely was in the Caroline court masques, remains deeply questionable.

Indeed, these changes alone cannot have closed down the possibilities opened up within the plays, and it is more plausible to see them as adding yet another layer of interpretation, yet another inflection to the range of ways of thinking about gender. It is also possible that we can trace one final inflection within the patriarchal discourse if what is known about the texts of Fletcher's plays is examined. In Fletcher's play there is a song, which formed the dramatic centrepiece of the RSC's 2003 revival of the play. This song only appears in the text of the play in the 1679 Folio, which advertises on the front cover that the songs have been added to the plays – it is missing from both the Folger manuscript and the 1647 folio. It is a remarkable rambunctious song which vindicates the commonwealth of women. Most significantly for this argument it contains the line: 'Let this health be a seal / For the good of the commonweal' (II.v.48–9). In the latest edition of *The Tamer Tamed* the note to this line reads: 'commonwealth; republic (suggesting that male sovereignty has been replaced with a more egalitarian form of the government).'[31] This is, we propose, ultimately right, but a level of explanation is required which is lacking from the note. First, there is no reason why 'commonweal' necessarily has to refer to a more egalitarian or republican form of government – it is used frequently throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth century simply to refer to the English polity, although it could take on a polemical edge in some debates and be used to emphasise mutual and universal interests above the crown and its sycophants. However, here it may have been taken to be referring to a more specific commonwealth. The Rump parliament passed an act declaring England a commonwealth in 1649 and cast itself a seal. It seems plausible at least that this is what a Restoration audience

would have assumed was being referred to here. It is even possible that these lines were only composed in the mid-century, and that Fletcher's Restoration editor took an extant song used to attack the Rump regime as an effeminate regime and put it into his play. This may be further evidence of the ways in which the meanings of plays were developed through their relationship with other popular media – the civil war had seen a particular flourishing in the use of gendered insults as partisan political languages.[32] Certainly there is evidence of one Restoration writer examining the play through the lens provided by the turmoil of the interregnum. Daileader and Taylor have pointed usefully to the work of the actor, poet and playwright Thomas Jordan. Jordan published a new prologue and epilogue to the *Tamer Tamed*, ostensibly at least, for a performance on 24 June 1660. In the prologue he wrote:

> The *Tamer Tam'd*, what do the Players mean?
> Shall we have *Rump* and *Rebel* in the Scene?
> *Juncto's* of *Safety* with the righteous rabble
> Of *Apron-Peers*, Knights of *Sir Arthur's* Table?[33]

Daileader and Taylor comment on a quotation from this passage: 'The scatalogical challenge to patriarchal authority was inevitably correlated with other forms of rebellion (the "Rump" Parliament and the "Great Rebellion" of the 1640s).'[34] These lines in fact refer directly to the tumultuous events of 1659 when the Rump was restored and not simply to the Rump of the 1640s (actually 1648–1653), but their basic point is sound. The challenge to patriarchy is related to a challenge to the monarchy. Jordan reaffirms this point, again with reference to the interregnum, in his rewriting of the epilogue: 'the crime / Of bold Rebellion is older then Time. / The breach of trust is old, the breach of Laws, / Murther of Kings, witness *the good Old Cause*.'[35] In the Restoration Fletcher's play was thus integrated into a political world fundamentally altered by the civil war, regicide and republic, and the song is perhaps best understood as part of this process of integration. Through the interpolation of the song Fletcher's play, some seventy or so years after it was written, was given yet another set of inferences. The attack on patriarchy was here being politicised. To usurp the gender order was to be republican, a point that would have resonated powerfully with readers of the 'parliament of women' pamphlets.[36] What this meant to English men and women living through the exclusion crisis is another matter.[37]

***

An understanding that the death of the author is the birth of the reader can too easily lead to an impasse.[38] For the historicist it takes one question – what does this text mean? – and replaces it with another which is no easier to answer – what did this text mean to those who read it? This article has suggested one way out of this dilemma. It is possible to delineate an 'interpretative community'[39] for whom pamphlets and plays were both forms of entertainment. For this group the interpretation of one form of media overlapped with, and affected, the interpretation of another. Thus the demand for a variety of different approaches to the gender debate which was both met and, to an extent, fashioned by the pamphlet literature shaped material produced for the stage and vice versa. Examining the culture of sixteenth- and seventeenth century England in this way serves to de-authorise Shakespeare. So, while a profoundly patriarchal reading of *The Taming of the Shrew* is accepted, it is left unclear that his audience would have reacted positively to this. Such an approach diminishes the power of Shakespeare to shape his audience's minds, but it at least allows that the members of that audience might have been considerably more thoughtful, less dogmatic and more articulate than is sometimes assumed. In addition this approach also shows the remarkable ways in which attitudes to gender in the texts discussed were constantly challenged, appropriated and redefined according to their interaction with each other and the historical context. The idea that a text's meaning alters over time in relation to other texts and contexts is hardly new but it does have some significant implications which have not be fully brought out. As a result of this idea arguments about the precise initial dating for the plays lose some importance. By the time a printed text of Shakespeare's play finally appeared in 1623 all four phases of Jacobean media interest in shrews had passed. Thus, even if his play was not originally Jacobean, for its first readers it was ineluctably so, its meaning refracted through the lens provided by over twenty years of sporadic, varied, entertaining and polemical writing concerning shrews.

## Notes

The authors would like to thank the participants in the Literary Culture in Early Modern Britain seminar for their comments. George Southcombe thanks the British Academy for its support.

1. Peter Berek, 'Text, Gender and Genre in *The Taming of the Shrew*', in Maurice Charney (ed.), *'Bad' Shakespeare: Revaluations of the Shakespeare Canon* (London, 1988), 91–104; Shirley Nelson Garner, '*The Taming of the Shrew*:

Inside or Outside of the Joke?', in Charney (ed.), *'Bad' Shakespeare*, 105–19. This line of argument also overlooks the debate about the dating of *The Taming of the Shrew* and thus the possibility, explored by Leah Marcus below pp. 95–8, that *The Shrew* follows *Much Ado*.

2. See for example: Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003); Faramerz Dabhoiwala, 'The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 6 (1996), 201–13; Bernard Capp, 'Separate Domains? Women and Authority in Early Modern Europe', in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds.), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996), 117–45; Bernard Capp, *When Gossips Meet: Women, Family and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003); Martin Ingram, '"Scolding Women Cucked or Washed": A Crisis in Gender Relations in Early Modern England', in Jennifer Kermode and Garthine Walker (eds.), *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (London, 1994), 48–80.
3. Martin Ingram, 'Scolding Women Cucked or Washed'.
4. Clive Holmes, 'Women: Witnesses and Witches', *Past and Present*, 140 (1993): 45–78.
5. We have used William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. Ann Thompson (2nd edn., Cambridge, 2003).
6. On Bianca, and the ways in which – particularly in the original text – her mode of action demonstrates the effectiveness of a different conception of gender relations from her sister's (both before and after the taming), see the article by Margaret Maurer and Barry Gaines, below Chapter 6.
7. Pamela Allen Brown, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama, and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London, 2003).
8. For discussion of the relationship between play and pamphlet audiences, see Julia Briggs, *This Stage-Play World: Texts and Contexts, 1580–1625* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1997), 15–17; Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1996), esp. ch. 4.
9. Martin Parker's ballad satire against women, *Keep a good tongue in your head* [London, 1634], was followed by one against brutal husbands, *Hold your hands, honest men* [London, 1634].
10. [Edward Gosynhyll?], *The schole house of women* [London, 1541]: H.A. Kahin, 'Jane Anger and John Lyly', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 8 (1947), 31, suggests that Gosynhyll may have written this; Edward Gosynhyll, *The prayse of all women* [London, 1542]; C. Pyrrye, *The praise and dispraise of women* (London, 1569); *The praise and dispraise of women … Written in the French tongue, and brought into our vulgar, by John Allday* (London, 1579); [John Taylor], *A juniper lecture* (London, 1639); [John Taylor], *Divers crabtree lectures* [London, 1639]; [John Taylor?] *The womens sharpe revenge* (London, 1640). Simon Shepherd, amongst others, has put together a case for Taylor's authorship of *The Womens Sharpe Revenge: Five Women's Pamphlets from the Renaissance*, ed. Simon Shepherd (London, 1985), 160–1. John Lyly also wrote on both sides of the question: Kahin, 'Jane Anger and John Lyly', 31.
11. *Jane Anger her protection for women* (London, 1589), sig. A2.
12. *Jane Anger her protection for women*, sig. B.
13. *Jane Anger her protection for women*, sig. C2.

14. Anna Bayman, 'Female Voices in Early Seventeenth-Century Pamphlet Literature', in Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (eds.), *Women as Scribes and the Domestication of Print Culture* (forthcoming 2010) ; Anna Bayman, 'Cross-dressing and Pamphleteering in Early Seventeenth-Century London', in David Lemmings and Claire Walker (eds.), *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 63–77.
15. *Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N.E. McClure (2 vols., Philadelphia, PA, 1939), vol. I, 334.
16. Alastair Bellany, 'Mistress Turner's Deadly Sins: Sartorial Transgression, Court Scandal, and Politics in Early Stuart England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 58 (1996), 179–210; Alastair Bellany, *The Politics of Court Scandal: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660* (Cambridge, 2002); David Lindley, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London and New York, 1993); Bayman, 'Cross-dressing and Pamphleteering'.
17. Anna Bayman, 'Rogues, Conycatching and the Scribbling Crew', *History Workshop Journal*, 63 (2007): 1–17; Craig Dionne and Steve Mentz (eds.), *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture* (Ann Arbor, 2004).
18. Cf. Ralph Houlbrooke, *The English Family, 1450–1700* (London, 1984), 110; Brown, *Better a Shrew*, 118–122.
19. These stories were familiar to readers of the numerous late Elizabethan and Jacobean rogue pamphlets, which included those of Robert Greene, Thomas Dekker and Samuel Rowlands.
20. Robert Greene, *A notable discovery of coosnage* (London, 1591), sigs. E3v–E4v.
21. Gabriel Harvey, *Foure letters and certeine sonnets, especially touching Robert Greene and other parties by him abused* (London, 1592), 23.
22. Eric Sams, 'The Timing of the Shrews', *Notes and Queries*, 32 (1985), 33–45; cf. Marcus below pp. 95–8.
23. Nathan Field, *A Woman is a Weathercocke* and *Amends for Ladies*, in *The Plays of Nathan Field*, ed. William Peery (Austin, 1950), 57–139, 143–235; Thomas Middleton, *Women beware Women* and *More Dissemblers besides Women*, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2007), 1488–541, 1034–73; see LindaWoodbridge, *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540–1620* (Brighton, 1984), 118.
24. Sams, 'Timing', 39–42.
25. Baldwin Maxwell, 'The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed', *Modern Philology*, 32 (1935): 357–9.
26. *The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623–1673*, ed. Joseph Quincy Adams (1917), 20–1.
27. On the prologue see John Fletcher, *The Tamer Tamed or, The Woman's Prize*, ed. Celia R. Daileader and Gary Taylor (Manchester, 2006), 26–7. We have used this edition throughout. Irrespective of whether or not the arguments for dating the prologue and epilogue to 1633 are accepted, the specific meanings which we assign to these speeches would have been accrued from the context in which they were performed.
28. To our minds the reading of the epilogue we offer below is more likely to have been that of the audience members in 1633 than the one offered by David Wootton below, Chapter 11. We accept that his reading of the epilogue is one which a more general audience may have taken away, although as we

make clear we would find it surprising if *any* interpretation of the epilogue was privileged by audience members over their experience of the play as a whole, which (as we also make clear) is in tension with the epilogue.

29. Thomas Carew, *Coelum Brittanicum*, in *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments, 1605–1640*, ed. David Lindley (Oxford, 1995), 167 (l. 52). See especially Graham Parry, *The Golden Age Restored: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603–42* (Manchester, 1981); Kevin Sharpe, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1987).
30. Wootton, below Chapter 11.
31. Fletcher, *The Tamer Tamed*, 98 n. 49.
32. David Underdown, *A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996), ch. 5; James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture, 1630–1685* (Cambridge, 2002), ch. 3.
33. Thomas Jordan, *A nursery of novelties in variety of poetry* (London, 1665), 20.
34. Fletcher, *The Tamer Tamed*, 28.
35. Jordan, *A nursery*, 21.
36. See, for example, *The parlament of women* (London, 1640); Mercurius Melancholicus, *Mistris Parliament her gossipping* (London, 1648); Mercurius Melancholieus, *Mrs Parliament her invitation of Mrs London, to a thankesgiving dinner* (London, 1648).
37. For the ways in which other Shrew plays' politics were affected by different historical contexts see the articles by Helmers and Conaway below, Chapters 7 and 8.
38. Roland Barthes, 'The Death of the Author', in David Lodge (ed.), *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader* (London, 1988), 167–72.
39. The phrase is famously Stanley Fish's: Stanley Fish, *Is there a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretative Communities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

## Works cited

### Primary sources

Carew, Thomas, *Coelum Brittanicum*, in *Court Masques: Jacobean and Caroline Entertainments, 1605–1640*, ed. David Lindley (Oxford, 1995) 166–93.

*The Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert, Master of the Revels, 1623–1673*, ed. Joseph Quincy Adams (1917).

Field, Nathan, *A Woman is a Weathercocke*, in *The Plays of Nathan Field*, ed. William Peery (Austin, 1950) 57–139.

Field, Nathan, *Amends for Ladies*, in *Plays of Nathan Field,* 143–235.

Fletcher, John, *The Tamer Tamed or, The Woman's Prize*, ed. Celia R. Daileader and Gary Taylor (Manchester, 2006).

[Gosynhyll, Edward?], *The schole house of women* [London, 1541].

Gosynhyll, Edward, *The prayse of all women* [London, 1542].

Greene, Robert, *A notable discovery of coosnage* (London, 1591).

Harvey, Gabriel, *Foure letters and certeine sonnets, especially touching Robert Greene and other parties by him abused* (London, 1592).

*Jane Anger her protection for women* (London, 1589).

Jordan, Thomas, *A nursery of novelties in variety of poetry* (London, 1665).
*Letters of John Chamberlain*, ed. N.E. McClure (2 vols., Philadelphia, PA, 1939).
Melancholicus, Mercurius, *Mistris Parliament her gossipping* (London, 1648).
Melancholieus, Mercurius, *Mrs Parliament her invitation of Mrs London, to a thankesgiving dinner* (London, 1648).
Middleton, Thomas, *Women beware Women*, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, eds. Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford, 2007) 1488–1541.
Middleton, Thomas, *More Dissemblers besides Women*, in *Thomas Middleton: The Collected Works*, 1034–73.
Parker, Martin, *Hold your hands, honest men* [London, 1634].
Parker, Martin, *Keep a good tongue in your head* [London, 1634].
*The parlament of women* (London, 1640).
*The praise and dispraise of women … Written in the French tongue, and brought into our vulgar, by John Allday* (London, 1579).
Pyrrye, C., *The praise and dispraise of women* (London, 1569).
Shakespeare, William, *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. Ann Thompson (2nd edn., Cambridge, 2003).
[Taylor, John], *Divers crabtree lectures* [London, 1639].
[Taylor, John], *A juniper lecture* (London, 1639).
[Taylor, John?], *The womens sharpe revenge* (London, 1640).
*The Womens Sharpe Revenge: Five Women's Pamphlets from the Renaissance*, ed. Simon Shepherd (London, 1985).

## Secondary works

Barthes, Roland, 'The Death of the Author', in David Lodge (ed.), *Modern Criticism and Theory: A Reader* (London, 1988) 167–72.
Bayman, Anna, 'Rogues, Conycatching and the Scribbling Crew', *History Workshop Journal*, 63 (2007): 1–17.
Bayman, Anna, 'Female Voices in Early Seventeenth-Century Pamphlet Literature', in Anne Lawrence-Mathers and Phillipa Hardman (eds.), *Women as Scribes and the Domestication of Print Culture* (York Medieval Press, forthcoming 2010).
Bayman, Anna, 'Cross-dressing and Pamphleteering in Early Seventeenth-Century London', in David Lemmings and Claire Walker (eds.), *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 63–77.
Bellany, Alastair, 'Mistress Turner's Deadly Sins: Sartorial Transgression, Court Scandal, and Politics in Early Stuart England', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 58 (1996): 179–210.
Bellany, Alastair, *The Politics of Court Scandal: News Culture and the Overbury Affair, 1603–1660* (Cambridge, 2002).
Berek, Peter, 'Text, Gender and Genre in *The Taming of the Shrew*', in Maurice Charney (ed.), *'Bad' Shakespeare: Revaluations of the Shakespeare Canon* (London, 1988) 91–104.
Briggs, Julia, *This Stage-Play World: Texts and Contexts, 1580–1625* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1997).
Brown, Pamela Allen, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama, and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London, 2003).

Capp, Bernard, 'Separate Domains? Women and Authority in Early Modern Europe', in Paul Griffiths, Adam Fox and Steve Hindle (eds.), *The Experience of Authority in Early Modern England* (Basingstoke, 1996) 117–45.

Capp, Bernard, *When Gossips Meet: Women Family and Neighbourhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003).

Dabhoiwala, Faramerz, 'The Construction of Honour, Reputation and Status in Late Seventeenth- and Early Eighteenth-Century England', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser., 6 (1996): 201–13.

Dionne, Craig, and Mentz, Steve (eds.), *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture* (Ann Arbor, 2004).

Fish, Stanley, *Is there a Text in this Class? The Authority of Interpretative Communities* (Cambridge, Mass., 1980).

Garner, Shirley Nelson, '*The Taming of the Shrew*: Inside or Outside of the Joke?', in Charney (ed.), *'Bad' Shakespeare*, 105–19.

Gurr, Andrew, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (2nd edn., Cambridge, 1996).

Holmes, Clive, 'Women: Witnesses and Witches', *Past and Present*, 140 (1993): 45–78.

Houlbrooke, Ralph, *The English Family, 1450–1700* (London, 1984).

Ingram, Martin, '"Scolding Women Cucked or Washed": A Crisis in Gender Relations in Early Modern England', in Jennifer Kermode and Garthine Walker (eds.), *Women, Crime and the Courts in Early Modern England* (London, 1994) 48–80.

Kahin, H.A., 'Jane Anger and John Lyly', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 8 (1947): 31–5.

Lindley, David, *The Trials of Frances Howard: Fact and Fiction at the Court of King James* (London and New York, 1993).

Maxwell, Baldwin, 'The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tamed', *Modern Philology*, 32 (1935): 353–63.

Parry, Graham, *The Golden Age Restored: The Culture of the Stuart Court, 1603–42* (Manchester, 1981).

Sams, Eric, 'The Timing of the Shrews', *Notes and Queries*, 32 (1985): 33–45.

Sharpe, Kevin, *Criticism and Compliment: The Politics of Literature in the England of Charles I* (Cambridge, 1987).

Shepard, Alexandra, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (Oxford, 2003).

Turner, James Grantham, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics and Literary Culture, 1630–1685* (Cambridge, 2002).

Underdown, David, *A Freeborn People: Politics and the Nation in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford, 1996).

Woodbridge, Linda, *Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind, 1540–1620* (Brighton, 1984).

# 2
# Shrews, Marriage and Murder

*Sandra Clark*

There was a common form of humour in early modern England known as the dead wife joke, which appears in various guises. John Taylor the water-poet, a fund of misogynistic wisdom, has a version which he calls 'Taylor's motto':

> A married man (some say) ha's two dayes gladnesse
> And all his life else, is a ling'ring sadesse:
> The one dayes mirth is when he is first married.
> Th'other's when his wife's to burying carried.[1]

In *Taylors Wit and Mirth* (1635) he tells a jest about a scolding wife who feigns her death to obtain proof that her husband loves her, with disastrous consequences (at least for the wife). Advised by friends, she lies still under the table, where the husband finds her and acts as though overcome with grief,

> making as though he would kisse her with a most loving embrace. To make all sure, he brake her necke. The neighbours pittying the mans extreame passion, in compassion told him that his wife was not dead, and that all this was done to make tryall of his love towards her: whereupon they called her by her name, bidding her to rise, and that shee had fooled it enough with her husband. But for all their calling, shee lay still; which made one of the women to shake and jogge her; at which the woman cried, Alas, she is dead indeed! Why this it is, quoth the husband, to dissemble and counterfeit with God and the world.[2]

This joke is dramatised in John Lacy's *Sauny the Scot*, where Margaret, Petruchio's second wife, fakes her death in the last act to shame her

husband in public; he recognises what she is up to, but cannot get her to give up the pretence: 'Speak, or by this hand I'll bury thee alive', he threatens. 'Not yet? Upon my Life I think thou hast a mind to be buried quick; I hope thou hast'.[3] Lacy here was no doubt influenced by Fletcher in *The Tamer Tamed,* where Petruchio simulates death in order to get Maria to submit to him and in the subplot Livia does so in order to escape marriage to a repulsive old man and obtain the lover she really wants. But in *Sauny the Scot*, as in Taylor's jest, Margaret's stratagem and Petruchio's response expose the darker side of marital accommodations; underlying such jesting about dead wives are fantasies of wife murder condoned. An anecdote recorded in the jestbook of Nicholas LeStrange demonstrates how the expression of such impulses could (and probably can) be rendered socially acceptable in joke-form:

> Doctor Pearne preaching a funeral Sermon for a Townsmans wife in Cambridge (that had been a very curst wench) told his Auditories, that none could judge of the losse of a wife till they had one; but believe me brethren, whosoever looseth such a wife as this was, will find it a Shrewd losse, a very Shrewd losse.[4]

LeStrange's pun allows for the conventional meaning of the wife's death to her husband (a bitter loss) to overlay the alternative, that he has been fortunate to get rid of a shrew. The fact that there is a centuries old tradition of jokes about the pleasure that women's deaths can afford to men demonstrates too well their socially normalising function.[5]

Shrewishness, marriage and violence are never far apart in the early modern period, whether the violence be that of the overbearing wife against the dominated husband or of the husband – himself often a rumbustious and disorderly figure like Shakespeare's Petruchio and his dramatic descendents – in his strategies to gain control over an unruly wife. More often, this is comic violence, at least in literary representations such as the shrew-taming plays, popular ballads and jestbooks, but there are ballads and pamphlets recording real-life acts of violence which move into the realm of spouse murder. Attempts to negotiate marital shrewishness can produce fatal consequences, real deaths, not just fake ones. Jests control and diffuse the impulse to violence, but what happens when this mechanism is not available? How do the accounts of real-life marital violence handle the transformation of fantasy into reality? To explore these questions in non-dramatic texts of the period I focus initially on the sort of comic ballads about marital life that form part of the cultural background to plays like *The Taming of the*

*Shrew*, to examine how this genre deals with shrewishnesss and marital disorder. In relation to these I consider some ballads and pamphlets of domestic crime, where the disorderly behaviour of married couples as well as the wife's unruly speech results in death. In these latter representations the term 'shrew' is not used.[6] In all these representations the idea of marriage as a central institution of Protestant society in early modern England is inherent. Marriage within society operated at the shifting boundary between the public and the private; it was a 'model of social order' and also a place where 'power is exerted privately in the interests of public order'.[7] The threat posed to this institution when normative order is disrupted by the unruly conduct of the inferior partner is therefore dangerous on several levels, and the underlying assumption is that masculine dominance must be assured for the proper functioning of society.

The broadside ballads of early modern England are hugely informative about the society and popular culture of the period. Comic ballads about masterful and scolding wives form a conspicuous subset of the wealth of ballads on all aspects of marital relations available. I would suggest three crude groupings: ballads of complaint which express the husband's perspective on the discontents of marriage, primarily those resulting from the wife's bad behaviour, ballads of negotiation, which explore various means of coping with female disorderliness, and ballads advocating methods for taming shrews. All of these deal with issues of the balance of power within marriage, and of methods to achieve it. One might characterise the ballad as an essentially public genre, created for public delivery and consumption, typically in oral form, and this is significant in relation to the public role of marriage as an instrument of social control.

'The Cruel Shrew; or, The Patient Man's Woe' (*RB* 1, 94–8)[8] typifies the first category. It is voiced by a man married to 'an unquiet wife'; he addresses himself to all 'Batchelers and married Men'. The wife's behaviour runs the gamut of shrewishness: from railing, scolding, domineering, lying late in bed, gossiping, drinking in taverns, to physical abuse of her husband. When he returns late from a day's hard work 'in dust and mire' she first greets him with harsh words, then 'shee takes up a cudgel's end, and breaks my head full sore'. He is unable to retaliate, because his wife will indulge in sexual blackmail if he does so:

> When I, for quietnesse-sake, desire
> My wife for to be still,
> She will not grant what I require,

> But swears she'le have her will.
> Then if I chance to heave my hand,
> Straight-way she'le 'murder' cry:
> Then judge all men that here do stand,
> In what a case am I.

The husband sees himself disempowered through the wife's recourse to foul play, her reliance, one might say, on the sex card, a position taken in other ballads. In Martin Parker's 'Have among you! Good Women' (*RB* 1, 435–440), a dialogue ballad in which two men gossip about women of their acquaintance while walking to market, young Robin asks old William why it is men can't do the obvious thing and beat their wives into submission. Of Jone who has 'broken her husband's shins', Robin asks, 'Why wherefore all this doth he suffer', and William answers:

> Why, if he should give her a check,
> She tells her friends how he doth cuff her
> And threatens to break her neck:
> So he for feare shee'll cry out,
> Dares neither to strike nor [to] chide her,
> For shee'll give word all about
> That his Queans will not let him abide her.

The wife's ability to enlist the support of the community – by implication female – is deemed unfair. It prevents the husband from taking the measures that are reasonable and his right. In 'Have among you! Good Women' the two men gloomily catalogue a series of disorderly women of their acquaintance, like Alice 'who scolded from dinner to supper', Peg the Pie-woman who has been slashed by her lover's jealous wife, and Quarrelling Nan who has threatened to kill her husband; the changing refrain reiterates their impotence in the face of these harridans:

> Oh! Such a Queane should be lash't.
> Oh! Such an old Trot would be carted.

And even 'Oh! Such a Queane would be burned'.

Ballads like this depict men at the mercy of disorderly women, emasculated and publicly shamed by their power. They can invite sympathy for a husband as 'one quite marr'd with marriage/Consum'd and kill'd with care' ('Clod's Carroll'), deprived of all freedom and pleasure. The woman's pleasures are taken at the man's expense, literally and figuratively. In 'The

discontented married man' (*RB* 1, 295–9) the wife's freedom of speech is directly equated with sexual license in the ballad's refrain, which is printed in the original text as 'She could not keep her l. [ellipsis] together'. Scolding is looseness, both of lips and legs. One can imagine how in oral delivery by a ballad singer or indeed in communal performance in a public space this ellipsis could have been voiced in various salacious ways, in the repeated delivery of the line. The verses detail the wife's 'wandering', including visits to the dancing school and of course the pub:

> To the Tavern she repairs/Whilst her husband sits and muses
> There she domineeres and swears,/Tis a thing she often uses.
> And being fine/She for wine
> Will pawne her hat and feather,
> Which doth shew that it is true,
> She cannot keep her l. together.

The joke here is one that could be made available to either sex, assuming the perspective of joke theorists that jokes 'must subliminally reassure the listener that the object or butt of the joke cannot be him or herself'.[9] But in some of these complaint ballads it is decidedly on the emasculated husband. 'The discontented married man' (*RB* 1, 295–9), to be sung to the tune of 'A Taylor is a Man' (or in some versions 'A taylor is no man'), now unfortunately lost, is presented by a man overhearing another's lament. This sad character indulges his masterful wife's every whim, but this does not meet her wish to overrule him on all occasions. He is humiliated by her sexual vigour:

> And when I am with her in bed, she doth not use me well, Sir;
> She'l wring my nose, and pull my ears, a pitiful tale to tell, Sir.
> And when I am with her in bed, not meaning to molest her,
> She'l kick me out at her beds-feet, and so become my master.

He admits at the end to his own responsibility for the situation:

> But if I were a lusty man, and able for to baste her,
> Then I would surely use a means, that she should not be my Master.

The wife's aberrant behaviour here is a factor of her husband's inability to exercise proper control. The tune itself, used, as the editor of the *Roxburghe Ballads* notes,[10] for a number of other 'tailor' ballads, might well have carried meaning and significant associations; and

the performative dimension of the ballad, its public and communal mode, and the likely encouragement of audience participation at the point of delivery would function to reinforce mockery of the husband's effeminacy. 'The Scolding Wife's Vindication' (*RB* 7, 197), voices the same idea from the wife's viewpoint. She specifically justifies her shrewish behaviour as a reaction to her husband's sexual inertia. The refrain consists of variations on the line 'He nothing at all would do'. The wife makes strenuous efforts to arouse her husband with amorous activity and aphrodisiac foods ('I feasted him e'ery day/ With Lamb-stones and Cock-broths too'), but nonetheless 'He lyes like a lump of Clay'. In the end her frustration expresses itself in violence:

> Tis true I his ears did cuffe, and gave him a kick or two;
> For this I had just Cause enough, because he would nothing do.

Diane Purkiss calls this 'gender ventriloquism', and links it with other cultural forms such as political satires of the Civil War purporting to be written by women where 'disorderly femininity' is used to critique other forms of disorder.[11] In the instance of ballads like 'The Scolding Wife's Vindication' the mockery is directed as much at the husband as at the wife, and I would like to modify Purkiss's view that what they provide is 'the pleasure of locating disorder in femininity and expelling both from man'.[12] The pleasure of such representations is more fluid, and as Pamela Allen Brown says in *Better a Shrew than a Sheep* they belong to that literature of jest which 'could furnish scripts and cues, ready for the taking', and potentially available to both sexes.[13]

Not all the ballads about scolding wives set forward the situation in this way, normalising shrewishness as a condition of the married state. In my second group, ballads of negotiation, disorderly women do not present an insoluble problem, and indeed disorderliness may not be gender-specific. In 'John and Joan: or, A mad couple well met' (*RB* 1, 504–8), both husband and wife share shrewish characteristics:

> The man would sweare and domineere – /so also would his wife.
> If John went to one Alehouse,/Joan went to the next;
> Betwixt them both/They made an oath/That neither would be vext.

And both are punished by the community for their behaviour:

> If John had cal'd his Host 'knave'/Joan cal'd her Hostis 'Whore';
> For such like crimes/they often times/were both thrust out of dore.

Clearly this couple is temperamentally compatible, and in the end they agree mutually to adapt their marital lifestyle to one of greater social productivity, and both will 'set hands to the Plough'. In the two companion ballads written by Martin Parker, 'Keep a Good Tongue in your Head' (*RB* 3, 237–42) and 'Hold your hands, honest Men' (*RB* 3, 243–4), the woman's inability to control her speech outweighs even the most extensive list of feminine virtues, but the man's tendency to physical violence is deemed equivalent. In 'Keep a Good Tongue' the husband describes his wife as beautiful, fecund, a good needlewoman and weaver, and able to manage her household effectively, but 'she cannot hold her tongue'. The wife in 'Hold your hands' enumerates her husband's qualities in similar style:

> I have as compleat a man
> As any poor woman can;
> He makes my heart to leap
> His company to keep
> It comforts me now and than:
> There's few exercises
> That man enterprises
> But he well understands:
> Yet, like a dart,
> He wounds my heart;
> I, for my part,
> Must bear the smart;
> For he cannot rule his hands.

The formal qualities of these two ballads create a light mood, and the style of first person delivery allows for comic characterisation and possible irony, yet at face value they problematise the issue of marital violence, whether verbal or physical; the implied, though unstated, solution is compromise. In 'The Marryed Man's Lesson; or, A Disswasion from jealousie' (*RB* 3, 231–6) the compromise is to be made by the husband. The presenter of the narrative urges silence as a counter to the wife's shrewish speech, which in this instance is not seen as especially problematic.[14] Unusually, an uncontrolled tongue is not necessarily part of the whole package of shrewishness, not an indication of other kinds of looseness, nor in itself terminal to any prospect of harmony.

> A wife that's indifferent – betweene good and ill –
> Is shee that in huswifery shewes her good will, –

> Yet sometimes her voice shee too much elevates;
> Is that the occasion for which her hee hates?
> A soveraigne remedy for this disease
> Is to hold thy tongue; [then] let her say what she please:
> Judge! Is not this better th[a]n to fight and to scratch?
> For silence will soonest a shrew overmatch.

Physical violence is specifically proscribed: 'If goodnesse by beating thou seek'st to infuse, /For breaking her flesh, thou all goodnesse dost bruse'. It may be worth recalling Petruchio's method in *The Taming of the Shrew*, also operating by counter-stratagem, where the physical brutality of the play's folkloric source-material is transmuted and wife-beating no part of the taming regime.[15]

But my third group of ballads is concerned with methods of shrew-taming which do involve various sorts of violence. Where the violence results from the husband's determination to assert masculine control over an unruly wife; it is normative and orderly. In 'Couragious Anthony' (*PB* 4, 146),[16] the overmastered husband, 'ty'd to a Scold and a Whore' as he puts it, endures sexual humiliation from his wife, who even soaks him in piss when he is in bed, pretending to mistake a colander for a chamber-pot, until he can bear it no more;

> A cudgel of holly I then did prepare
> And lawful correction to her I did give,
> O then she cry'd out, I prithee forbear
> I ne'er will my husband offend while I live
> • • • • •
> And thus I must tell you I conquer'd a Shrow
> And made her to buckle and bend to my bow.
> We formerly live'd at much variance and strife,
> But now we enjoy a more peaceable life.

Anthony's language here is politically correct; though church doctrine did not favour wife-beating, the law did permit 'reasonable correction 'of a disobedient wife by her husband,[17] and marriage manuals such as William Whately's *A Bride-Bush* (1623) often took this further. Pamela Brown describes the kinds of social and community pressures that operated to limit male violence, but which served concomitantly to demonise the scold.[18] 'The Cucking of a Scold' (*PG* no.20)[19] fantasises the public punishment of a young wife of 17 years old who is depicted as a scold of heroic proportions.

She was a famous Scould,
A dainty Scould in graine,
A stouter Scould was never bred
Nor borne in Turne-gaine Lane.

She could complain unabated

Six winter days together
From morning eight a clocke
Until the evening that each one
Their doores began to locke.

So the neighbours get up a huge procession, consisting of several hundred archers and armed men, accompanied by pikes, drums and trumpets, and even 40 parrots, to witness the woman 'naked to the smocke', bound to the cucking chair and ducked six times, while 'drums and trumpets sounded brave,/For joy the people skipt'. But several dozen more duckings are needed before she 'at last held up her hands' conceding defeat. The celebratory tone of this ballad of ritual shaming is unusual, as is the emphasis on public humiliation rather than physical violence. In more typical ballads the shrews' punishments are violent, sometimes grossly so. In 'The Scolding Wife' (*RB* 7, 192–3) the husband gets his friends to help him tie up his wife, tear her clothes, tangle her hair, and 'wring her arms in every crook,/Till the blood did gush'. Finally, they tie her up by the leg with an old iron chain, and leave her in a dark house, telling the neighbours she is mad. This recalls the 'Merry Jeste of a shrewde and curst Wyfe, lapped in Morrelles skin, for her good behavyour', perhaps a source for *The Taming of the Shrew*, where the husband beats his wife with birch rods, and when this doesn't work kills and flays his old horse Morel, salts the skin, beats his wife again, and wraps her in the salted skin till she begs for mercy. In 'A Caution for Scolds' (*RB* 3, 507–100), a 'noble man' marries a 'vile shrew', who abuses his guests at a banquet and throws food about. He consults a 'skilful doctor' who promises 'I'lle take the lunacy out of her brains, /Or else I won't have a groat for my pains'. He binds her in bed, shaves her head, and threatens to cut her tongue and let a gallon of her blood. This proves effective. Laura Gowing gives an example of a court case in which the husband of a wife too liberal of her speech threatened to bleed her from the tongue, or even pull out her tongue.[20] Jest and earnestness interrelate. Blood-letting is also advocated as a remedy for shrewishness in one of *Scoggin's Jests*, where Scoggin gets a surgeon to tie up his scolding

and disobedient wife, and let her blood in the arm, the foot and under the tongue. The jest ends, 'By this tale it proveth, that it is a shrewd hurt that maketh the body fare the worse, and an unhappy house where the wife is master'.[21] Shrewishness is here constructed as a pathological condition requiring medical intervention to effect a cure, a notion satirically represented in 'The New German Doctor' (*RB* 7, 198–9) where a visiting doctor works miracle cures. He can extract the 'sting of the tongue' and possesses a 'Balsom of moderate price,/Which takes off the frowns of the face in a trice'. So successful, and so much in demand are his cures that he will treat the poor for little or nothing.

In these ballads shrewishness is a social problem and even sometimes a disease, analogous to lunacy. Violence of various forms may be the solution to it, and if so is always presented as curative. 'Thus has he made a sweet wife of a Shrew' summarises the narrator of 'A Caution for Scolds'. The husband, with help from his friends, controls the wife and reintegrates her into society. These are ballads which explore, often quite playfully, the basis, both affective and economic, of early modern marriage, and offer social solutions to the problems of marriage and shrewishness. Shrewishness is a public issue, threatening to what Purkiss calls 'the public masculine identity',[22] and the shrewish wife is to be controlled by public shame and exposure in the public arena.[23] The texts to which I now turn are not playful; and though their status as representations is not in doubt, they are accounts, in pamphlet as well as ballad form, of real-life situations of marital discord, to which the wife's scolding tongue is central; the outcome of these situations, however, is not cure or transformation, but violent death, usually the husband's, but in two interesting instances the wife's. The term 'shrew' is never applied to such wives (as far as I can see). It seems to belong to a comic register, where the pleasure of comic aggression releases inhibitions and, to a considerable extent, condones fantasies of violence. The shrew so-called is a construction of misogynistic fantasy. But there is evident slippage between comic/folkloric categorisations of female unruliness and these real-life depictions in their exposure of the imbalance of power relations within marriage and the social problems to which it gives rise. In these depictions, the relation between women's shrewish speech and its outcome in violent death is the subject of some uneasy negotiation.

This is a period when literary representations of domestic violence include a higher proportion of those in which the wife rather than the husband is the perpetrator (though of course the opposite was true in real life), and the balance shifted after the mid-century.[24] Most of these,

in ballads and pamphlets, involve adulterous wives who kill their husbands or collude with a lover to do so, but there is a little group about wives who kill in anger, after a domestic altercation. 'Anne Wallens Lamentation' (*PG* no. 14), written soon after the burning of this woman at the stake for the murder of her husband on 1 July 1616, is typical. John Wallen is a joiner, who comes home drunk from a night on the town; his wife is angry, and in her own words 'fell to railing most outrageously'. John bids her hold her tongue, adding, 'And if thou dost not, I shall doe thee wrong'. She 'grew in worser rage', he boxes her ears, and she stabs him in the stomach with a chisel. She is at once repentant, – 'He nere did wrong to any in his life' – and self-accusatory – 'But he too much was wronged by his wife', and goes to the stake urging all wives to be warned against scolding:

> Let not your tongue oresway true reasons bounds,
> Which in your rage your utmost rancour sounds:
> A woman that is wise should seldome speake,
> Unlesse discreetly she her words repeat.

Two similar ballads, 'The Unnatural Wife' (*PG* 49) and 'A Warning for Desperate Women' (*PG* 50) commemorate the killing by Alice Davis of her husband Henry, a locksmith, in June 1628. Evidently the couple had been out for supper, both having been drinking, and had a row about money when they got home. At the culmination of this Alice draws a knife and stabs her husband to death, then immediately runs out of the house to summon the neighbours. The constable is called, and within two weeks Alice has been judged, sentenced and burnt at the stake for petty treason. Both ballads are first person narrations in which the guilty wife, assuming like Anne Wallen a masculine subject-position, condemns herself out of her own mouth; she presents the husband as a good man, the marriage as generally happy – they have lived 'in good repute and state … well knowne by many friends … and divers merry dayes we had', as Alice recounts in 'A Warning for Desperate Women'. She neither tries to conceal her crime – rather the reverse – nor to excuse it as an accident; in fact, it is an act of inhuman wickedness, for which she is totally penitent. Her case is to be a lesson to women in the ideology of marriage:

> Good wives and bad, example take,
> At this my cursed fall,
> And maidens that shall husbands have,
> I warning am to all:

Your husbands are your Lords & heads,
You ought them to obey,
Grant love between each man and wife,
Unto the Lord I pray.

In both ballads, the catalyst for violence is the wife's inability to curb her tongue. Alice laments in 'The Unnaturall Wife':

A Locke-Smith late in Westminster,
my husband was by trade,
And well he lived by his Art,
though oft I him upbraide;
And oftentimes would chide and braule,
And many ill names would him call:
Oh murther,
Most inhumane,
To spill my husband's blood.

Alice will not respect her husband's rights; in an argument about money, which occurs in both ballads, she presents herself as in the wrong:

He askt what monies I had left,
and some he needes woud have,
But I a penny would not give,
though he did seem to crave,
But words betwixt us then did passe
as words to harsh I gave,
And as the Divell would as then,
I did both sweare and rave.

Here, Alice's verbal violence is not just disrespect but something mystified as diabolical. This may be partly, as Laura Gowing suggests, that because the violence of wives against husbands was commonly seen as comic,[25] it has to be presented in extreme terms to be taken seriously, though I think there is another reason. Something similar happens in another ballad of husband-murder, 'A Warning for Wives' (*PG* 52) in which Katherine Francis, another disorderly wife, stabs her husband with scissors in a drunken altercation; the killing is not just fortuitous:

She had long thirsted for his blood,
(even by her own confession)

And now her promise she made good
  So heaven gave permission
To Satan, who then lent her power
And strength to do't that bloody hour.

It seemes that he his head did leane
To th' Chimney, which she spide,
And straight she tooke, (O bloody queane)
  Her sisers from her side
And hit him therewith such a stroake
Ith necke, that (some thinke) he nere spoke.

This is a satanic act. Katherine is a long-seasoned virago:

She oftentimes would beat him sore,
  and many a wound she gave him
Yet hee'd not live from her therefore,
  to stay ill fate would have him,
Till she with one inhumane wound,
Threw him (her husband) dead toth' ground.

The killing of Robert Francis is on the verge of being remodelled as a kind of providentialist narrative, whereby Katherine's evil act and her horrid fate by implication demonstrate God's guiding hand in human, especially marital, affairs. She is not, like Alice Davis, made into her husband's mouthpiece, but her crime is assimilated to a normative, masculine perspective through its religious shaping. A pamphlet account of husband murder, *A Warning for Bad Wives: or, The Manner of the Burning of Sarah Elston* (1678) is similarly adjusted. This narrative has similarities with the ballad: Sarah's husband is a London tradesman, the couple have lived together 'with much Discord and frequent Wrangling' (2), and during a quarrel she deals him a fatal wound with a pair of scissors. Afterwards Sarah is transformed from guilty wife into model penitent. She begs an extra fortnight before execution to prepare herself and in prison is visited by a 'company of ministers and other good sober understanding Christians' (3) who open her eyes to the ill course of her former life and 'the goodness and wisdom of an infinite God' (4), which otherwise she would never have discovered. 'Had not one foot slipt into the mouth of Hell, she had never been in this forwardness for Heaven' (4); thus the narrator summarises this as an example of the fortunate fall. As an adjunct to the narrative, she preaches a sermon of wifely obedience at her

place of execution, ingeniously claiming the killing as 'an unfortunate Accident … whether it came by a blow from her, or his violent running upon the point of the Sizzars as she held them out to defend herself, she could not to this minute certainly tell' (7). This account does admit the husband's contribution, in that he was known to be a man of 'ill husbandry, cross carriage, ill company' who 'beat her very severely' (2–3), but the real focus is on the wife's penitence for her unruly behaviour. She urges all women 'to live in Love and Peace with their husbands if it be possible; not least to avoid their Fury by going out of the way for the present, when they are in rage, rather than to stand bandying of words, or teasing them with reproachful Language; which she acknowledged had often been her fault' (6).

Women who talk too much are held responsible for men's violence, and this is so even in accounts where it is the woman who dies. The threat posed by women's speech, and hence the social need to suppress it, are paramount. Implicit is, as Laura Gowing suggests, 'the conflation of speech against the husband with speech against God'. [26] A pamphlet, *A True and Sad relation of Two Wicked and Bloody Murthers* (1680) and a ballad, 'The Unnatural Mother', tell the grim story of Jane Lawson. It begins in the usual way. The husband comes home drunk, the wife upbraids him. She does this to such an extent that the neighbours, and then her mother, intervene. She reacts antagonistically to her mother's advice: 'Mother, replies this unnatural Daughter, you may preach at home as long as you will, but in my house you may not' (p. 14). She continues to revile her husband 'with the names of Drunkard, Hellhound, Jackanapes, and idle rascal'; he responds by giving her 'two or three good cuffs on the Ear'. Without more speech she leaves the house with two of her young children; a few hours later all three are found dead in a well. This is an act of child murder and Jane is culpable not only as an unreasonable wife, but also as an unnatural mother and daughter. Pamphlet and ballad minimise the husband's part in this. Although he has come home drunk, this is a rare occurrence, and Jane in the ballad agrees that she should not have complained about it. She calls herself 'John Lawson's Cruel Wife', and describes the community banding together to get her to curb her tongue. The last verse of the ballad, addressed to 'English Women all' asks God to grant women patience 'to banish Wrath and sinful Ire'. The lesson here is clearly one for wives, to avoid insubordinate speech which will provoke their husbands, and may even lead to crime. It bears out Lynda E. Boose's remark that 'the veritable prototype of the female offender of this era seems to be … the woman marked out as a "scold" or a "shrew"'.[27]

Such speech figures again in my final example, from the pamphlet *Two Horrible and Inhumane Murders done in Lincolnshire* (1607), where the author reshapes a particularly violent account of wife-murder into a lesson for wives.[28] The scenario is the familiar one. John Dilworth, a wheelwright, comes home half-drunk from the tavern, and his wife Joan berates him, refusing to stop when he tells her to. He first knocks her to the ground with his fist, and then bludgeons her to death with the spoke of a cart-wheel which is to hand. Afterwards he attempts to burn the body in the grate; but it is not all consumed on the first night, so he tries again the following evening, but omits to cover the windows so that the neighbours see the blaze and he is discovered. On arrest, he is unrepentant, and 'in a graceless and godlesse sort justified the doing thereof, saying he had done God and the world good service, in sending so unquiet a creature [as his wife] out of it' (sig. C1). This account makes no attempt to present the husband in a good light; he is a violent drunk who 'woud not sticke to beate and abuse his wife, rayling at her, reviling and calling her by those names, which by the report of her neighbours she in no way deserved' (sig. B2$^{v}$). He neglects his children and squanders money, often leaving his wife and children hungry. His extraordinary behaviour as he burns the body is described with some relish; he is envisaged pacing up and down in front of the flames, 'rejoycing at that his most hateful, horrible, and hellish fact … like a terrible, torturing tyrant … striving (as it seemed) to make himselfe a true picture or patterne of the very Divell' (sig. B4) The cause of all this is, predictably, the wife's scolding tongue. Although she is otherwise irreproachable, a good mother, a provident wife and respected by the neighbours, 'yet was she not unfurnished of that fault which is too common among women, that is, she was milde and gentle in all her speeches and gestures to her neighbors and strangers, but to her husband she was another kind of woman, for all, or the most part, of her wordes to him, were sharpe, bitter, and biting, especially when they were alone' (sig. B2$^{v}$). Much is made of the fact that she misjudges the moment when he comes home half-drunk, regarding it (because he isn't totally incapable) as 'a fitte time for her a little to ease her minde, (as women call it) by telling him sharpely of his great and grosse faultes, which were so much the greater and grosser, by how much he made an ordinary use and custome of them' (sig. B3). Like Jane Lawson, she refuses to hold her tongue, or as the ballad puts it, keep her lips together, until her husband does it for her by knocking her senseless. Although his brutality is not at any point extenuated, the horrific events are all made to stem from her inability to control her scolding tongue. The narrator's cultural assumptions, or as

we might call it, failure of objectivity, are easily exposed. The husband's grotesque behaviour after the murder removes him from the realm of human responsibility; by contrast the wife with her uncontrolled speech is all too recognisably culpable.[29] At the end of the pamphlet the author concludes with an address to the reader in which he gives advice to wives. They should always observe their husband's moods, and not speak out of turn, 'not reproving them boldly or bitterly when they are very merrie, very melancholy, or before company, lest they drive them to unmanly cruelty, which will in time prove hateful tyranny. For, as husbandes are taught by the Apostle Paul, not to be bitter unto their wives: so are wives likewise instructed by the selfsame Apostle to be loving and amiable to their husbands' (sig. C2). Thus it transpires that Joan Dilworth was largely responsible for her own murder; the crime discovered, her violent husband draws on the old dead wife joke to extenuate his behaviour, that he has rid the world of an 'unquiet' woman and should be thanked for his services. Female unruliness is figured as 'a defect in men',[30] for which restitution must be made. Wives who transgress social boundaries by their disorderly speech require public shame and humiliation. The masculine authority of the shamed man must be restored. There exists a spectrum of such punishments in comic modes, through ducking, the wearing of the scold's bridle, the skimmington ride, to blood-letting and the kind of brain-washing to which Petruchio subjects Katherine. The results are curative. But when public shaming is unavailable, and private violence results, the lethal powers of the woman's tongue turn on herself. It is as if the strong tradition of misogynistic joking about husbands taking pleasure in the deaths of their wives enables the (male) authors of ballads and pamphlets where marital violence ends in death to evade facing up to the inequality between cause and effect. A dead wife is better than one who cannot be domesticated.

## Notes

1. *Taylors Motto*, 647–50, in John Taylor, *All the Workes* (1630). This is a common joke in the period. See for example, Taylor's *A Juniper Lecture* (1639) and *Divers Crabtree Lectures* (1639), Samuel Rowlands, *The Bride* (1617), sig. A2v, and Judith Curlee, '"One said a jealous wife was like": The constructions of husbands and wives in seventeenth-century English jests', in *Performing Gender and Comedy: Theories, Texts and Contexts*, ed. Shannon Hengen (Australia: Gordon and Breach, 1998), 35–46.
2. *Taylors Wit and Mirth* (1635) in W. C. Hazlitt, ed. *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, 3 vols. (London: Wills and Sotheran, 1864), 3, 54–5.

3. John Lacy, *Sauny the Scot* (1698), in *Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare*, ed. Sandra Clark (London: J. M. Dent, 1997), 72.
4. *Merry Passages and Jeasts: A Manuscript Jestbook of Nicholas Lestrange*, ed. H. F. Lippincott (Salzburg Studies in English Literature. Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, ed. James Hogg, no. 29, Salzburg, 1974), no. 13.
5. For early examples, see Barbara Bowen, ed., *One Hundred Renaissance Jokes. An Anthology* (Birmingham, Alabama: Summa Publications, Inc., 1988), 7, 17, 64.
6. In fact, the word itself originally applied to a man, although by the early modern period it was mainly, though not exclusively, used of women. See *OED* shrew *n.*[2] 1a 'a wicked, evil-disposed, or malignant man'. The *OED* also furnishes a contemporary example (from Dekker, *The Ravens Almanac*, 1609) of the term denoting a man.
7. Susan Amussen, '"Being stirred to much unquietness": Violence and Domestic Violence in Early Modern England', *Journal of Women's History* 6 (1994), 83, Catherine Belsey, *The Subject of Tragedy. Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama* (London: Methuen, 1985), 147.
8. *RB* signifies *The Roxburghe Ballads*, eds. W. Chappell and J. W. Ebsworth, 9 vols. (Hertford: The Ballad Society, 1869–99).
9. Curlee, 36.
10. *RB* 1, 198.
11. Diane Purkiss, 'Material girls: the seventeenth-century woman debate' in *Women, Texts and Histories 1575–1760*, eds. Clare Brant and Diane Purkiss (London and New York: Routledge, 1992), 69–101, pp. 99, 83.
12. Purkiss, 81.
13. Pamela Allen Brown, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 149.
14. Compare Bayman and Southcombe's discussion of the 'curst tongue', pp. 14–15 supra.
15. The ethics of wife-beating were of course much debated in the period. See Amussen, 'Being Stirred to Much Unquietness', and Joy Wiltenberg, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 1992), 108–9.
16. *PB* refers to *The Pepys Ballads*, ed. W. G. Day, 5 vols. Rpt. (Cambridge: Derek Brewer, 1987).
17. Brown, 123.
18. Brown, 127.
19. *PG* refers to *A Pepysian Garland. Black-letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595–1639. Chiefly from the Collection of Samuel Pepys,* ed. Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922).
20. Laura Gowing, *Domestic Dangers. Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 223.
21. *The Jests of Scogin*, in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, ed. W. C. Hazlitt, vol. 2 (London: Willis & Sotheran, 1874), 93.
22. Purkiss, 80.
23. See also Gary Schneider, 'The Public, the Private, and the Shaming of the Shrew', *SEL* 42 (2002), 235–58.

24. Frances Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars. Representations of Domestic Crime in England 1550–1700* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994), 89.
25. Gowing, 229.
26. Gowing, 222.
27. Lynda E. Boose, 'Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds; Taming the Woman's Unruly Member', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42 (1991), 179–213, 185.
28. That this is not such a difficult task is illustrated by Jim Sharpe's reference to the victim here as 'the archetype of the nagging wife' 'Domestic Homicide in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal* 24 (1981), 43.
29. Dolan, 104.
30. Purkiss, 81.

## Works cited

### Primary sources

Bowen, Barbara, ed. *One Hundred Renaissance Jokes. An Anthology* (Birmingham, Alabama: Summa Publications, Inc., 1988).

Chappell, W. and Ebsworth, J. W., eds., *The Roxburghe Ballads*, 9 vols. (Hertford: The Ballad Society, 1869–99).

Day, W. G. ed., *The Pepys Ballads*, 5 vols. Rpt. (Cambridge: Derek Brewer, 1987).

Hazlitt, W. C., *The Jests of Scogin*, in *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, 3 vols. (London: Willis & Sotheran, 1874), 2.

Lacy, John, Sauny the Scot (1698), in *Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare,* ed. Sandra Clark (London: J. M. Dent, 1997).

Lippincott, H. F. ed., *Merry Passages and Jeasts: A Manuscript Jestbook of Nicholas Lestrange* (Salzburg Studies in English Literature. Elizabethan and Renaissance Studies, ed. James Hogg, no. 29, Salzburg, 1974), no. 13.

Rollins, Hyder E., ed., *A Pepysian Garland. Black-letter Broadside Ballads of the Years 1595–1639. Chiefly from the Collection of Samuel Pepys* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922).

Taylor, John, *All the Workes* (1630).

Taylor, John, *Taylor's A Juniper Lecture* (1639) and *Divers Crabtree Lectures* (1639).

Taylor, John, *Taylors Wit and Mirth* (1635) in W. C. Hazlitt, ed. *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, 3 vols. (London: Wills & Sotheran, 1864), 3.

### Secondary sources

Amussen, Susan, '"Being stirred to much unquietness": Violence and Domestic Violence in Early Modern England', *Journal of Women's History* 6 (1994): 70–89.

Belsey, Catherine, *The Subject of Tragedy. Identity and Difference in Renaissance Drama* (London: Methuen, 1985).

Boose, Lynda E., 'Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds; Taming the Woman's Unruly Member', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42 (1991): 179–213.

Brown, Pamela Allen, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Curlee, Judith, '"One said a jealous wife was like": The constructions of husbands and wives in seventeenth-century English jests', in *Performing Gender and*

*Comedy: Theories, Texts and Contexts,* ed. Shannon Hengen (Australia: Gordon and Breach, 1998) 35–46.
Dolan, Frances, *Dangerous Familiars. Representations of Domestic Crime in England 1550–1700* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994).
Gowing, Laura, *Domestic Dangers. Women, Words, and Sex in Early Modern London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996).
Purkiss, Diane, 'Material girls: the seventeenth-century woman debate' in *Women, Texts and Histories 1575–1760,* eds. Clare Brant and Diane Purkiss (London and New York: Routledge, 1992) 69–101.
Schneider, Gary, 'The Public, the Private, and the Shaming of the Shrew', *SEL* 42 (2002): 235–58.
Sharpe, Jim, 'Domestic Homicide in Early Modern England', *The Historical Journal* 24 (1981): 29–48.
Wiltenbeg, Joy, *Disorderly Women and Female Power in the Street Literature of Early Modern England and Germany* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 1992).

# 3

# Engendering Shrews: Medieval to Early Modern

*Holly A. Crocker*

When Petruchio humiliates Katherine on their wedding day, her father Baptista identifies the feminine bearing of the central term in Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* (1623): '[S]uch an injury would vex a saint, / Much more a shrew of thy impatient humor' (*Shrew*, III.ii.28–9).[1] Later, Baptista once again suggests that in this Padua, at the very least, the appellation 'shrew' only applies to women: 'Now, in good sadness, son Petruchio, / I think thou hast the veriest shrew of all' (*Shrew*, V.ii.63–4). Indeed, Baptista's jesting attempt to comfort his new son-in-law expresses the common assumption that 'shrew' is universally feminine. To be fair, in the lead up to Baptista's comment, the women's interactions offer evidence that would make 'shrew' an exclusively feminine category. The widow calls Katherine a 'shrew,' and the edgy banter that follows is only broken up by a husbandly intervention that recasts the wives' countering as friendly homosocial competition between men:

> PETRUCHIO: 'To her, Kate!'
> HORTENSIO: 'To her, widow!'
> (*Shrew*, V.ii.33–4)

Petruchio follows this wife-fight enthusiasm with a friendly wager, which secures men's separation from this domestic sort of brawling: 'A hundred marks, my Kate does put her down' (*Shrew*, V.ii.35). Petruchio's proposed bet differs from the play's final contest, since in this earlier instance he promises a quarrel affirming 'shrew' and 'wife' as synonymous terms.

Until the closing scene, therefore, the folio *Shrew's* momentum advances a familiar domestic drama, wherein women's autonomy is securely if noisily contained within the regulatory rhetoric declaring universal feminine shrewishness. As Petruchio insists early on, this

type of domestic insurrection is a mundane challenge that actually legitimizes masculine authority: after cataloguing a series of threats a stouthearted man might face down, including wild beasts, raging tempests, and violent wars, Petruchio dismisses the menace of a wife's chiding tongue, 'Tush, tush, fear boys with bugs!' (*Shrew*, I.ii.209).[2] In other words, 'shrew' falls short of the trespass associated with the legal category of the 'scold,' whose visible rebellion against a husband's authority supposedly warranted community punishment, sometimes of both husband and wife through the 'rough music' of the charivari.[3] Compared to the feminine revolt associated with scolds' bridles, carting rituals, and cucking stools, 'shrew' is relatively tame, often serving as an address of casual opprobrium that actually acknowledges a woman's agency.[4] In the exchange that concludes the main action of the quarto version of Shakespeare's play, *The Taming of A Shrew* (1594), the potential menace of Polidor's cold assertion, 'I say thou art a shrew,' is saucily defused by Emilia's frank retort, 'Thats better than a sheep.'[5] As long as everyone accepts the feminine exclusivity of the term 'shrew,' this classification offers women a portion of power within the early modern household.

Yet *Shrew's* enabling potential is complicated by its history, which is not altogether feminine. Scholars including Pamela Allen Brown, Valerie Wayne, and Frances Dolan have commonly noted that 'shrew' was flexible in Shakespeare's day, though critical attention to 'shrew' has usually focused on the term as it was applied to women.[6] Lisa Jardine puts it this way: 'In literature, from folk-tale to romance, shrews are always women, though philologically they may properly be male . . . '[7] This essay reconsiders the history of the term 'shrew' as its feminization inflects early modern debate over men's household authority. Because early shrews could be men or women, this term's history suggests that the stakes of the taming struggle in Shakespeare's folio play are higher than Petruchio attempts to make his peers believe. Indeed, a fuller consideration of 'shrew's' gendered bivalence reveals a crucial connection between domestic order and self-control, since medieval renderings characterize shrews as unable to rule the domestic body, both in spiritual and social terms. And, since personal misrule is the very malady that afflicts John Fletcher's Petruchio in his answer-play, *The Woman's Prize, or the Tamer Tam'd*, it is valuable to consider the full range of meaning for 'shrew' in this period.[8] As I maintain, taking a longer view of 'shrew' recovers an important commentary on masculine abuse, one that ultimately allows Fletcher to uncase Petruchio's household authority as unreasonable, and ultimately illegitimate.

## I

Before turning to Fletcher's re-vision of Shakespeare's folio *Shrew*, it is worthwhile to trace the history of this organizing label, which illuminates the vexed stakes of gender difference at issue in the later plays. In what is probably the most familiar early example, from Chaucer's *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, 'shrew' demarcates the battle lines in a struggle for 'maistrye' in marriage.[9] Chaucer makes 'shrew' part of the Wife's lexicon, but in what we might think is an ironic twist, Alisoun uses this classification to bully her husbands into submission. Her aggressive harangue against the thriftless habits of husbands, 'Thou comest hoom as drunken as a mous, / And prechest on thy bench, with yvel preef!' (III.246–7), is peppered with accusations of 'old dotard shrewe!' (III.291). Undoubtedly, including the mock-deferential address 'sire shrewe' in the Wife's verbal arsenal against her husbands illustrates the petty feminine rebellion that the term wholly comes to signify in later centuries (III.355). Even in the Wife's *Prologue*, however, the term functions differently, marking male violence in a context that signifies the term's wider associations with disorderly abuse. Recalling Jankyn's battery, Alisoun muses: 'And yet was he to me the mooste shrewe; / That feele I on my ribbes al by rewe' (III.505–6).

Because shrewishness fundamentally signals an imbalance in personal temperament, male shrews are more menacing scoundrels than their female counterparts. In the early fourteenth-century romance, *Bevis of Hampton*, shrewishness is associated with foreignness and criminality: 'Thar was a Lombard in the toun, / That was scherewed and feloun.'[10] Later, in the fifteenth-century *Dives and Pauper*, 'shrew' is included in a catalogue of prohibited social vice: 'þer schal no schrewe … no lechour, no wyckyd lyuer entryn into þis cite' (2.319).[11] Damaging speech often falls under the rubric of shrewishness, so that Chaucer's Parson comments, 'The bakbitere wol turne al thilke goodnesse vp so doun to his shrewed entente' (X.495). The Parson's characterization, furthermore, reveals the term's broader association with spiritual wickedness. Personifications of the deadly sins are shrews in the Parson's sermon, 'In this forseyde develes fourneys ther forgen thre shrewes: Pride … Enuye … contumelie (X.554). In the *Canon's Yeoman's Tale*, the devil himself is a shrew: 'Thogh that the feend, noght in oure sighte hym shewe, / I trowe he with us be, that ilke shrewe!' (VIII.916–17). William Langland's *Piers Plowman* draws a like comparison: 'thei don vuele and the deuel plesen, / And aftur heore deth-day schul dwelle with the shrewe.'[12] Yet it is the fifteenth-century

poet Thomas Hoccleve who makes this association most directly with the declaration, 'the feend is a shrewe.'[13]

In many instances, 'shrew' indicates the dangers of hypocrisy, particularly as dissembling might be employed by a false or evil counselor. Public figures could be shrewish, as John Paston makes clear in his fifteenth-century letter. After suggesting that there 'was shrewde rewle toward in this cuntre,' Paston protests the general lawlessness he observes by widening his condemnation: 'this cuntre wold fayne take these fals shrewes that are of an oppynion contrary to the Kyng and his Counsell.'[14] This association between counsel, governance, and the state brings us to familiar early modern ground, for the rhetoric that makes the household into a microcosm of the state facilitates 'shrew's' domestication into a feminine term. In the fourteenth century, as in later discourse, the analogy between governance of household and realm was widespread. Chaucer's *Tale of Melibee* probably offers the best example of this equivalence, opposing rational rule to immoderate shrewishness in its prudent reform of masculine governance. In this *psychomachia*, the allegorized household collapses the distinction between rule of the self and the state. Self-regulation, Chaucer's dialogue suggests, is the political responsibility of the male sovereign, because that type of sovereignty extends to the domestic, no matter how vast or confined its borders. While Melibee certainly needs the advice of his wife Prudence to rule himself, the tale's allegory makes her wisdom a fully integrated part of her husband's consciousness, household, and therefore realm.

Prudence's use of the term 'shrew' affirms its associations with wickedness, but her handling also offers reasoned rulers a means to distinguish themselves from those who practice vice. Prudence advises Melibee that he should not follow the counsel of 'shrewes' with a litany of examples from other wise men: David, Seneca, Paul, and Cassiadorus all condemn shrews for their vice (VII.1196–8;1525–35). Shrewishness, in Prudence's opinion, signifies a lack of masculine control, an intemperate violence that will destroy Melibee through its ability to replicate and intensify: 'a man shal nevere vengen shrewednesse by shrewednesse' (VII.1531). Her use of 'shrew' points to its broader association with the bodily humors, explicitly connecting physical and spiritual corruption through this marker of unruliness. John Trevisa's translation of Bartholomaeus Anglicus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum* makes this association directly when he explains that 'Blaynes and bladdres swellinges ben ibred and comeþ of schrewid and corrupt humours þat comeþ to þe vttir parties.'[15] Elsewhere Chaucer's use of the term signifies a lack of balance, but in his *Treatise on the Astrolabe*, we see the cosmological dangers that

accompany an ill-managed domicile. In instructing 'Lyte Lowys' upon the ways that he might determine a sign's ascendancy – which was described as a planet's ability to govern its 'house' – Chaucer cautions his son to make sure 'That he be not retrograd, ne combust, ne joyned with no shrewe in the same signe' (Ast. 2.4.50–2).

As this planetary example illustrates, the self out of balance could easily show itself in affairs of household management. Perhaps because 'shrew' was often used to describe an unruly male child, the term frequently appears in behavioral treatises addressed from father to son. In these instances, a father shows his self-mastery by giving advice that would prevent his son from being labeled a shrew. This kind of instruction is important since a father's governance was supposed to influence the child's disposition, as Robert Mannyng suggests in his devotional manual, *Handlyng Synne*: 'Ryche men haue shrewed sones.'[16] Peter Idley's instructions make 'shrew' a weapon that will distinguish the refined son from his loutish opponent: 'And if he woll fight, ye calle hym a fyne shrewe.'[17] Discretion in speech, however, remains the key to separating oneself from the identity of the shrew, as 'þe wyse man taght his sone' indicates: 'He þat his tonge con not holde, / In compaygnye a schrewe is tolde.'[18] The fifteenth-century treatise *Ratis Raving* expresses a similar idea, advising the son to avoid the fraternity of 'shrewes.'[19] *The Boke of Curtasye* frames its advice in terms that return to issues of trustworthy guidance: 'To any wy3t thy counselle yf thou schewe, / Be war that he be not a schrewe, / Lest he disclaundyr the with tong.'[20]

Of course, there was also a strain of usage that made 'shrew' a label for an unruly wife. In Chaucer's *Merchant's Tale*, Justinus warns January that his seemingly meek wife might turn out to be 'ootherweys a shrewe' (IV.1534). At the conclusion of this story of wifely outrage, host Harry Bailey responds with what we might consider to be characteristic masculine commiseration: 'I have a wyf … of hir tonge, a labbyng shrewe is she, / And yet she hath an heep of vices mo' (IV.2427; 2428–9). John Lydgate employs the familiar adage: '[T]her be thynges thre, / Shrewed wyfes, rayne, and smokes blake, / Makith husbondes there howses to fforsake,' to capture the disorder that women bring to men's governance: 'For wher women woll flitte & be variable, / Shall no man make hem stedfast & stable.'[21] Earlier rhetoric designating the unruly feminine shrew, however, coexists with condemnations of men accused of abusive or intemperate behavior, from violent husbands to corrupt judges. In these renderings, gender difference could evaporate, since both wife and husband might be guilty of shrewish behavior in a disordered domicile. A husband's dissolute habits might make his

wife shrewish, or a wife's chiding might provoke a shrewish response from a husband. When Jankyn knocks the Wife of Bath to the ground so 'That in the floor I lay as I were deed' (III.796) his immoderate violence separates him from the rational authority clerical training mandates for husbands. As these examples demonstrate, medieval shrews represented a more expansive range of unruly behavior than feminine insurrection.

## II

Whether male or female, medieval shrews are defined by a fundamental lack of self-governance. This is due in part to the fact that 'shrew' demarcated far more than gender difference in premodern England. Signaling disorder at the most basic and intimate level, 'shrew' often marked upheaval in the idealized hierarchy posited for the individual soul. To be sure, the soul's hierarchy was figured using gendered terms, which ultimately provided a foundational rubric that equated masculine authority with rational control. Yet in his speculative treatise, *De Trinitate*, Augustine divides the soul's rational powers into masculine wisdom and feminine knowledge as a way *to avoid* the binary that would associate human reason wholly with men and sensual appetite totally with women.[22] In later centuries, however, the Augustinian formation of the soul more explicitly structures marital union as a hierarchy that sanctions masculine control. In Walter Hilton's *Scale of Perfection*, one of the most important devotional guides of the fourteenth century, gender hierarchy elucidates the ideal structure of the ordered soul:

> The overe is likned to a man, for it schulde be maister and sovereyne, and that is propirli the ymage of God, for bi that oonli the soule knoweth God and loveth God. And the nethere is likned to a woman, for it shulde be buxum to the overe partie of resoun, as a woman is buxum to a man.[23]

Especially when paired with an Aristotelian naturalism, which famously associated woman with the flesh and man with the spirit, Hilton's Augustinian account of the soul represents 'womanly' knowledge as dangerously susceptible to the pull of sensuality. Because the feminized power of knowledge is fundamentally passive, a receptive faculty that is moved by higher wisdom or lower appetite, it is in great need of masculine guidance.

Accordingly, Hilton uses medieval typologies of feminine weakness to illustrate the challenges that the soul's disorder poses to the devout Christian. Because the soul is made in the likeness of God, Hilton claims it is innately fair; yet, without appropriate discipline, Hilton claims the soul is as 'freel as woman in thi bodi for thi first synne.'[24] Echoing a common misogamous proverb, Hilton insists that a husband who 'come to his hous and founde nothynge therinne but stynkynge smoke and a flitynge wif, he wolde sone renne oute of it.'[25] In Hilton's rendering, which aligns femininity with 'fleischli thoughtes criynge upon thee that thou may bee in noo pees,' the tormented husband is a figurative representative of the intellective soul.[26] This gender dichotomy, then, reinforces the hierarchy of the soul's rationality: if the unruly flesh influences the soul, its feminine instability becomes manifest; if the measured intellect manages the soul, its masculine discretion becomes apparent. Because masculine and feminine equally partake in the central power of reason, Hilton's Trinitarian soul, consisting of 'mynde, resoun, and wille,' still functions as a binary of 'higher' masculine and 'lower' feminine powers.[27] Hilton's *Scale*, printed early and often in pre-Reformation England, is one among several devotional texts that posit connections between domestic disorder and shrewish rebellion to navigate the gendered contours of embodied spirituality.[28]

For Hilton, 'thyn hous, that is in thi soule' must be managed through a careful regimen of bodily order.[29] The late medieval epistolary treatise *Book to a Mother* is similar in this regard, suggesting that 'God makep a mann*es* soule his hous, strong and fayre and louely to his sight.'[30] Because Hilton focuses on internal continence, his condemnation of shrewish behavior prescribes careful control over what he calls 'fleishli' affections, which manifest themselves through 'angrynesse or a schrewid word.'[31] Because the author of *Book to a Mother* uses the instructions he directs to his newly widowed mother as a means to guide a broader Christian community, his lexicon of shrewishness is far more expansive, uniting social conduct and spiritual condition in a manner that encompasses almost every sense of 'shrew' visited in previous examples. When he tells his mother that her body is the house over which her spouse Christ should reign, then advises her against acting like a 'schrewe' when she's at home with her divine husband (especially since she's presented herself as 'a good woman' publicly), the *Book's* author equates being a good wife with being a good Christian.[32] Earlier male writers such as Bernard of Clairvaux contemplated spiritual union with the divine in spousal terms, and other male writers instructed religious women upon the points of behavioral decorum in works such as the *Ancrene Wisse*;

nevertheless, here we see a conflation of these modes in advice that is explicitly directed to a secular community.[33] The author of this treatise instructs his mother both in terms of her spiritual role as spouse and her social role as widow, since for him, apparently, they are identical.

Near the end of his treatise, the *Book's* author deploys an economical rendering of Peter to insist that submission to masculine authority – internally but also externally – is the proper expression of Christian devotion for a pious woman such as his mother: 'Also wom*m*en, be ȝe soget to men.'[34] Using spiritual authority to mandate marital hierarchy, late medieval devotional writers identify those who rebel against divine authority as bad spouses, and more particularly, as bad wives. In Nicholas Love's *Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ*, an orthodox attempt to offer lay-access to experiential piety, spiritual rebellion manifests itself as shrewish behavior in an explicitly social frame. In Love's rendering, those who will not follow the teachings of their spiritual advisors are 'shrews [who practice] yuel lyuyng.'[35] Like other religious writers, Love provides the reasoned guidance those seeking to know the divine need, at least according to the late medieval church. But husbands were equally responsible for this type of spiritual authority, even in the fourteenth century. In his treatise on the *Mixed Life*, Hilton advises his merchant-addressee to govern himself carefully, for his spiritual fitness signifies his ability to order the household: 'For þou shalt oo tyme … be bisi for to rule and gouerne þi houshood, þi children, þi seruantis, þi neighbores, þi tenauntes: ef þei doon yuele, for to teche hem and amende hem and chastice hem.'[36] Similarly, fourteenth-century mystic Richard Rolle claims in his *Form of Living* that those involved in the 'actife lyfe' are required 'to ordayne thair meyne in drede and in the lufe of God, and fynd tham thaire necessaries.'[37] Neither Hilton nor Rolle call bad husbands shrews, but as other medieval examples attest, men who shirk the responsibility to provide domestic order were socially and spiritually dissolute, labeled 'shrews' on account of their comprehensive misrule.

Although early modern marriage discourse centralized the husband's household authority by employing an extensive rhetoric of political sovereignty, much of the prescriptive impetus of later manuals and sermons derived from the spiritual structure provided by earlier literatures of devotional instruction. John Dod and Robert Cleaver famously compare the household to 'a little commonwealth,' yet they expressly declare that the wisdom that authorizes the husband's government is spiritual more than social: 'But the wisdome that we speake of, is not naturall, but fetched from the fountaine of all wisdome, God himself.'[38] One of

the husband's primary duties is 'to prouide that they may liue under an ordinary ministerie of the Word, or else to take order … they resort to such places where they may haue the word ministred vnto them.'[39] The revealingly titled treatise, *Covnsell to the Hvsband, To the Wife instruction*, founds masculine authority on explicitly religious grounds, declaring that 'euery mans house, (rightlie ordered and gouerned by the / rules // rules of godlines) not vniustly, or without cause (by the holy Ghost) [is] called a *Church*' (emphasis original).[40] Edward Topsell defines the 'perfect man' as one who possesses wisdom, 'whereby he teacheth himself and others' and government, 'whereby hee ruleth himselfe and others,' but both of these qualities derive from 'the mirrour of perfection, Iesu Christ.'[41] These instances hearken back to medieval figurations, which associate Christ's authority with the image of a 'housholdere,' and thereby suggest that ultimate masculine authority is identified with the office of 'a housholdynge man.'[42]

## III

Examples such as these reveal that early modern household authority is deeply invested in regimes of spiritual order. Even so, medieval writings more readily acknowledge the spiritual foundation of gender difference through their allegorical figurations of household order: masculine sovereignty, deriving as it does from a naturalized hierarchy within the soul of each person, *depends* on the reasoned exercise of domestic guidance for its authority.[43] Evidence of measured reason, of gender hierarchy, or of spiritual order, however, was often visibly scarce, providing ample fodder for an extensive comic tradition in both medieval and early modern popular literatures. In medieval examples, physical violence confirms the lack of reason that would prevent a husband from ruling the domestic, however localized. The Old French fabliau 'Sire Hain et Dame Anieuse' (ca. thirteenth century), like the fifteenth-century Chester and Wakefield *Noah* plays, uses domestic brawling to show a husband's loss of control, over the household, and over the masculine rationality it represents.[44] In this fabliau the husband and wife fight for the husband's pants in order to decide who should rule. The husband gets the better of the wife, mostly because the neighbors seize upon her misstep in order to declare the husband's victory. When the wife falls into a basket, the neighbors call on her to respect her husband's absolute authority. Although she relents, the wife qualifies her surrender, potentially admitting that inveterate feminine intractability will undermine her subservience: 'I'd gladly give my word, except / by such as me, can it

be kept? / This promise (which is just words) is all that I can guarantee.'[45] Her reluctant capitulation equally suggests that conditions of submission predicated upon physical violence are less reasonable (and therefore less stable) than those achieved by moderated consent.

'La Dame Escoillee,' a fabliau which has much in common with early modern taming literatures, also questions violence as an effective means to achieve masculine mastery over the household.[46] Similar to the ballad 'A Merry Jest of a Shrewd and Curst Wife Lapped in Morel's Skin, for Her Good Behavior,' recalcitrance is a legacy passed down from mother to daughter.[47] The mother gainsays everything the father commands, and she instructs her soon-to-be-wed daughter to adopt such gestures of stubbornness with her new husband, a young count. Like Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*, this story treats violence as a carefully cultivated domestic curative, a regime of discipline that the noble son-in-law administers to restore masculine mastery over the household. The young count does not get involved in a reckless brawl, but instead whips his wife with a thorn branch in a manner meant to replicate judicial punishment. When he really wants to impress his wife, however, he uses the spectacle of violence to deter her from her unruly habits. Besides beating animals and maiming servants, the young count sets about the task of 'taming' his mother-in-law. Here too the theatricality of violence contributes to the show of masculine power, for the son-in-law arms himself with props – bull's testicles, a sharp blade, and a sturdy bucket – in order to reform his wife and her chiding mother.

Explaining to his wife that headstrong women disrupt marital hierarchy because of a physical deformity – testicles embedded in their loins – he seizes his mother-in-law, cuts her buttocks, and pretends to extract the bull's balls from her unruly flesh. When he threatens to cauterize the wounds to make sure the testicles do not regenerate, the mother-in-law promises submission, while the daughter declares her affinity with her father's measured temperament. The speech of absolute submission that the women deliver would seemingly justify the count's methods, except for the possibility that he has usurped the masculine authority of his father-in-law. Using a quieter system of control, the father has perfected a way of getting what he wants from his headstrong wife: realizing that she will counter everything he says, the father has made it a habit to declare the contrary of his true desire. For example, when he wants a guest to be lodged in their house, he instructs the wife to turn away the visitor. The tale insists that the household actually runs exactly according to the rich husband's wishes. It is only because the son-in-law cannot abide such displays of feminine disrespect that he takes up his

program of visible domination. The suspect potential of the younger man's treatment is highlighted by the fact that he waits until the father is away to administer this curative. When the father returns, the story is ambiguous about the elder man's approval, merely stating that 'he's convinced she'll change her life.' [48]

The conclusion of this fabliau speaks approvingly of the young count's ability to cure a wicked wife, but the tableau of graphic violence that characterizes the young man's behavior makes the fabliau's praise, 'The count performed a noble deed,' a characteristic example of the genre's doubling humor.[49] Despite the young noble's ability to present each vicious act as part of a carefully orchestrated program of discipline, the cumulative sum of his cruelty affirms that his desire for mastery is excessive, potentially decadent. The striking contrast with the father's tamer methods of domestic control certainly suggests that the count's exercises of authority are unnecessary, perhaps unreasonable. Calling into question the best means to establish masculine authority, this tale touches on the debate at the heart of the later English shrew-discourse, including the taming plays. It does so, moreover, by joining questions of spiritual and social authority in a way that illuminates early modern shrew-literatures. For, as Pamela Allen Brown demonstrates, there was a strain of early modern shrew literature that ran directly counter to the taming narratives featuring domestic violence.[50] Much of this comic writing sanctioned shrewish behavior on the part of wives, first by casting women's recalcitrance as a defensive reaction against masculine abuse. Equally important for my purposes, some jests and ballads mount a positive argument for women's shrewish conduct, valorizing women's agency as an expression of intellectual verve that actually benefits husbands.

With jaunty clarity, the mock-debate in *A hundred points of husbandrie* defines a shrewish wife as a valuable household asset for her husband: 'She may in something seeme a shrew … Yet will shee helpe thee thrive.'[51] Undoubtedly, as Susan Dwyer Amussen maintains, this attitude derives in part from a clear-eyed recognition that passive wives would be unable to perform even basic domestic tasks in the early modern household.[52] But it also accords with the gender hierarchy idealized in medieval religious discourse and redeployed in early modern domestic writings. From Augustine onwards, women were allowed a lesser form of knowledge, which functioned as a support for a husband's reasoned authority. Even if women were not expected to manifest independent thought, they were credited with the savvy ability to work for the good of the household (always responsive, of course, to the husband's overarching command). While medievals made this hierarchy foundational to the

human soul, early moderns made it central to the family's organization. To cite only one example from Dod and Cleaver's *A godly forme of household government*, household hierarchy allows women a form of power, but wives must knowingly submit their authority to the rational command of their husbands:

> The Gouernors of families, (as it is in marriage) there be more than one vpon whom the charge of gouernment lieth, though vnequally, are first, the *chiefe Gouernor*, which is the *Husband*, secondly, a *fellow-helper*, which is the *Wife*. (emphasis original).[53]

Wives must consciously allow themselves to be guided by their husbands, using their mental savvy only to reinforce male sovereignty or to further masculine interests. If female shrews are positive figures, then, it is only because their shrewd habits are contained within an idealized gender hierarchy.

## IV

From devotional instruction to comic literature to domestic discourse, feminine knowledge serves masculine reason, constituting a crucial part of the ideally ordered domestic body. And, although feminizing the term 'shrew' recognizes women's agency, this structure of gender difference also defines wifely power as an exclusive product of masculine governance. This hierarchy obviously contains women's power, but it also puts more pressure on men to perform their domestic duties in ways that make their self-control manifest. By suggesting that the shrewd acuity of women is responsive to the administered guidance of men, early modern texts reinforce associations of masculinity with reason. As a consequence, the rational imperative associated with masculine authority weighs even more heavily on early modern husbands, insofar as married men are expected to demonstrate their measured self-governance through a visible regimen of domestic discipline. 'Shrew's' feminization, therefore, enables charges of domestic abuse against men, since unruly husbands are unable to provide the rational discipline that authorizes masculine control. From comic literature to domestic discourse to household drama, then, men who fail to display rationality in their exercises of governance forfeit their presumption to wield masculine authority, becoming *male* shrews through feminized displays of frenzied misrule. By acting like ungoverned women, male shrews lose all positive gender associations, either with masculine reason or with feminine knowledge.

John Fletcher's *Woman's Prize* suggests that Petruchio's taming theatrics transform him into an irrational creature of this very kind.[54] Over the course of Fletcher's play, Maria adopts the identity of the headstrong female partner, or a 'shrew,' to turn Petruchio from his immoderate ways.[55] With her declaration, 'There's a fellow … [must] be made a man, for yet he is a monster,' she insists that Petruchio lacks the rational constancy that would authorize his household mastery (*Woman's Prize*, I.ii.102–4). It is easy to assume that Petruchio's rough ways, which Sophocles says will 'bury' the mild Maria, are simply leftovers from the provocations of his former wife, Katherine. And, although many audiences assume that Katherine must have shown her true-shrew colors after the submissive display that ends the *Taming of the Shrew*, Fletcher's play complicates the conclusion that Katherine merely winks when she delivers her final performance of submission.[56] For, there is only one point at which Fletcher's play suggests Katherine remained a shrew after the close of Shakespeare's folio-drama, and it is highly ambiguous. Bewildered by Maria's stubborn resistance, Petruchio says that he learned the folly involved in reforming a rebellious wife from his first union: 'Had I not ev'ry morning a rare breakfast, / Mixt with a learned Lecture of ill language … was there evening / That ere past over us, without thou knave, / Or thou whore, for digestion?' (*Woman's Prize*, III.iii.157–62). He recounts marital strife, yet it remains possible that such quarrelling was precipitated by Petruchio's provocative conduct: 'But like a cur I was faine to shew my teeth first' (*Woman's Prize*, III.iii.164).

Despite evidence of domestic brawling, Petruchio affirms the success of his taming program in Shakespeare's folio play.[57] With his declaration, 'After the mighty mannage of my first wife … After my twelve strong labours to reclaime her' (*Woman's Prize*, II.vi.11, 13), Fletcher's Petruchio suggests that Katherine was a changed woman at the end of *Taming of the Shrew*. More disturbingly, then, recollections of Petruchio's first wife in *Tamer Tam'd* present the possibility that Katherine remained a shrew even if she never again acted against Petruchio's command. By exploring the negative consequences that potentially follow Katherine because of her status as 'shrew,' Fletcher recasts Petruchio's taming program as an exercise of irrational and unjustified violence. If we recall the standard of shrewishness that Petruchio constructs in *Taming of the Shrew* – which solely depends upon Petruchio's evaluation of his wife's conduct – then it is possible that Petruchio continues to regard Katherine as a shrew even if she continues to perform obedience. As the scenes cataloguing Katherine's taming attest, the conditions of correction are severe because her personal imbalance is grave: Katherine cannot get

food, rest, or peace; she is prisoner to her husband's whimsy, no matter how unreasonable. Until her behavior meets Petruchio's demand for submission, however extreme, Katherine will continue to be treated like a shrew. Denying the positive potential of women's shrewishness, Shakespeare's folio play instead posits wifely obedience as the ultimate marker of masculine (self) control.

Katherine's radical willingness to disavow reason, to discard standards of objective truth in service to Petruchio's command, becomes the only means for her to escape the taming rituals her husband imposes. Her final speech, however, does not secure her reputation for obedience, since even modern audiences of the play have a hard time crediting the sincerity of her submission. Even so, her scandalous embrace of Petruchio's formulaic demands powerfully shifts attention to the masculine authority that compels her choreographed display of submission. Paired with what I have called Katherine's 'performative passivity,' the expansive history of the term 'shrew' provides a negative commentary on masculine dominance.[58] For, let us imagine what might have happened after the close of Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew*. Are we to assume that Katherine must continue to satisfy Petruchio's demands upon her behavior, including his ability to compel her to cross custom by kissing in the street? Are we to suppose that Katherine would be willing to humiliate herself, even to deny her senses, in encounters similar to the scene in which she tells an old man he is a fresh maiden? Are we to believe that Katherine's judgments in all matters of self-presentation, including her wardrobe, are to be cast aside in favor of Petruchio's preferences? I think so, and that is before we confront the possibility that Katherine might be compelled to prostrate herself, again and again, in competitive displays that flatter Petruchio's desires for mastery.

Two questions therefore arise from the folio's shrew-taming scenario, both of which I believe *Tamer Tam'd* explores. First, what would happen to Katherine were she really transformed into Petruchio's ideal wife? Fletcher's play opens the possibility that Petruchio tames Katherine to death, using Maria's resistance to demonstrate the unreasonable expectations that Petruchio foists upon his spouse. The second question that Fletcher's play pursues, therefore, follows from the first: how does Katherine's submission reflect upon Petruchio's authority? Maria's taming program suggests that it does not reflect very well, since *Petruchio furioso*, with his immoderate and contradictory demands for obedience, undermines his legitimacy as head of the household. Wifely obedience is clearly not at issue in *The Woman's Prize*, since Maria turns tame the instant Petruchio recognizes her authority. She simply and firmly

demands constancy in his conduct, for she believes that Petruchio's wife-breaking antics belittle his claims to masculine authority. Even in its doubling title, then, *The Tamer Tam'd* critiques the shrew-taming within Shakespeare's folio play, exposing Petruchio's absolutist demands for Katherine's submission as unreasonable abuse of masculine authority. It does so, moreover, by making available the gendered bivalence of 'shrew,' drawing upon the term's expansive cultural trajectory to demonstrate Petruchio's irrational transgression. As the history of the term 'shrew' indicates, masculine dominance requires more than the simple suppression of what Natalie Zemon Davis usefully and memorably calls the 'woman on top.'[59] If Maria acts like a shrew in Fletcher's play, then more tellingly and more troublingly, so does Petruchio.

## Notes

For their helpful comments, thanks to Anna Bayman, Chuck Conaway, Laurie Maguire, Leah S. Marcus, Bill Sherman, and George Southcombe. Thanks also to David Wootton, who gave me the initial opportunity to present these ideas. Thanks finally to the Folger Shakespeare Library, where I was allowed to conduct further research for this article with the support of a Short-Term Fellowship.

1. All quotations taken from William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. Brian Morris, Arden Shakespeare, ed. Harold F. Brooks, Harold Jenkins, and Brian Morris (London: Methuen, 1981), hereafter cited parenthetically in the text.
2. See Sandra Clark's essay in this volume, 'Shrews, Marriage and Murder,' Chapter 2, for evidence of the widespread effort to 'feminize' shrewishness as a means to solidify masculine power over the domestic, particularly by valorizing male violence against supposedly 'shrewish' female rebellion.
3. See Natalie Zemon Davis's classic discussion of charivaris in her, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975), pp. 97–123. Also see Karen Newman, *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 35–9.
4. Lynda Boose, 'Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42 (1991): 179–213; see Susan Dwyer Amussen, '"Being Stirred to Much Unquietness": Violence and Domestic Violence in Early Modern England,' *Journal of Women's History* 6 (1994): 70–89; Frances E. Dolan, *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550–1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994); and David Underdown, 'The Taming of the Scold: the Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England,' *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 116–36.
5. *Taming of a Shrew*, *1594*, The Malone Society Reprints, vol. 160 (Oxford: Published for the Malone Society by Oxford University Press, 1998), lines 1593–4.

6. Pamela Allen Brown, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama, and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003), p. 1; Valerie Wayne, 'Refashioning the Shrew,' *Shakespeare Studies* 17 (1985): 159–87; Frances Dolan, 'Introduction', William Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Frances Dolan (Boston: Bedford, 1996), pp. 8–14.
7. Lisa Jardine, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1983), p. 103.
8. All quotations taken from John Fletcher, *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed*, ed. George B. Ferguson (The Hague: Mouton, 1966), cited parenthetically in the text.
9. All quotations taken from Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1987), cited parenthetically in the text.
10. *Bevis of Hampton*, *Four Romances of England: King Horn, Havelok the Dane, Bevis of Hampton, Athelston*, ed. Ronald B. Herzman, Graham Drake, and Eve Salisbury, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999), line 4497–8.
11. *Dives et Pauper*, Vol. I, part 2, ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum, Early English Text Society, no. 280 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for EETS, 1980), X.x.22–3 [p. 319].
12. William Langland, *Piers Plowman*, A-Text, *Vision of Piers the Plowman in Three Parallel Texts, Together with Richard the Redeless*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1886), X. 208–9.
13. Thomas Hoccleve, *The Tale of Jereslaus's Wife and Her False Brother-in-Law, From* Gesta Romanorum, *Hoccleve's Works, Volume I: The Minor Poems*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, no. 61 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1892), pp. 140–75, line 497. This tale, which Hoccleve proceeds to moralize in terms of the soul's struggle to remain faithful to Christ (pp. 175–8), catalogs the impassioned treacheries of various men against a faithful Empress: 'This Emperour þat y spak of aboue / is our lord Ihesu Cryst / his wyf is the soule' (p. 175).
14. *The Paston Letters*, *1422–1509*, ed. James Gardiner, vol. II, letter 384 [p. 4].
15. *On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of* Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum, *A Critical Text*, ed. M.C. Seymour, et al [ed. for Book V, Ralph Hanna, III], vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1975), Book V, Chapter 28 [p. 224. Lines 14–15].
16. Robert Mannyng of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Idelle Sullens, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, vol. 14 (Binghampton, NY: SUNY Binghampton, 1983), line 4906.
17. *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn (Boston: MLA Publications, 1935), 2.B.1333.
18. *How the Wise Man Taught His Son*, *The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.,* ed. Frederick Furnivall, EETS 117 (London: Paul, Trench, and Trubner & Co. for EETS, 1892–99), line 380.
19. *The Consail and Teiching that the Wys Man Gaif His Sone*, *Ratis Raving and other Moral and Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse,* ed. J.R. Lumby, EETS 43 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for EETS, 1870), lines 400–56.
20. *The Boke of Curtasye*, *An english Poem of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. James Halliwell (London: Percy Society, 1841), lines 245–7.

21. John Lydgate, 'The Pain and Sorrow of Evil Marriage,' *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, part II, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken, Early English Text Society, no. 192 (London: Oxford University Press for EETS, 1911), lines 89–91; 'Examples Against Women,' *Minor Poems*, lines 97–8.
22. Augustine, *De Trinitate*, Book XII.
23. Walter Hilton, *The Scale of Perfection*, ed. Thomas H. Bestul (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000), 2, 663–6.
24. Hilton, 1.2291.
25. Hilton, 1.1522–4.
26. Hilton, 1.1525–6.
27. Hilton, 1.1150.
28. Helen Gardner, 'The Text of *The Scale of Perfection*,' *Medium Aevum* 5 (1936), p. 11 [11–30], points out that Hilton's work was the first English mystical work printed in English. Wynkyn de Worde printed it in 1494, and thereafter it went through several other printings.
29. 1.1423.
30. Adrian James McCarthy, ed. *Book to a Mother: An Edition with Commentary* (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerkanistik, 1981), p. 7, lines 11–12.
31. Hilton, 1.1979.
32. *Book to a Mother*, p. 124.
33. See Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Ann W. Astell, *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990); Anne Clark Bartlett, *Male Authors, Female Readers: Representation and Subjectivity in Middle English Devotional Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Nancy Bradley Warren, *Spiritual Economies: Female Monasticism in Later Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001); and Elizabeth Robertson, *Early English Devotional Prose and the Female Audience* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990).
34. *Book to a Mother*, p. 175.
35. Nicholas Love, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004), p. 25.
36. Walter Hilton, *Mixed Life, Walter Hilton's 'Mixed Life' Edited from Lambeth Palace MS 472*, ed. S.J. Ogilvie-Thompson (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1986), lines 103–7.
37. Richard Rolle, *The Form of Living, English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*, ed. Hope Emily Allen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), chap. 12, lines 20–2.
38. John Dod and Robert Cleaver, *A godly forme of household government* 1598 (STC 5388, printed 1630), sig A1v.
39. Dod and Cleaver, sig. B2v.
40. Ste. B., *Counsell to the Husband: To the Wife instruction*, 1608 (STC 1069), pp. 5–6.
41. Edward Topsell, *The house-holder: or, Perfect man. Preached in three sermons lately by Ed: Topsell, preacher at Saint Buttolphs without Aldersgate*, 1610 (STC 24126), p. 5.
42. Thomas Wimbledon, *Wimbledon's Sermon 'Redde Rationem Villicationis Tue': A Middle English Sermon of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Ione Kemp Knight

(Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1967), pp. 61–6. See also the *MED*, s.v., 'housholder(e).'

43. See *Sawles Warde*, *Medieval English Prose for Women: Selections from the Katherine Group and 'Ancrene Wisse,'* ed. Bella Millett and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), pp. 86–90, in which 'Wit' is allegorically figured as the head of the body/household, and 'will' is represented as his unruly spouse (who corrupts the household servants, the physical senses).
44. 'Sire Hain et Dame Anieuse,' *Nouveau Recueil Complet des Fabliaux* (NRCF), eds. Willem Noomen and Nico van den Boogaard, 10 vols. (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1983–98), 2.5. All translations of this fabliau are by N.E. Dubin, © 2003. Thanks to Professor Dubin for allowing me to use his unpublished verse translation of this fabliau. See also, *Chester Mystery Cycle*, ed. R.M. Lumiansky and David Mills, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974–86); *The Towneley Plays,* ed. Martin Stevens and A.C. Cawley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
45. *NRCF*, 2.5.383–5 'Par foi, bien le vueil creanter / Por que je m'en puisse garder; Ainsi en vueil fere l'otroi,'
46. 'La Dame Escoillee,' *NRCF*, 8.83. 'The Gelded Lady: A New Translation,' trans. Nathaniel E. Dubin. *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews*, 17.4 (2004): 11–25. All citations from this translation. Jean-Pierre Martin, '*La Male Dame*, ou la courtoisie renversee,' *Comique, satire et parodie dans la tradition renardienne et les fabliaux*, ed. Danièlle Buschinger and Andre Crépin (Goppingen: Kummerle, 1983, 71–80), argues that this fabliau influenced Shakespeare.
47. *A Merry Jest of a Shrewd and Curst Wife Lapped in Morel's Skin, for Her Good Behavior*, *The Taming of the Shrew: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Frances E. Dolan (Boston and New York: Bedford, 196), pp. 254–88. Also see *tom Tiler and His Wife*, *Two Tudor 'Shrew' Plays*, ed. John S. Farmer (London: Early English Drama Society, 1908). In both texts husbands use methods of taming supposedly appropriate for animals to tame their unruly wives. For a discussion of such methods, see Joan Hartwig, 'Horses and Women in *Taming of the Shrew*,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 45 (1982): 285–94.
48. *NRCF*, 8.83. 'The Gelded Lady,' p. 23 [line 568].
49. *NRCF*, 8.83. 'The Gelded Lady,' p. 24 [line 578].
50. Brown, 204–8.
51. Qtd. in Brown, p. 207.
52. Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988), pp. 117–25.
53. Dod and Cleaver, sig. B3r;
54. See Edward Topsell, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts*, (STC 24123), pp. 534–41, which catalogues the shrew's venomous constitution. Although she does not address Topsell's entry for 'shrew,' Gail Kern Paster, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004), pp. 135–88, for a helpful discussion of connections between humoral theory and animal dispositions. Since she earlier argues that *Taming of the Shrew* is a 'humoral fantasy' (pp. 129–34), her comments about Petruchio's 'choleric' male privilege are particularly relevant to Topsell's characterization of the shrew: 'It beareth a cruell minde, desiring to hurt any thing, neither is

there any creature that it loueth, or it loueth him, because it is feared of al' (p. 536).

55. It is important to recognize, however, that Fletcher never calls Maria, Petruchio, or any of the other women 'shrew.' The closest invocation of the term occurs at I.iii.106–8, when Maria's answer to Petruchio is characterized as 'a shrewd saying.'
56. In a famous performance, Mary Pickford winks at the camera when she delivers Katherine's final speech: *Taming of the Shrew*, dir. Sam Taylor (1929) [cast: Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford, et al].
57. See Emily Detmer, 'Civilizing Subordination: Domestic Violence and *The Taming of the Shrew*,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48 (1997): 273–94, who notes that many sixteenth-century marriage manuals link status to conduct, claiming that a gentle husband proves his nobility. Because Petruchio restrains himself physically, at least with Katherine, he proves his gentle status.
58. Holly A. Crocker, 'Affective Resistance: Performative Passivity and Playing A-Part in *Taming of the Shrew*,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 54 (2003): 142–59.
59. Davis, pp. 124–51. Of particular relevance is her discussion of the 'virtuous virago' on pp. 144–6.

## Works cited

*A Merry Jest of a Shrewd and Curst Wife Lapped in Morel's Skin, for Her Good Behavior*. *The Taming of the Shrew: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Frances E. Dolan (Boston and New York: Bedford, 1996) 254–88.

Amussen, Susan Dwyer, '"Being Stirred to Much Unquietness": Violence and Domestic Violence in Early Modern England,' *Journal of Women's History* 6 (1994): 70–89.

——. *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1988).

Astell, Ann W., *The Song of Songs in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990).

Augustine, *On the Trinity* [*De Trinitate*], ed. Gareth Matthews (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

Bartlett, Anne Clark, *Male Authors, Female Readers: Representation and Subjectivity in Middle English Devotional Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995).

*Bevis of Hampton*, *Four Romances of England: King Horn, Havelok the Dane, Bevis of Hampton, Athelston*, ed. Ronald B. Herzman, Graham Drake, and Eve Salisbury, TEAMS (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 1999).

*The Boke of Curtasye*, *An english Poem of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. James Halliwell (London: Percy Society, 1841).

*Book to a Mother: An Edition with Commentary*, ed. Adrian James McCarthy (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerkanistik, 1981).

Boose, Lynda, 'Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42 (1991): 179–213.

Brown, Pamela Allen, *Better a Shrew than a Sheep: Women, Drama, and the Culture of Jest in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2003).

Bynum, Caroline Walker, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

Chaucer, Geoffrey, *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Boston: Houghton-Mifflin, 1987).
*Chester Mystery Cycle*, ed. R.M. Lumiansky and David Mills, 2 vols. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974–86).
Clark, Sandra, 'Shrews, Marriage, and Murder,' *Shrews: Gender and Power in Shrew-Taming Narratives, 1500–1700*, ed. Graham Holderness and David Wootton (Basingstoke: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2010), pp. 29–47.
*The Consail and Teiching that the Wys Man Gaif His Sone, Ratis Raving and other Moral and Religious Pieces in Prose and Verse,* ed. J.R. Lumby, EETS 43 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for EETS, 1870).
Crocker, Holly A., 'Affective Resistance: Performative Passivity and Playing A-Part in *Taming of the Shrew*,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 54 (2003): 142–59.
Davis, Natalie Zemon, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1975) 97–123.
Detmer, Emily, 'Civilizing Subordination: Domestic Violence and *The Taming of the Shrew*,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 48 (1997): 273–94
*Dives et Pauper*, Vol. I, part 2, ed. Priscilla Heath Barnum, Early English Text Society, no. 280 (Oxford: Oxford University Press for EETS, 1980)
Dod, John, and Robert Cleaver, *A godly forme of household government* 1598, (STC 5388, printed 1630).
Dolan, Frances E., *Dangerous Familiars: Representations of Domestic Crime in England, 1550–1700* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994).
——. 'Introduction', William Shakespeare, *Taming of the Shrew: Texts and Contexts*, ed. Frances Dolan (Boston: Bedford, 1996), 8–14.
Dubin, Nathaniel E., trans., 'The Gelded Lady: A New Translation,' *ANQ: A Quarterly Journal of Short Articles, Notes, and Reviews*, 17.4 (2004): 11–25.
Fletcher, John, *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed*, ed. George B. Ferguson (The Hague: Mouton, 1966).
Gardner, Helen, 'The Text of *The Scale of Perfection*,' *Medium Aevum* 5 (1936): 11–30.
Hartwig, Joan, 'Horses and Women in *Taming of the Shrew*,' *Huntington Library Quarterly* 45 (1982): 285–94.
Hilton, Walter, *Mixed Life, Walter Hilton's 'Mixed Life' Edited from Lambeth Palace MS 472*, ed. S.J. Ogilvie-Thompson (Salzburg: Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 1986).
——. *The Scale of Perfection*, ed. Thomas H. Bestul (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications, 2000).
Hoccleve, Thomas, *The Tale of Jereslaus's Wife and Her False Brother-in-Law, From* Gesta Romanorum, *Hoccleve's Works, Volume I: The Minor Poems*, ed. Frederick J. Furnivall, Early English Text Society, Extra Series, no. 61 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1892).
*How the Wise Man Taught His Son, The Minor Poems of the Vernon MS.,* ed. Frederick Furnivall, EETS 117 (London: Paul, Trench, and Trubner & Co. for EETS, 1892–99).
Idley, Peter, *Peter Idley's Instructions to His Son*, ed. Charlotte D'Evelyn (Boston: MLA Publications, 1935).
Jardine, Lisa, *Still Harping on Daughters: Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare* (Totowa, NJ: Barnes & Noble, 1983).

'La Dame Escoillee,' *Nouveau Recueil Complet des Fabliaux* (NRCF), eds. Willem Noomen and Nico van den Boogaard, 10 vols. (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1983–98), 8.83.

Langland, William, *Piers Plowman*, A-Text, *Vision of Piers the Plowman in Three Parallel Texts, Together with Richard the Redeless*, ed. Walter W. Skeat, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1886).

Love, Nicholas, *The Mirror of the Blessed Life of Jesus Christ: A Reading Text*, ed. Michael G. Sargent (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2004).

Lydgate, John, 'The Pain and Sorrow of Evil Marriage,' *The Minor Poems of John Lydgate*, part II, ed. Henry Noble MacCracken, Early English Text Society, no. 192 (London: Oxford University Press for EETS, 1911).

Mannyng, Robert of Brunne, *Handlyng Synne*, ed. Idelle Sullens, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies, vol. 14 (Binghampton, NY: SUNY Binghampton, 1983).

Martin, Jean-Pierre, '*La Male Dame*, ou la courtoisie renversee,' *Comique, satire et parodie dans la tradition renardienne et les fabliaux*, ed. Danièlle Buschinger and Andre Crépin (Goppingen: Kummerle, 1983) 71–80.

Newman, Karen, *Fashioning Femininity and English Renaissance Drama* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

*On the Properties of Things: John Trevisa's Translation of* Bartholomaeus Anglicus De Proprietatibus Rerum, *A Critical Text*, ed. M.C. Seymour, et al [ed. for Book V, Ralph Hanna, III], vol. 1 (Oxford, Clarendon, 1975).

Paster, Gail Kern, *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

*The Paston Letters*, *1422–1509*, ed. James Gardiner, vol. II (New York: AMS Press, 1973), letter 384.

Robertson, Elizabeth, *Early English Devotional Prose and the Female Audience* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990).

Rolle, Richard, *The Form of Living*, *English Writings of Richard Rolle, Hermit of Hampole*, ed. Hope Emily Allen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931).

*Sawles Warde*, *Medieval English Prose for Women: Selections from the Katherine Group and 'Ancrene Wisse,'* ed. Bella Millett and Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990).

Shakespeare, William, *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. Brian Morris, Arden Shakespeare, ed. Harold F. Brooks, Harold Jenkins, and Brian Morris (London: Methuen, 1981).

'Sire Hain et Dame Anieuse,' *Nouveau Recueil Complet des Fabliaux* (NRCF), eds. Willem Noomen and Nico van den Boogaard, 10 vols. (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1983–98), 2.5. Ste. B., *Counsell to the Husband: To the Wife instruction*, 1608 (STC 1069).

*Taming of a Shrew*, *1594*, The Malone Society Reprints, vol. 160 (Oxford: Published for the Malone Society by Oxford University Press, 1998).

*Taming of the Shrew*, dir. Sam Taylor (1929) [cast: Douglas Fairbanks, Mary Pickford, et. al].

*Tom Tiler and His Wife*, *Two Tudor 'Shrew' Plays*, ed. John S. Farmer (London: Early English Drama Society, 1908).

Topsell, Edward, *The History of Four-Footed Beasts* (STC 24123).

Topsell, Edward, *The house-holder: or, Perfect man. Preached in three sermons lately by Ed: Topsell, preacher at Saint Buttolphs without Aldersgate*, 1610 (STC 24126).

*The Towneley Plays,* ed. Martin Stevens and A.C. Cawley (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994).
Underdown, David, 'The Taming of the Scold: the Enforcement of Patriarchal Authority in Early Modern England,' *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, ed. Anthony Fletcher and John Stevenson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 116–36.
Warren, Nancy Bradley, *Spiritual Economies: Female Monasticism in Later Medieval England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).
Wayne, Valerie, 'Refashioning the Shrew,' *Shakespeare Studies* 17 (1985): 159–87.
Wimbledon, Thomas, *Wimbledon's Sermon 'Redde Rationem Villicationis Tue': A Middle English Sermon of the Fourteenth Century*, ed. Ione Kemp Knight (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 1967).

# 4

# 'He speaks very shrewishly': Apprentice-training and *The Taming of the Shrew*

*Richard Madelaine*

In this essay *The Taming of the Shrew*[1] will be read as a document that may shed light on issues of theatrical apprentice-training in Shakespeare's day. Juliet Dusinberre[2] and Michael Shapiro[3] have written in general terms about the parallels between boy actors and female characters in this play, Shapiro arguing for the first audiences' dual consciousness of male actor and female character, and Dusinberre implying that both apprentices and women were seen as prime sites of potential unruliness. The emphasis in this paper is rather different. Taming and training were often seen as synonymous in Shakespeare's day, and there is an analogous relationship between the taming of Kate – which involves training her to respond in ways that are perceived as 'feminine' – and the training of the apprentice actor who plays her. In these terms, what is interesting are the theatrical *training-functions* in the shrew's role, and in particular the training-functions of its *masculine* elements.

Dusinberre claims that the apprentice playing Kate had 'access not only to [great ladies'] momentary social superiority but also access to the stage power of the female heroine',[4] but it is useful to think more laterally about the actor's relationship to his role. Given the size and dramatic importance of Kate's role, it was almost certainly given to, if not actually written for, a senior apprentice; and we might predict that a senior apprentice is as likely as a confirmed shrew to *resist* the performance of a stereotypical 'feminine' role at this stage of his training. Thus Kate's shrewish role seems designed to contrast in training function, as well as dynamically, with the more junior role of Bianca, about which Dusinberre and Shapiro are surprisingly reticent. Margaret Maurer and Barry Gaines[5] propose a view of Bianca as a 'silent woman', whose indirection, ambiguity and capacity for flirtation makes her more dangerous to men than Kate, but on the surface, Bianca's role conforms to the 'good girl' type, and, in theatrical terms, the

role seems clearly subordinate to her elder sister's. The shrewish resistance to the 'feminine' built into the senior apprentice's role is surely related to his desire for training in the 'masculine' modes of behaviour that he will be expected to manage once he graduates to adult male roles.[6] In these terms the role of Kate may be seen as a prototype of the 'masculine' female role that reaches its apogee in Cleopatra, and is a training alternative to conventional male-disguise roles like that of Viola/Cesario. What makes the shrew role so compelling is the way in which it provides a vehicle for the training-issues it problematizes.

In Shakespeare's day the term 'shrew' was still being applied to both genders, as Holly Crocker demonstrates.[7] While it might be used to describe 'malignant' men, and Petruchio might be counted among those who, in Dekker's phrase, 'were shrewes to their wiues',[8] 'shrew' belongs 'to a comic register' as far as potential for violence is concerned, as Sandra Clark notes.[9] Thus when Kate calls Petruchio a 'rudesby' (3.2.10),[10] she assigns him a place at the blusteringly masculine end of the 'shrew' continuum. It is significant that in *Twelfth Night* Malvolio associates the performance of shrewishness with the blurring of gender on the way to *male* adulthood. He belittles Cesario by saying 'He is very well-favoured, and he speaks very shrewishly: one would think his mother's milk were scarce out of him' (1.5.161–2).[11] Unlike the audience, Malvolio does not know that Cesario is a mere appendage to a female part, but he does connect the young man's 'speaking shrewishly' with inheritance from the female. He seems to be implying that shrewishness is passed on by the mother and that being 'very well-favoured' enables one to get away with it – notions that bear upon the way in which *both* siblings, Kate and Bianca, operate in our play.[12] Malvolio glances more frankly at the apprentice actor in his earlier assessment that Cesario is 'not yet old enough for a man, nor young enough for a boy' (1.5.158–9).

His emphasis on male youth should be read as a counterbalance to the Duke's telling Cesario in 1.4, 'thy small pipe / Is as the maiden's organ, shrill and sound, / And all is semblative a woman's part' (32–4). The Duke's remark helps with gender blurring but should not be heard too literally, because it is largely about psychological preparation: the Duke will eventually marry this 'boy'! What Shakespeare emphasizes is Olivia's constant confusion of Cesario with Sebastian, whom she is in indecent haste to marry. Bruce R. Smith takes this confusion to mean that Sebastian is also Viola's *aural* twin,[13] and jumps to the surprising conclusion that both Viola/Cesario and Sebastian are played by apprentices with unbroken voices. This is largely because he makes the

traditional assumption that 'boys' are used to play women because they 'could speak in the alto register'.[14] We know, however, that some 'boy' actors went on playing female roles until 17, 18 or even 21.[15] Thomas Heywood referred to the whole class of apprentice actors as 'youths',[16] and there are good reasons for thinking that the range of 'female' sounds heard on the Shakespearean stage was greater than Smith imagines. The question of pitch was unlikely to have been an overriding consideration in a theatre whose conventions mix naturalism and symbolism so freely, and we should in any case take account of the Lord's instruction to Bartholomew the page to speak in a 'soft low tongue' (Induction, Scene 1, 1l.129–30, 112) when he imitates the 'grace, / Voice, gait, and action of a gentlewoman' in the *Shrew*. This instruction accords with better-known Shakespearean characters' privileging of the 'low' female voice over the 'shrill-tongued', as in Lear's remark about Cordelia's voice and Cleopatra's about Octavia's,[17] but the Lord's direction to the page implies that modulation-training began before the breaking of the apprentice's voice, and presumably intensified thereafter with the preparation of more challenging female roles. Thus, although Cesario's voice is obviously intended to be youthful, this does not necessarily mean that an unbroken voice produces his shrewish speech,[18] any more than Kate's in the *Shrew*. It might even be said that the Duke would not need to comment on the 'small pipe' if the actor's voice were unbroken. It is highly unlikely that such parts as Viola/Cesario's and Kate's would have been given to inexperienced actors, however talented,[19] and we can safely deduce that shrewishness was not conveyed through timbre but through manner.

In *The Taming of the Shrew*, the treatment of woman-taming is part of a larger examination of role-playing, a theme that is more than usually prominent, and particularly clearly signalled by metadramatic techniques. As Shapiro has argued, the framework of the play (or what is left of it) makes the connections between theme and techniques clear from the outset. It seems highly likely[20] that the interludes and epilogue of *The Taming of a Shrew* reflect Shakespeare's original plan for frameworking, and that the original plan was at some stage modified to reduce the number of actors needed.[21] Obviously the dropping of the interludes and epilogue places the woman-taming in a different perspective,[22] and it may be relevant that in Fletcher's sequel, *The Woman's Prize,* the unnamed 'first wife' is remembered as untamed – though Fletcher may be consciously rejecting Shakespeare's ending, as Anna Bayman and George Southcombe argue.[23] What is certain is that the jettisoning of the framework at the end of 1.1 in *The Shrew* enables the

actor of Bartholomew to play another apprentice part, probably Bianca or the Widow.[24] But in the Induction (to use a term of convenience that Leah Marcus and H.J. Helmers problematize in different ways),[25] he has a role, under the Lord's instruction,[26] that surpasses in metadramatic terms that of the boy player in *Hamlet* – who seems *not* to be present for Hamlet's acting instructions.[27] What is more, Bartholomew's deflecting of Sly's desire to bed 'her' ironically prefigures, in inverted fashion, the stratagem by which Petruchio is to deprive Kate sexually as part of the taming process.

The play's taming process might be seen as setting up a metadramatic parallel between heterosexual domestic roleplay and the theatrical master–apprentice relationship, in terms of training, rivalries and hierarchy. The main narrative shows the unruly Kate, who is 'impatient' and outrageously subversive of the patriarchal 'norms' of female submissiveness (modesty, restraint and silence), officially 'tamed' by Petruchio, but only after presenting him with a challenge that no one expects him to meet. On two levels, that of character and that of apprentice, the 'taming' is about being taught to be 'feminine' (that is, being taught the stereotypical apprentice's role); but perhaps more importantly, it is also about the trainee's yearning for a 'masculine' role and challenging the master's authority both as teacher and as controller.[28] Because of the congruence of taming and training and of husband and master roles here, it seems likely that the parts of Petruchio and Kate were written for a master and his own apprentice. Dusinberre has made this point, though her suggestion that the master was Burbage is problematic,[29] and she overstates the case when she writes of the apprentice's upstaging the star actor.[30] Kate's long silences in the middle of the play and her formal submission to Petruchio at the end are major constraints on actor as well as character, though the *potential* for upstaging is clearly an issue and might be considered one characteristic of a senior apprentice's role.

If in the play patriarchy is under challenge, the terms of the taming might be seen to embody anti-apprentice jokes that emphasize the supremacy of the master: the depriving Kate of food, drink, clothes, sleep and sex may allude not only to the apprentice's stereotypical propensity to lust and youthful resistance to constraints and application but also to his being dependent on his master for bed and board. Jan Purnis' contention that the stomach is 'a central site through which hierarchies of gender are expressed'[31] applies equally to hierarchies within gender. Also central to Petruchio's taming of Kate, and, at a metaphorical level, to apprentice-training, is the idea of travelling as

an ironic medium of learning. We are invited to look beyond the power-play to the learning-process as journey, with unwelcome restrictions and training tasks as means of discovery. This may involve half-conscious jokes about the process of graduating from apprentice to journeyman, or even about a more uncomfortable way of learning the craft, on the road in a travelling troupe. The extent to which Kate is reduced to passivity and silence for much of the duration of the taming presumably refers to the conditions of apprentice-training as well as to traditional models of female modesty and obedience; and the apprentice, like a woman, is offered some incentives for submission: when Kate finally accepts a submissive role, she gets more attention from more people, and is able to deliver the longest speech in the play.[32] At this point near the end of the action, the audience is reminded, perhaps, of the threat/promise concerning 'love' embedded in the Lord's instructions, via a servant, to Bartholomew at the play's opening:

> Tell him from me, as he will win my love,
> He bear himself with honourable action,
> Such as he hath observ'd in noble ladies
> Unto their lords, by them accomplished.
> (Induction, Scene 1, 107–10)

While Kate and Petruchio are more closely matched in any power struggle than the page and the Lord, in both cases the approval of the dominant male is linked to the same clearly-defined performance indicators.

The taming of Kate involves a mega-measure of comic humiliation that is in direct proportion to her resistance to the feminine model. Nevertheless, Shakespeare's presentation of the process involves some caricature of patriarchal control at its most brutal, and allows some sympathy for the trainee. Baptista's behaviour is that of a typical Shakespearean father, whose announced intentions are fairer than his actual treatment of either of his daughters. Petruchio's disregard for Kate's feelings might be called a means to an end in his franker patriarchal project of taming her; but it is significant that the stratagem *depends* on insensitivity.[33] His assertion of the rights of the 'master' bears directly on the process of apprentice training/taming. We note that, as well as wearing down the recalcitrant trainee by the frustration of appetites, Petruchio deprives her/him of any sense of special status, transferring that by default to the apprentice who appears to be conforming to type, as in the master's rewarding of Rafe at Jasper's expense in *The Knight of*

*the Burning Pestle*. Thus 'sweet Bianca' has a moment of glory in being allowed to 'practise how to bride it' (3.2.249), while Petruchio whisks Kate offstage after letting her beg, unsuccessfully, to be allowed to attend her own wedding-feast.

While the training process seems largely to depend on humiliation to overcome resistance, it does require analytical skills on the part of the trainee in responding to both situations and techniques. Kate shows not only awareness of, but also the ability to analyse, Petruchio's taming technique.[34] She sees through his ploys, as she is presumably meant to: 'And that which spites me more than all these wants, / He does it under name of perfect love' (4.3.11–12).[35] Shakespeare provides a broader context for her analysis by raising the audience's consciousness of the taming as didactic technique in the scenes that follow the arrival of the newly-married couple at Petruchio's house. Grumio has faith in his master's shrew-taming prowess (as Charles Conaway points out),[36] and in 4.2 Tranio-as-Lucentio talks to Bianca about Petruchio's taming-school, so that the notion of 'method' is established for the audience; and in 4.3 Hortensio is tutored in taming-method by Petruchio.

The process of taming takes time, of course, and in 4.3 Kate shows that she still has spirit by beating Grumio when he refuses to give her food. In the play, as in the society it reflects, violence is most readily directed at inferiors, age notwithstanding.[37] In these terms it is significant that Kate uses physical violence on Bianca as her younger sister, as well as on male social inferiors (Hortensio in his disguise as tutor, and Grumio). And when, at the beginning of his wooing, Petruchio has been a thorough 'rudesby' with his crude sexual jokes and then claims to be a gentleman, Kate '*strikes him*' (2.1.217sd) as a way of testing that claim and, at best, preventing retaliation (217–21). Petruchio, in the general context of his taming project and in the particular context of Kate's having broken Hortensio's head – with a lute to whose lewd connotations Graham Holderness[38] alerts us – can only threaten to 'cuff' her in return. Petruchio is in fact less of a cuffer than we may have been led to expect: Sandra Clark shows that Shakespeare moderated his source material to make Petruchio less physically violent, even if (as Leah Marcus points out) modern editors, in the shadow of nineteenth-century theatrical tradition, have been keen to strike square-bracketed blows on his behalf.[39] While Petruchio's *threat* in 2.1 may seem familiar to wives and apprentices alike, the situation is dramatically different because it is the woman, played by an apprentice, who has struck the first blow.

In its ready recourse to violence, the 'masculine' nature of Kate's shrewishness is apparent – and it becomes the more apparent the more

Petruchio matches it with taming reflexes – but its masculinity neatly reflects apprentice behaviour, as male, rebellious and conscious of apprentice hierarchy. Yet the masculine apprentice *must* learn his feminine role; and, when in 4.3 Kate begins to express an interest in feminine things, Petruchio takes his revenge for the slight on his gentlemanly status by rejecting the hat on the grounds that Kate is not yet gentle. It is at this point, where she looks as though she cannot win, that Kate, who has been silenced and restrained ever since her marriage, speaks: 'I am no child, no babe. … My tongue will tell the anger of my heart, / Or else my heart concealing it will break' (4.3.74–8). It is telling that in her *cri de coeur* she uses the language of the youth shuffling off the status of a minor.[40]

Issues of status and hierarchy among the apprentices themselves seem to be underpinning the dynamics of relationships between the female characters in the play. The elder-sister status of Kate, which partly determines her attitude towards Bianca, has casting implications. If it looks indisputable that the role of Kate is played by the senior apprentice, it also seems that it is part of Bianca's role to understudy Kate and thereby fuel apprentice rivalry under cover of a sibling rivalry that is exacerbated by Baptista's decision not to allow Bianca to marry until her elder sister is matched. Bianca's chance to *practise* how to bride it seems to draw its metaphor from understudying as much as role-playing, and we should not underestimate the training connections between apprentice roles. In this case, the connections raise linked questions about the extent of the master's role in training and the importance to be attached to cue-giving,[41] and the criteria by which 'wide-ranging' apprentice-roles may be distinguished from 'restricted' ones, to use Scott McMillin's terms.[42]

The sibling rivalry between Kate and Bianca is constructed on contrast, and this remains a constant even when the roles are reversed at the end, though the contrast is often ironized in terms of role-play, the beholder's eye and mutual influence. Where Kate is 'froward', Bianca is a 'young modest girl' (1.1.156) who delights in 'music, instruments, and poetry' (93); this is the motivation for her father's inviting the services of tutors, but their other purpose is to occupy Bianca while she is out of circulation pending the wooing of her sister. Petruchio concludes what amounts to his formal wooing of Kate by praising her ironically for possessing Bianca's good-girl virtues (2.1.236–50). This is significant in terms not only of techniques and themes, but, more interestingly, of apprentice – patriarch relations. Kate, as the elder sister played by the senior apprentice, shows independence of her father and of all men in

the opening scene of the play, and is scornful of her younger sister. Her characteristic 'scolding' is magnified by volume in the first two scenes, and her verbal violence readily transmutes into physical violence.

Kate's seniority is manifested in 'masculine' ways that serve not merely to upstage Bianca but to keep her in thrall. At the opening of 2.1, it is comically clear that Kate has reduced Bianca to worse-than-servant status: Bianca's hands are bound (4), she asks Kate not 'to make a bondmaid and a slave of me' (2), and she assures her sister that she does 'know [her] duty to [her] elders' (7). While Kate confirms Bianca's suspicion that she is envious by voicing anxiety about having to play an inferior role – 'I must dance barefoot on her wedding-day' (33) – the dramatic emphasis is on Kate's determination to quell the upstart, and to take 'revenge'. Clearly a putative revenger's role helps underline her importance in her own eyes, and her dramatic potential in the eyes of stage audience and audience, and Kate manifests this potential physically: she strikes Bianca when she suggests that she envies her, takes her silence for insubordination and pursues her in anger and frustration (29, 29sd). Kate's shrewishness is thus temporarily channelled, via sibling, and probably also apprentice, rivalry, into a more specific kind of role-play, until Petruchio begins his process of mastery. That gets under way with his ironizing and upstaging her role-play as a whole – thereby pre-empting her refusal of him – when he tells the stage audience that he and Kate have made an agreement which includes her still being 'curst in company' (2.1.298).

Role-play, disguise and instruction are equally important, though proportionately less prominent, issues in the performance of the younger sister's part. This is most evident in Bianca's tutelage by her disguised wooers. Baptista says the tutors are for both his daughters, but Kate soon rids herself of them, so that in 3.1 the focus is on Bianca as student of music and poetry, with situational jokes about teaching, learning and trust, and disguised activities by means of which her suitors attempt to woo her, and one succeeds. The 'lessons' use a metaphor of tutelage that is not only thematically important but highly appropriate to Bianca as apprentice as well as character. Bianca's pride doubtless reflects the apprentice's attitude too. She sees herself as more advanced than her teachers take her to be, and says she is 'no breeching scholar in the schools' (3.1.18), but is rather in a position to choose when she learns.

While the apprentice may receive a less violent, and more vocational, form of education than the 'breeching scholar' and may be given to Bianca-like flights of fancy about status, his sense of position in a hierarchy of trainees must have been as constantly reinforced as Bianca's is.

Under the tutelage of Kate and then of the man she marries, Bianca is again harried by her sister; Kate, also under the tutelage of the man she marries, is required in turn to forcibly tutor the other two new wives, though probably without permanent effect. In 5.2, the now-reversed binary opposition between Bianca and Kate is manifested by a simple structural device: Bianca, who shows signs of peevishness, leads Kate and the Widow out, while Kate brings Bianca and the Widow in. Kate's behaviour, modified beyond her father's belief, is now respectful towards patriarchy. In that sense it is 'feminine', although Petruchio's description of the other women as 'prisoners to her womanly persuasion' (121) ironically endorses an essentially 'masculine' way of handling refractory women – at least, as far as the terms 'masculine' and 'feminine' are understood in the context of the hyperbolic conflicts of the theatre and its training system. For all the paradoxes of masculinity in shrewishness and in the dramatic developments of the siblings' dispositions, the ending of the play does better justice to the relationship between taming and training than to the complexities of early modern gender relations (as discussed by Anna Bayman and George Southcombe and by David Wootton).[43] Kate's long speech to the widow about her duty to her husband not only ensures Kate's own verbal and visual dominance, but directly suppresses the widow, whose character-seniority is (given the smallness of her part) evidently not apprentice-seniority.[44]

The other two female roles have moved in the opposite direction to Kate's, so that, despite Petruchio's taming-school and the tutoring of Hortensio,[45] the other wives remain thorns in the patriarchal side. Arguably this has to do with their being roles for more junior apprentices, who can continue to rejoice in recalcitrance but who, concomitantly, get less to say for themselves. Yet these new signs of resistance in Bianca and the Widow can be read as indications that the struggle for mastery is unending and the apprentice body continues to show signs of resistance. In the taming-training continuum, there is also an ironic sense in which the senior apprentice's role may have tutored the younger apprentices in shrewish ways.[46]

## Notes

1. All references are to Brian Morris's Arden Shakespeare edition (London: Thomson Learning, 1981 [2000]).
2. In '*The Taming of the Shrew*: Women, Acting, and Power', *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 26 (1993), 67–84, repr. *'The Taming of the Shrew': Critical Essays*, ed. Dana E. Aspinall (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 168–85.

3. In 'Framing the Taming: Metatheatrical Awareness of Female Impersonation in *The Taming of the Shrew*', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 23 (1993), 143–66, repr. *'The Taming of the Shrew': Critical Essays*, ed. Dana E. Aspinall (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 210–35.
4. Dusinberre, 169.
5. In their essay in this volume.
6. Since their graduation from apprenticeship meant that they would no longer play female roles, apprentices needed what experience they could get in masculine roles: as well as being given more 'masculine' female roles near the end of their training, they were probably assigned small male parts throughout their apprenticeship. Scott McMillin and Sally-Beth MacLean, in *The Queen's Men and their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 104, conclude that Queen's Men's apprentices 'did play adult male walk-ons', though they 'hardly ever played adult male speaking roles', but they may be overlooking such parts as minor messengers and old men.
7. In her essay in this volume.
8. Cf. OED: 'shrew', sb.[2] and a. 1, which cites Dekker's *The rauens almanacke* of 1609 (*Works* 1873, IV.264): 'Such as were shrews to their wiues'.
9. In her essay in this volume: shrews are comic in contradistinction to the murderous wives of the ballads and pamphlets.
10. While Petruchio is keeping her waiting at their wedding, she describes him as a 'mad-brain rudesby, full of spleen' (3.2.10); Bianca says of Kate 'That being mad herself she's madly mated'.
11. References are to *Twelfth Night*, ed. J.M. Lothian and T.W. Craik (Arden Shakespeare, London: Methuen, 1975).
12. Hortensio's and Petruchio's references to Kate's youthful beauty can be taken at face value and, given the way Bianca turns out, shrewishness might be seen as an intrinsic part of their dead mother's legacy.
13. *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 232. All that is *necessary* to represent their twinhood is identical costumes, as is clear from *The Comedy of Errors*: see Jean MacIntyre, *Costumes and Scripts in the Elizabethan Theatres* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992), 187–8.
14. Scott McMillin, 'The Sharer and His Boy: Rehearsing Shakespeare's Women', *From Script to Stage in Early Modern England*, ed. Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 231–45, 233. Smith writes of the interchangeability of boys' and women's voices in terms of smallness and shrillness. He claims that the pitch of boys of fourteen is similar to that of women, but that the sound is 'purer', more carrying and penetrating, and that it would have made a striking aural contrast with the men's voices in both pitch and timbre, the 'female' sounds being more isolated in the theatre: see *The Acoustic World*, pp. 226, 229.
15. Cf. Andrew Gurr, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574–1642* (2nd edn, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 93.
16. *An Apology for Actors* (London, 1612), sig. C3v.
17. If Lear's pronouncement that a voice 'ever soft,/ Gentle, and low' is 'an excellent thing in woman' (*King Lear*, ed. Jay L. Halio, New Cambridge Shakespeare, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992, 5.3.246–7) is primarily aesthetic, Cleopatra's anxiety about her rival Octavia's being 'low-voiced' as

opposed to 'shrill-tongued' (in *Antony and Cleopatra,* ed. David Bevington (New Cambridge Shakespeare, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, 3.3.12–13) is primarily erotic – though arguably both proceed from patriarchal values, and Lear's preference may be associated with his expectation of nurture from Cordelia. I take Cordelia to be a role for a senior apprentice and Octavia to be an intermediate role.

18. Given the theatrical conventions of the period, it is important not to read any of this too literally, but it seems safe to assume that the registers of Viola's and Sebastian's voices are not *wildly* dissimilar. As for Viola's intention to serve the Duke as his 'eunuch', we know that the part of at least one eunuch in a contemporary play was played by an adult actor, so it is possible that the apprentice who played Viola had a *broken* voice. Sebastian is probably a part for a newly-graduated adult actor, though it is certainly possible that an apprentice played him too.
19. Dusinberre's democratic notion of the casting of apprentice parts according to talent discounts the value of theatrical experience and the idea of an apprentice hierarchy. Kate's role has all the hallmarks of a senior apprentice's part, including her being given the longest speech in the play at the end.
20. See the Introduction to the Arden edition, pp. 14 and 40, where Morris neatly summarizes the debate about the relationship between *The Taming of a Shrew* and *The Taming of the Shrew.*
21. Henslowe's Diary records a performance on 11 June 1594 by a combined company of the Lord Chamberlain's and the Lord Admiral's Men at Newington Butts, which would have been big enough to manage the full Sly framework. Possibly the framework was cut when the companies were divided.
22. In *A Shrew*, the play proper can be seen, through Sly's eyes, merely as a drunkard's escapism, 'the best dreame/That ever I had in my life' (Scene xix, printed in Appendix II of Morris's edition, p. 305).
23. In their essay in this volume.
24. The reduced frameworking of the Folio text frees the actor of Bartholomew to double any known or potential apprentice role with the exception of Biondello and probably Grumio (Bartholomew and Biondello both appear in 1.1, and Grumio at the opening of 1.2, which would give the actor no time to change unless there were a pause in the action). Doubling the part of Kate is most unlikely because of the size of her role, whereas the parts of Bianca or the Widow seem likely; the actor may also play the Hostess before appearing as Bartholomew. Shapiro, 229–30 speculates on doubling, and Dusinberre, 172 favours the idea of thematic doubling.
25. In their essays in this volume. The term does at least serve to signify the change in narrative level between the Sly and main plots in performance.
26. Both Dusinberre and Shapiro comment extensively on this.
27. It may seem curious that there is no specific direction for the apprentice actor to be present for Hamlet's instructions, but the lesson for apprentices may be that the fully-fledged actors have to go on being instructed by their betters. The apparent absence of the apprentice may also reflect performance practice, if adult players were instructed in a group by the dramatist, but apprentices individually by their masters.

28. Costume is unsurprisingly used as an index of reward, punishment and submission. At the beginning of 2.1 the 'feminine' Bianca implies that her elder sister is jealous of her 'gawds' (3), and Kate is later taunted with *elusive* finery. In 4.3 Petruchio rejects the gown and hat she likes because she is not yet gentle enough to wear a gentlewoman's hat (70–2), and in the final scene, he tests her newfound obedience by asking her to take off her cap and 'throw it under foot' as a mere 'bauble' (5.2.123).
29. Dusinberre, 178 acknowledges the problem of reconciling scholarly opinion about the play's likely date with Burbage's membership of the company. Note, however, that, in her essay in this volume, Leah Marcus favours an early seventeenth-century date for the play, which would support Dusinberre's notion about Burbage and his apprentice. The dates of apprenticeship of Richard Robinson and Nicholas Tooley are unknown, and David Kathman ('Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers: Freemen and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theater', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55.1 (2004), 1–49, 21) says only that they had 'probably' been Burbage's apprentices.
30. Dusinberre, 180–1. She is more persuasive in asserting that the play 'stands or falls on [his] performance in the last scene'; but, in writing that 'the apprentice has virtually the last word', she fails to acknowledge the importance of the other apprentices, especially of the one playing Bianca's part.
31. In his essay in this volume.
32. At 43 lines; Shapiro, 228 points this out.
33. In this process, subversion of sensibilities and social expectations is merely the starting-point, just as the kissing of her lips at the wedding 'with such a clamorous smack' (3.2.176) is the beginning of Petruchio's lip-smacking enjoyment of his ownership of 'my goods, my chattels' (3.2.228), which has been foreshadowed at an early stage in the wooing by his word-play on household cates/Kates (2.1.189, 271).
34. The data for Kate's analysis is her husband's actions in 4.1, where he abuses his servants and throws the food away, telling Kate that it is better to fast than to eat food that 'engenders choler', and where, in the ironic intimacy of 'her chamber', he preaches 'a sermon of continency to her' (4.1.169–70) (MacIntyre, *Costumes and Scripts*, p. 147, thinks that at this stage in the play Kate may still be wearing her wedding dress and a virgin bride's 'hair', the latter now improper for a wife, but ironically appropriate because the marriage is still unconsummated). Petruchio himself comments, like a domestic Richard III, 'Thus have I politicly begun my reign' (4.1.175). He prevents Kate from sleeping by throwing out the bedclothes and making a din that might be called poetically-just in punishing Kate's 'din' earlier (see 1.1.173 and 1.2.198).
35. Petruchio describes his stratagem in terms that foreshadow those of Kate's analysis: he pretends that 'all is done in reverend care of her' (4.1.191); to 'kill a wife with kindness' (4.1.195) is a means to 'curb her mad and headstrong humour' (4.1.196).
36. In his essay in this volume, which contrasts Grumio's faith with Sauny's apprehensions about his master's technique in Lacy's *Sauny the Scot*.
37. On his first appearance, Petruchio demonstrates the short way with his 'ancient' (1.2.46) servant Grumio as '*He wrings him by the ears*' (1.2.17sd), and even the old Vincentio beats an offending servant, Biondello.

38. In his essay in this volume. By inflicting the injury with a lute, Kate marks Hortensio's insufficiency as a man.
39. In their essays in this volume.
40. By contrast, Dusinberre, 180 reads the passage as about Kate's triumphant resistance. I agree that the passage 'perhaps was the key moment of Burbage's stage performance with his apprentice', though I do not think that Burbage was the master.
41. See Tiffany Stern, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 61–79, esp. 66–7, who emphasizes the importance of cue-giving and mentions the role of the sharer in training apprentices, and McMillin, 'The Sharer and His Boy', 234, who thinks that 'some of the boy-actor's rehearsal and memorization would have been done in the presence of his master'. Kate is cued by no less than six characters in addition to Petruchio (Baptista, Gremio, Hortensio, Tranio, Grumio and the Widow), and at the opening of 2.1, Kate and Bianca, alone on stage, cue each other until the entrance of Baptista.
42. In 'The Sharer and His Boy', 236–7, McMillin defines 'restricted' roles as 'largely rehearsable with one or two master actors, perhaps with a second boy', whereas a 'wide-ranging' role like Cleopatra's is cued by eighteen characters, though mainly by Antony, Charmian and the Messenger whom she beats. Kate's role seems to fall between these stools.
43. In their essays in this volume.
44. Shapiro, 227 sees the widow as a more active character, who is 'unruly' and 'misleads' Bianca.
45. Given Hortensio's disappointment of initial expectations, his lack of success in 'masculine' roles and his continuing need of tutelage, we might suspect that his part is written, with the dramatist's tongue in his cheek, for a recent 'graduate'. The part of Vincentio is curiously similar in some respects, and its similarity may say something about the original actor's status. When in 4.5 Petruchio's taming-process results in Kate's greeting 'old, wrinkled, faded, wither'd' Vincentio (42) as a young gentlewoman, the joke may also operate at a theatrical level if the actor of Vincentio is either an apprentice, who, like Salomon Pavey of the Children of the Chapel, can play a convincing old man, or another actor who has recently 'graduated' from female roles.
46. Apprentices may also have played small male parts in the play (see previous footnote); Biondello is probably an apprentice part, making up the 'usual' four, and the actor of Bartholomew *could* double Vincentio; if, as Dover Wilson suggested, Grumio is also an apprentice's part, the complement must move up to five at least, but this is by no means impossible.

## Works cited

Beaumont, Francis, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ed. Sheldon P. Zitner. Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984).

Dekker, Thomas, *The rauens almanacke* in *The Dramatic Works*, vol. 4 (London: John Pearson, 1873).

Dusinberre, Juliet, '*The Taming of the Shrew*: Women, Acting, and Power', *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 26 (1993), 67–84, repr. *'The Taming of*

*the Shrew': Critical Essays*, ed. Dana E. Aspinall (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 168–85.
Fletcher, John, *The Woman's Prize* in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, Vol. 4, gen. ed. Fredson Bowers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979).
Gurr, Andrew, *The Shakespearean Stage, 1574–1642*, 2nd edn. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).
Henslowe, Philip, *Henslowe's Diary*, ed. R.A. Foakes and R.T. Rickert (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961).
Heywood, Thomas, *An Apology for Actors* [1612] in *Shakespeare's Theater: a Sourcebook*, ed. Tanya Pollard (Malden, MA and Oxford: Blackwell, 2004).
Kathman, David, 'Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers: Freemen and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theater', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55.1 (2004), 1–49.
Lacy, John, *Sauny the Scott: or, the Taming of the Shrew: a comedy* (London: Cornmarket Press, 1969) [London: E. Whitlock, 1698].
MacIntyre, Jean, *Costumes and Scripts in the Elizabethan Theatres (*Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1992).
McMillin, Scott, 'The Sharer and His Boy: Rehearsing Shakespeare's Women', *From Script to Stage in Early Modern England*, ed. Peter Holland and Stephen Orgel (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 231–45.
McMillin, Scott and Sally-Beth MacLean, *The Queen's Men and their Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
Shapiro, Michael, 'Framing the Taming: Metatheatrical Awareness of Female Impersonation in *The Taming of the Shrew*', *The Yearbook of English Studies* 23 (1993), 143–66, repr. *'The Taming of the Shrew': Critical Essays*, ed. Dana E. Aspinall (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 210–35.
Shakespeare, William, *Antony and Cleopatra,* ed. David Bevington (New Cambridge Shakespeare. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).
Shakespeare, William, *Hamlet*, ed. Harold Jenkins, Arden Shakespeare (London and New York: Methuen, 1982).
Shakespeare, William, *King Lear*, ed. Jay L. Halio (New Cambridge Shakespeare. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992).
Shakespeare, William, *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. Brian Morris, Arden Shakespeare (London: Thomson Learning, 1981 [2000]).
Shakespeare, William, *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson (New Cambridge Shakespeare. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1928).
Shakespeare, William, *Twelfth Night*, ed. J.M. Lothian and T.W. Craik, Arden Shakespeare (London: Methuen, 1975).
Smith, Bruce R., *The Acoustic World of Early Modern England: Attending to the O-Factor* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 1999).
Stern, Tiffany, *Rehearsal from Shakespeare to Sheridan (*Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000).

# 5
# The Shrew as Editor/Editing *Shrews*

*Leah S. Marcus*

I recently had the somewhat dubious pleasure of watching a low-budget horror film from 1959 that is now considered a minor classic: *The Killer Shrews*. The film's hero is a daring young sailor who lands on an island off the Texas coast to take shelter against an approaching hurricane. He and his navigator meet a colony of scientists and hangers-on who have been experimenting with rodents – specifically, with shrews – in order to explore mechanisms for population control. The scientists, it transpires, have been besieged for several months by a mutant species of killer shrews who were originally bred in the lab but have escaped. They are the size of large dogs, and, when we finally get to see them, they closely resemble greyhounds wearing giant shrew masks. These menacing creatures are also poisonous. The scientists have set out powerful poison in the hope of eradicating the shrews, but instead of dying from the poison, the shrews have developed the ability to kill anything with a single bite because the poison has collected in their salivary glands instead of being metabolized. (Evidently the film's creators were unaware of the natural toxicity of shrews' saliva, even without scientific intervention.) The giant shrews are ravenous, having run out of food on the island and being required, rather like their miniature rodent counterparts, to eat three times their own weight each day. Their first victims in the film are people of lower status and alien race: the hero-sailor's navigator, who is black, and the scientist's houseman, who is Chicano. The shrews also kill a moral degenerate attached to the scientific enterprise who is certifiably white and Anglo but unable to put the good of the group ahead of his own twisted purposes.

Shakespeare's play about a shrew comes up briefly in *The Killer Shrews* when the chief scientist first identifies the species that is

threatening their compound as a variety of shrew. 'You mean as in *The Taming of the Shrew*?' asks the hero, who is quickly reassured that these shrews are nothing like Shakespeare's. Of course the film has a heroine – the scientist's buxom daughter who speaks with an inexplicable Swedish accent but behaves like a typical 1950s American girl. She is compliant, fearful, innocently seductive, and very much in need of male protection. She and the sailor quickly fall in love, and in saving her and her father the hero performs a version of a theme that was very prominent in the US media during the 1950s. In the aftermath of World War II, Rosie the Riveter had to be re-domesticated: the compliant, home-loving woman got her man and earned the right to reproduce, while non-compliant, nondomestic women who mimicked male traits by working outside the home and deriving their identity from their function in that larger world were demonized – in this case, as a race of ravenous, mutant shrews who threaten the miniature civilization represented by the house and laboratory of the scientist and his daughter.

The film is of particular interest to me because I was a child and early teen during the 1950s, and was 14 years old in the year of the film's release, though I cannot recall that I saw it when it first came out. In terms of the film's dichotomy between good and bad women, I at 14 was definitely to be numbered among the shrews – rebellious, non-compliant, and verbally acerbic to the point of driving my family crazy. Nowadays, I would be diagnosed with what the DSM-IV calls 'Oppositional Defiant Disorder', or ODD. According to the DSM-IV criteria,

> Oppositional Defiant Disorder is a pattern of negativistic, hostile, and defiant behavior lasting at least six months, during which four (or more) of the following are present:
> 1. Often loses temper.
> 2. Often argues with adults.
> 3. Often actively defies or refuses to comply with adults' requests or rules.
> 4. Often deliberately annoys people.
> 5. Often blames others for his or her mistakes or misbehavior.
> 6. Is often touchy or easily annoyed by others.
> 7. Is often angry and resentful.
> 8. Is often spiteful or vindictive.
>
> … For a diagnosis of ODD to be made, the disturbance in behavior must be causing significant problems in school, in relationships with family and friends, and in the workplace.

I had pretty much outgrown my ODD by the time I read Shakespeare's *Taming of the Shrew* in the 1960s, but I saw the shrew Katharine as a kindred spirit. She, too, could be diagnosed as suffering from ODD. She often loses her temper, argues with her father and other adults, refuses to comply with their rules, is deliberately annoying, hypersensitive, angry and resentful, spiteful and vindictive. But by the 1960s, ODD among women had assumed a more organized and overtly political form as the international women's movement. Kate could be seen as a proto-feminist whose resentment against patriarchy was justified and whose conformity by the end of the play represented a defeat not only for her own attempt at rebellion against the constricted social roles available to her but also for the larger movement towards women's liberation for whom she was an early spokeswoman. In 1966 Robert B. Heilman characterized the defense of Katharine by feminists and others as a 'Katolatry which has developed in recent years [and] reveals the romantic tendency to create heroes and heroines by denying the existence of flaws in them and by imputing all sorts of flaws to their families and other associates.'[1] With this formulation we are within range of a displaced version of DSM-IV ODD clinical marker number 5. 'Often blames others for his or her mistakes or misbehavior.' Like adolescent ODD, adult feminism during the 1960s was frequently diagnosed by mainstream clinicians as psychopathology. The status of feminism during those years raised interesting questions about the boundaries and connections between individual pathology and group mobilization for social change.

It is not my intent here to rehearse the well-known links between feminism and my generation's defense of Katharine in *The Taming of the Shrew*, for that is a stage in *Shrew* criticism that has been amply documented by others. What I would like to do is explore connections between the 'Shrew' mentality with which feminism used to be labeled and what I have elsewhere termed the 'New Philology': the recent wave of scholarly interest in undoing editorial practices of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries that we now perceive as having shaped Shakespearean and other literary editions in unacceptable ways – in ways that appear to us now to have been inflected by then-mainstream ideas about colonialism, patriarchy, and the marginalization of individuals and groups perceived as deviant. So the blue eyes of Sycorax in *The Tempest* are defined as 'bleary' or 'bruised' rather than as possessing a color that would trouble a clear dichotomy between the Anglo-American blue-eyed self and the dark-eyed Algerian colonial other. So the 'snowy limbs' of Tamburlaine are emended to 'sinewy'

on grounds that a central Asian tyrant could not be constructed as lily white. And so, as I argued quite some time ago, the possibly pre-Shakespearean play *The Taming of a Shrew* was categorized instead by early twentieth-century editors as an unmistakable instance of memorial contamination, perhaps in part because *A Shrew*, at least as I contended then, failed to encode an ethos of female obedience and domesticity with the same clarity that *The Shrew* did.[2]

Of course, the play's critical readers before and since my work on it have developed readings of Shakespeare's play that argue it critiques such an ethos from within – either by showing how the play constructs a dialectic that transcends the war of the sexes or by emphasizing the performative nature of Katharine's submission. But these critics have not been able to placate the continuing ODD rage I feel at Kate's treatment every time I read or teach the play. How much of that rage is individual psychopathology, how much of it is generational, and how much of it is covertly shared by critics who have contested the (by now rather outdated) second-wave feminist readings of the play?

On a crude and basic level, there exists a methodological alliance between feminists and 'New Philologists' who wish to unedit *The Taming of the Shrew* in various ways and between their methods and Katharine's defiance of patriarchal authority within the play. As Katharine uses her father's and the community's assumptions about normative female behavior as a foil against which to stage her rebellions against them, so New Philologists sometimes use earlier editorial procedures and policies as a foil for our own revisionist work, which from the point of view of earlier editorial theory is at times somewhat heretical. I am, of course, invoking here a heroics of rebellion that was also characteristic of my generation of scholars, and that has come to us now, and justifiably, I think, to appear rather quaint and circular. Editorial revisionism, like Katharine's household rebellion, can easily turn into a version of the subversion-containment debate that was also characteristic of the Cold War of the 1950s: in attempting to work its way outside an opposing point of view, it ends up reinforcing the dichotomy between the two opposites rather than finding terms that move the debate outside the narrow, self-perpetuating interpretive cycle by which every containment will be subverted and every subversion contained. So rather than invoke a second-wave feminist model here, I will try as much as possible – and you will bear my annoying generational proclivities in mind – to move to a freer, more post-structuralist way of thinking about textual differences and other matters editorial. How does the (reformed) shrew approach the task of editing Shakespeare's play and by extension

other shrew plays, and how might those of us who see ourselves as textual revisionists want our editions to differ from earlier edited versions of the play? This is a set of issues that have been treated in some detail and with particular self-awareness by women who have or are editing the play – most notably Ann Thompson and Barbara Hodgdon. I will proceed with a few suggestions in full knowledge that much of what I say is already being put into practice by current editors. It is also worth noting that my suggestions for revised editing will affect readers of *The Taming of the Shrew* more than audiences and performers in the theater; the editorial conventions that I find objectionable can easily be, and on occasion already have been, overridden by theatrical practice.

## I. The induction

As is well known, Alexander Pope was the first to segregate the initial Sly scenes of the play from the Taming plot proper in his edition of Shakespeare by labeling them an 'Induction'. He also felt free to demote the play's 'inferior' or infelicitous passages to the notes, and freely added Sly materials from later scenes of *The Taming of a Shrew* in order to create a symmetrical frame for Shakespeare's play, which could then move from an Induction through the main text to the return of Sly at the end. (It is worth noting, however, that in Pope's edition, the return of Sly at the end is not set off from the closing of the taming play proper by any labeling of the kind that Pope uses to demarcate the Sly scenes at the beginning.) Pope's decision about the Induction proved popular with subsequent editors. So far as I know, every modern edition of the play has followed him in labeling the Induction in a way that sets it apart from the taming plot.

In editions before Pope's, beginning with the first folio of 1623, there is no Induction. The play in the first folio begins with 'Actus primus. Scoena Prima. Enter Begger and Hostes, Christophero Sly',[3] and moves into the taming plot without any further indication of act or scene divisions. Act two is not marked; act three begins with the seduction scene in which the disguised Lucentio and Hortensio attempt to interest Bianca in their amorous renderings of the Latin Ovid and lute-playing respectively. This scene still begins act three in most modern editions. How would the play be different without a formal separation of the Sly plot from the main plot?

We are so accustomed to the eighteenth-century handling of the Sly materials that it is hard to think our way outside it. As Barbara Hodgdon has suggested to me, however elimination of the label 'Induction' from

the opening scenes would help alleviate questions about why the frame mysteriously disappears by the end of the play. Moreover, as David Daniell suggested more than twenty years ago, setting the Sly episodes apart in an Induction has the effect of detaching Sly further from the main taming plot than he would otherwise be.[4] And with detachment comes an almost unavoidable critical urge towards re-attachment on thematic and other grounds, with the effect that the play's concern with hierarchy is accentuated. The Sly plot treats social hierarchy – the comical (and unbridgeable?) difference between a drunken tinker and a lord. If we feel impelled to seek parallels in the story of Katharine and Petruchio, we are more likely to think of their relationship in terms of a parallel stratification, and in terms of Katharine's emphasis on the political hierarchy within marriage in her final speech of submission. The effect is to essentialize and naturalize comments about hierarchy that might otherwise be perceived as scatter-shot or even mad or eccentric, and thereby to set up an alignment and covert connection among various forms of hierarchy in the play that might otherwise be perceived as disparate and incommensurate. As Margie Burns commented in 1986,

> In my opinion, the play has traditionally been read with an elitist and antifeminist bias which reifies relationships as hierarchies and then endorses those hierarchies. Where the play itself makes elaborate jokes out of its hierarchies – including the highly sanctioned ones of youth and age … father and son … and master and servant … critics have too often solemnly taken them to be fixed, normative and ordained.[5]

What Pope thought of hierarchy was almost certainly not the same as what Shakespeare thought. If we wish to reopen critical questions about what hierarchy is (a singular or a plural?) and how hierarchies of various kinds may function or break down in the play, we would do well to think ourselves outside the critical practice of finding aligned parallel structures – a practice that is stimulated by the separation of the Induction from the rest of the play.

And deconstruction of that particular set of parallel hierarchies might stimulate us to undo others, including the critical tendency to rank Induction and taming plot in terms of other hierarchies such as hierarchies of verisimilitude: 'Which is more real?' Questioning the status of the Induction might also stimulate us to challenge other traditional practices with a similar eighteenth-century provenance, such as the

ordering of dramatis personae in terms of class and gender status, which is retained in a number of modern editions, some of which also separate the list of characters in the Induction from that of the taming play. To their credit, in their editions of *The Shrew* H. J. Oliver (Oxford, 1982) and Ann Thompson (New Cambridge, 1984), among others, have moved Katharine and Sly up on the list of dramatis personae. Thompson still lists Katharine below her father, Baptista Minola, and Thompson's important recent assessment of things she would do differently if she were editing the play now does not include changes to the dramatis personae.[6] But Oliver places Katharine at the very top of his dramatis personae, and some more recent editions have followed suit. What would happen if future editors were, in a similar spirit, to bring the Sly materials back into the body of the play instead of setting them apart in an Induction? I make this suggestion not with the aim of saving Shakespeare from charges of patriarchalism (about which I shall have more to say below), but rather as a way of stimulating a fresh start in thinking about how the play is put together. There should be at least one available modernized edition of *The Shrew* that includes Sly but does not begin with an Induction.

## II. Asides

Barbara Hodgdon tells me that in her forthcoming Arden edition of *The Shrew* there will be only one aside, and she would probably have got rid of that one if the editorial board had agreed. Most editions of *The Shrew* give asides to men in the play: Petruchio, Lucentio, Tranio, Hortensio, and Biondello. The textual marking of dramatic aside is largely post-Shakespearean, and grants some characters direct access to the audience, miraculously unheard by other characters on stage. Asides therefore set up yet another form of hierarchy among characters – those with unmediated access to the audience (in *The Shrew*, these are always men), and those without such access. Moreover, the aside posits a character with the complexity of multilayered intentionality: he shows his ability to discriminate among different segments of his audience both onstage and off, and direct his comments accordingly. In an edited version of the play that is rich in dramatic asides, Katharine loses in depth and sophistication by comparison with the male characters because she does not utter asides. The convention is losing currency on stage, but is still evident in most modern editions. Here is an example from 1.2, cited from Ann Thompson's New Cambridge *Shrew* but very similar in Oliver's Oxford edition. Gremio is giving the disguised Lucentio

instructions about the books he is to use in his tutoring sessions with Bianca, and Lucentio replies:

> LUCENTIO Whate'er I read to her I'll plead for you
> As for my patron, stand you so assured
> As firmly as yourself were still in place –
> Yea and perhaps with more successful words
> Than you, unless you were a scholar, sir.
> GREMIO O this learning, what a thing it is!
> GRUMIO [*Aside*] O this woodcock, what an ass it is!
> PETRUCHIO [*Aside*] Peace, sirrah.
> HORTENSIO [*Aside*] Grumio, mum.
> [*Coming forward.*] God save you, Signor Gremio.
> (Thompson ed., 1.2.138–56)

The asides in this scene date back only to C. J. Sisson, *New Readings in Shakespeare* (1956), according to Thompson's textual notes (p. 75), though many of the play's other asides go all the way back to Nicholas Rowe's edition of 1709 or Lewis Theobald's of 1733. The asides set up a community of young men ridiculing the old man Gremio, who is indeed ludicrously oblivious; there are parallel instances, for example in 1.1 when Katharine enters for the first time, when a similar sequence of cutting asides establishes a community of men who collectively ridicule Katharine. But the trouble is, there are no parallel instances where Katharine's cutting remarks are noted similarly as asides to the audience, as modulations of the otherwise constant register of 'Shrew'. Her comment at 1.1.78–9, 'A pretty peat! It is best put finger in the eye, and she knew why' could easily be marked as an aside to the audience, if Katharine were given asides; to do so would bring her at least potentially into a conspiratorial relationship with the audience like that enjoyed by the male characters. But she is not given asides. Editorial custom has constructed Katharine's character as flatter and less sympathetic than it could be for readers, and needless to say than it frequently is on stage. I am not arguing that Katharine be supplied with asides; we need fewer of them, not more. If asides are done away with in editions of the play, the male characters will lose their warrant to draw into little conspiratorial circles with each other and with the audience, and a subtle gender imbalance in editorial practice will be undone.

Beyond that, the action on stage, and the potential for interaction among characters, usually becomes more interesting if everyone on stage has access to what everyone else is saying. Here is what Ralph Cohen

reports about the effect of transforming just one aside – Biondello's saucy characterization of the Pedant as resembling Vincentio as closely as 'an apple doth an oyster' – into an impertinent comment delivered to everyone on stage:

> In theatrical terms removing the aside 'raised the stakes' for all the actors onstage: the actor playing Biondello had to find the right level of impertinence, the actor playing Tranio had to deal with both his unruly servant and the Pedant, while the actor playing the Pedant had to decide how much Biondello's gibe would slow his surrender to Tranio's con. To achieve this much richer theatrical moment all we had to do was ignore an editorial sense of propriety.[7]

## III. Other emendations

Editors have traditionally adopted a number of emendations to text and stage directions that serve to simplify the play's gender relationships. For example, there are several places where the first folio specifies 'Mistris' and editors have emended to 'masters' or 'master's'. When Petruchio and Grumio first enter at the beginning of 1.2, they get into an altercation about Grumio's knocking at the gate and Petruchio, in exasperation, wrings Grumio by the ears. Grumio's response is, in the folio text, 'Helpe mistris helpe, my master is mad' (TLN 585). Thompson, to her credit, retains 'Mistess' (1.2.18), but most other modern editors emend the line to 'Help masters help'. Their ostensible reason for this change is that the folio compositors may have misinterpreted an abbreviated 'Mrs.' in the manuscript. But this explanation is feeble at best – 'Mr' appears a few lines above (TLN 578), which suggests that the compositor had little difficulty in retaining an abbreviated form if he was minded to do so. And why should not Grumio appeal for help to some as yet unknown woman – perhaps Katharine or Bianca, or, provocatively, Sly's 'wife' seated above, or the Hostess from the previous scenes or even someone in the audience?[8] For Grumio to appeal for help to a woman rather than a man is, of course, distinctly troubling to traditional readings of the gender hierarchies of the play.

Something similar happens again in act 5, when Biondello accompanies Lucentio and Bianca on their way to the church to get married. Lucentio orders Biondello to go home in case he is needed there, and Biondello replies in the folio version, 'Nay faith, Ile see the Church a your backe, / and then come backe to my mistris as soone as I can' (TLN 2384–5). This time, even Thompson accepts the argument about

compositorial error and emends 'mistris' to master's' (p. 140). And yet the alternative possible connotations of the line are interesting. Might Biondello see matriarchy when all the other males are, by this point in the play, getting comfortable in their conviction that they have achieved male dominance? If so, he has a prescience that the rest lack, and offers an advance glimmer of Bianca and the Widow's flaunting of male authority at the end of the play.

The same 'mistake' happens again a few lines later, when Biondello pretends not to recognize Vincentio and Vincentio irately replies, 'Why, you notorious vilaine, didst thou never / see thy Mistris father, Vincentio?' (TLN 2430–1). In this case, even the second folio emends the first folio's 'Mistris' to master's' – which is a powerful argument that at least some readers fairly close in time to Shakespeare couldn't make sense of the line as it stands in the first folio. But I maintain that even in this case, something interesting is gained by retaining 'Mistris' instead of emending to 'master's'. Vincentio is compounding what is by now almost a comic leitmotif of gender confusion in connection with the play's servants, Biondello and Grumio. Rather than being emended out of existence, the theme could contribute to a broader sense of gender confusion in the play as a whole, resonate with its carnivalesque presentations of a 'Woman on Top', with Katharine and Petruchio's mistaken identification of Old Vincentio as a young and beauteous gentlewoman, and with the play's production of two newly minted shrews in the final scene.

Another interesting editorial conundrum in the play is physical violence and who is allowed to perpetrate it. The first folio stage directions call for Katharine to behave violently on stage. In act 1 when she first enters she has evidently bound up Bianca's hands to pressure her into revealing her romantic preferences and then 'Strikes her' when Bianca's answers don't satisfy her. On the line 'Her silence flouts me, and Ile be reveng'd' she 'Flies after Bianca.' Later on in conversation with Petruchio 'she strikes him', and in act 4 she 'beats' Grumio for refusing to supply her with food. But the first folio does not indicate that Petruchio uses similar violence – the most we see from him on stage in that version is a wringing of Grumio's ears over the 'knock me' altercation at their first entrance. All of Petruchio's violence on stage in act 4 has been added by more recent editors, primarily Nicholas Rowe. In the New Cambridge edition, Petruchio 'strikes the Servant' who has the misfortune to 'pluck my foot awry' and then 'strikes the Servant' again a few lines later when he inadvertently spills water. After the servants bring in dinner Petruchio 'throws the food and dishes at them' and calls

them all manner of names. Peter remarks that Petruchio 'kills her in her own humour', and editors presumably added the violence by Petruchio to make that point abundantly clear – his violence mirrors Katharine's earlier in the play, though it is never directed against her.

Petruchio's ferocity towards the servants can be funny on stage (though less so in recent decades than earlier), and can contribute to the farcical atmosphere that many productions of the play have considered essential to its success. But from a modern feminist perspective, Petruchio's violence resonates uneasily with domestic violence against women of the usual sort. Although he never attacks her directly, he threatens to 'cuff' her at one point; he flaunts his superior strength and tames her in part by cowing her into submission. Through much of the nineteenth century onstage Petruchios were also supplied with a whip. The play does not require this level of violence on the part of Petruchio; in fact, the physical violence deflects attention from his more sophisticated tactics – the 'rope tricks' of his seductive rhetoric and the cleverness with which he constructs for Katharine a household environment in which a stubborn willfulness like her own becomes the overriding principle of order.

If editors do not want *The Taming of the Shrew* to descend into slapstick farce, why do they preserve the stage directions that help make the slapstick happen? Simple respect for tradition plays a part of course. But I wonder whether some editors in the past have given Petruchio a physical violence equaling or exceeding Katharine's out of a subtle desire for gender one-up-manship: if the leading lady is violent, then the leading man must be more dangerously violent in order to display his mastery. We are back in the purview of essentialized hierarchy. If violence towards women and inferiors in the play encodes their subordination, then the violence with which Petruchio surrounds Katharine is essential for her proper placement in the class-gender system of the play. Barbara Hodgdon tells me that she has got rid of Rowe's stage directions in her forthcoming Arden edition of the play. There will finally be a *Taming* available in which Petruchio's physical violence is not served up as Shakespeare.

Those who wish to defend the traditional editorial practices that preserve these accretions of historical interpretation argue that rather than representing an obfuscating overlay, the usual editorial interventions serve to make more explicit elements of the text that are already latent within it. Pointing to the Book of Homilies and other tracts on what used to be called 'The Elizabethan World Picture', they contend that the class-gender hierarchies of the play are genuinely

Shakespearean and Elizabethan, and that we might as well face the fact. One of my graduate students about ten years ago expressed this view when she said that she preferred to have *Taming*'s sexism 'out there' where she could see it clearly and therefore combat it. But historians have plausibly argued that the sixteenth century's rage for order in printed materials was fueled to a significant degree out of the conviction that Elizabethan society was anything but orderly. There was even a shrew on the throne. As I have already contended, even for the Elizabethans order and hierarchy were not unitary, essential categories, but rather sites of contestation in which different models competed for cultural authority. If we confer a stability on Shakespeare that we proceed to define as endemic to his age, we are losing much of the dynamism of the plays and perpetrating a historically naive view of the period and of the playwright's works. The class-gender hierarchy is not now and never was intrinsic: it is something that has to be generated over and over again through cultural practices in order to achieve something like currency and centrality. It is up to us to ensure that our editions of Shakespeare do not perpetuate these cultural practices under the holy rubric of Shakespeare.

There are many other cases in which the editorial tradition has loaded the play with class, gender, and other constructions that the Shrew as Editor may not wish to perpetuate. Editing is now and always has been a form of interpretation, within limits of course, and we now have different priorities than most of those who have produced editions before us. Rather than belabor that point, however, I would like to turn to a different issue, and one that is likely to generate a bit more controversy than my points about formal features of the play in its various print incarnations. That is the question of when the play was written and produced.

## IV. Dating

Most editors of *The Taming of the Shrew* date it very early – as perhaps the earliest of Shakespeare's plays to be written and the very first to reach print, though in a sadly mutilated form. I do not intend to repeat here the arguments I have made in the past for *The Taming of a Shrew* as not a memorial contamination of *The Taming of the Shrew*, but instead an earlier play that Shakespearee either wrote, helped write, or mined in order to construct his own more polished dramatic production.[9] But I would like to note that the dating of *The Shrew* in something closely resembling its first folio form to the early 1590s – or

even as early as 1589 – is problematic on several grounds. Eric Sams, the renegade author of *The Real Shakespeare* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995) has long contended that *The Taming of the Shrew* as we have it in the first folio cannot be the *Shrew* play that was written, performed, and published by 1594, the date of the first quarto version of *The Taming of a Shrew*, and there are in fact no contemporary references from the 1590s that can be unequivocally demonstrated to refer to *The Shrew* as opposed to *A Shrew*. All our evidence about the supposedly early date of *The Shrew* is inferential.

Sams' case with editors is not helped by his obvious contempt for their kind: in an earlier article on 'The Timing of the Shrews' he referred to the arguments by which editors contended that *A Shrew* was the later and derivative play as 'the consensus of Babel, and the logic of Bedlam.'[10] In that early piece, Sams offered some intriguing evidence for dating *The Shrew* in its folio form a decade later than usual. He does this by weighing the dating implied by actors' names imbedded in the text. In the Induction to *The Shrew*, the Lord compliments one of the actors for a role, 'aptly fitted and naturally performed' (Induction 1.83), in which he played a farmer's son and wooed a gentlewoman. One of the players provides the character's name as Soto. This reference, as editors of Fletcher agree, is to John Fletcher's *Women Pleased*, a play whose earliest possible date would have been the first decade of the seventeenth century. Ann Thompson dates it circa 1620 (p. 59 n. 84) and, according to Sams, the earliest date posited for the play by Fletcher editors is 1603–04 (p. 41). The folio line attributing the part to Soto has the actor's name Sinklo as its speech prefix, suggesting that John Sinklo, a well-known Elizabethan actor who drops out of the records after 1604, played the part of '2 Player' in the Sly episodes of *The Shrew*. John Sinklo was well enough known as an actor to play himself in Webster's Induction to Marston's *The Malcontent,* published in 1604. The convergence of Sinklo and Soto points to a date of 1603–04 for the folio text of *The Shrew*, not to a decade earlier.

Sams' critics have got around this argument by a variety of ingenious methods: the play referred to was not *Women Pleased* but some other play with a similar plot and a character named Soto; the names Sinklo and Soto were not coterminous with the writing of the folio text but written into the manuscript later, and so on. But to my mind they have not adequately addressed Sams' argument. And there appear to be other actors' names imbedded in F1 *Shrew*: Sams cites the anomalous speech prefix 'Par' that occurs in the fourth act of the first folio

(TLN 1924) as referring to the known actor William Parr, and numerous editors, including Thompson, accept the theory, which Sams by no means invented. But Parr's known dates as an actor are 1602–1620 – too late for *The Shrew* as it is usually dated. Similarly, the servants 'Nicke' and 'Nicholas' in acts three and four have been identified by some stage historians as Nicholas Tooley, who joined Shakespeare's company only in the early years of the seventeenth century (Sams, pp. 42–3).

Sams does not repeat this evidence in *The Real Shakespeare*: had he changed his mind by the publication of the book or did he simply view the matter as established? My own view is that the folio text as we have it likely dates from the early seventeenth century, and that *The Shrew* may well have been composed quite a bit later than we have tended to date it. A conjectural date of 1603–04 is particularly intriguing given the congruence between Katharine's long speech aligning patriarchal authority in the family and in the state, and the strong current of patriarchal sentiment that accompanied the ascent of James I – properly accoutered with a wife and children – to the throne in 1603 after the death of that masterless shrew Elizabeth. The dating of 1603–04 is somewhat problematic in that the theaters were closed for much of that period because of plague. But at the very least, we can be relatively sure that some elements of the first folio text date from the seventeenth century.

Since this paper was originally written, James J. Marino has published a provocative article in *Shakespeare Quarterly* that carries the argument further. He surveys the contradictory and circular evidence by which textual scholars over more than half a century have tried to get around the Soto/Sinklo crux and concludes that the mention of the actor's name in conjunction with a character from Fletcher's play could well be post-Shakespearean. *The Shrew* did not exist in a condition of stasis even after Shakespeare's death, but continued, like other Shakespearean plays, to evolve as it was staged and restaged in the years between its initial production and its publication in the Shakespeare First Folio of 1623. For Marino, the seemingly fixed state of plays in their printed texts is more an accident than it is a record of the author or the company's final intentions: 'Early modern plays were never finished; they were merely sent to the printers.'[11]

Obviously, we would have to come up with more carefully argued evidence to convince Shakepeare scholars that *The Shrew* as we have it, or segments of it, was composed later than has been thought. Marino wisely leaves the matter undecided because he does not wish

to replicate previous editors' distortion of recalcitrant textual evidence to 'prove' that the play is early Shakespeare. What concerns me here is not establishing such a case or its opposite, but opening up the whole question of dating to the issues of gender and hierarchy we have been discussing all along. A later date for *The Shrew* leaves us with the awkward problem that a mature Shakespeare could have written what is for many readers a crude and distasteful play. One time-honored way of dealing with the embarrassing gender politics of *The Shrew* has been to compare it unfavorably with *Much Ado about Nothing*, in which Beatrice is at least potentially a shrew like Katharine, yet is treated much better. The argument is based on implicit hierarchies of taste and gender sensitivity, and goes something like this: the young Shakespeare may have been capable of brutal farce aimed primarily at unruly women, but by the time of *Much Ado* he had refined his sensibilities to the point that he could create Beatrice not as an incorrigible, isolated, rejected shrew like Katharine, but as the beloved heart and soul of the comedy. *Much Ado* is usually dated around 1598–99. Given Sams' and Marino's evidence and other arguments that have been made recently, however, it is possible that *The Taming of the Shrew* postdates *Much Ado* by three or four years. That revised dating would make short work of the 'whiggish' view of Shakespeare as improving over time in his gender politics. Indeed, the play could well have been composed as a contribution to the Hic-Mulier controversy that carried particular cultural currency in Jacobean England.

My point in all of this is not to settle the vexed matter of dating, but to remind us how little we know certainly about such basic matters as the dating of *The Taming of the Shrew* and to encourage us to ask how much of what we do think we know may have been constructed by the same editorial agendas that have perpetuated such innovations as the separation of the Induction from the play proper and the physical violence of Petruchio in act 4. As in the case of asides, stage directions, and emendations to the text, so in the establishing of the play's date and immediate cultural milieu, a fresh look at the possibilities continues to be hampered by editorial presuppositions that block our access to the play as much as they facilitate it. It is understandable that editors have in some areas been content to accept the conclusions of those who have gone before them: *ars longa, vita brevis*. But just as she is resistant to the ideologies of patriarchy, so the Shrew as Editor will be resistant to editorial arguments that have continued to carry credibility over the years only or largely because of their association with a long tradition of male editorial authority.

## Notes

1. Robert B. Heilman, 'The *Taming* Untamed, or, The Return of the Shrew', (1966); rpt. in Dana E. Aspinall, *The Taming of the Shrew: Critical Essays* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), pp. 45–70.
2. The Shakespearean examples are discussed in Leah S. Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), and the Marlovian example is discussed in Marcus, 'Marlowe *in tempore belli*', *War and Words: Horror and Heroism in the Literature of Warfare*, ed. Sara Deats *et al*. (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), pp. 295–316.
3. Cited from Charlton Hinman, ed., *The Norton Facsimile First Folio of Shakespeare* (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1968), TLN 1–2. Subsequent citations from the first folio text will be to this version and indicated by through line numbers (TLN) in the text.
4. David Daniell, 'The Good Marriage of Katherine and Petruchio', (1984); rpt. in Aspinall, pp. 71–83. See in particular p. 72.
5. Margie Burns, 'The Ending of *The* Shrew', (1986); rpt. Aspinall, pp. 84–105. Quotation is from p. 97.
6. Ann Thompson, 'Feminist Theory and the Editing of Shakespeare', in *The Margins of the Text*, ed. D. C. Greetham (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), pp. 83–103; see also Valerie Wayne's brilliant article, 'The Sexual Politics of Textual Transmission', in *Textual Formations and Reformations*, ed. Laurie E. Maguire and Thomas L. Berger (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 1998), pp. 179–210. For more general arguments to the same effect, see Marcus, *Unediting,* pp. 101–3 and notes, p. 243.
7. Ralph Alan Cohen, 'Looking for Cousin Ferdinand: The Value of F1 Stage Directions for a Production of *The Taming of the Shrew*', in *Textual Formations*, ed. Maguire and Berger, pp. 264–80; quotation is from p. 270.
8. For the suggestion about appealing to a member of the audience, I am indebted to conversation with Barbara Hodgdon, personal conversation, May, 2006.
9. See Marcus, *Unediting*, pp. 101–31.
10. Eric Sams, 'The Timing of the *Shrews*', *Notes and Queries* 32 (1985): 33–45; quotation is from p. 35.
11. James J. Marino, '*The Anachronistic Shrews'*, *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60 (2009): 25–46; quotation is from p. 46.

## Works cited

Aspinall, Dana E., ed., *The Taming of the Shrew: Critical Essays* (New York and London: Routledge, 2002).

Burns, Margie, 'The Ending of *The Shrew*', (1986); rpt. in Aspinall, ed., 84–105.

Cohen, Ralph Alan, 'Looking for Cousin Ferdinand: The Value of F1 Stage Directions for a Production of *The Taming of the Shrew'*, in *Textual Formations*, ed. Maguire and Berger, 264–80.

Daniell, David, 'The Good Marriage of Katherine and Petruchio', (1984); rpt. in Aspinall, ed., 71–83.

DSM IV *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders*, 4th edn. (Washington, D.C: American Psychiatric Association, 2000).
Heilman, Robert B., 'The *Taming* Untamed, or, The Return of the Shrew', (1966); rpt. Aspinall, ed., 45–70.
Hinman, Charlton, ed., *The Norton Facsimile First Folio of Shakespeare* (London: Paul Hamlyn, 1968).
Hodgdon, Barbara, personal communication, University of York, May, 2006.
Hodgdon, Barbara, ed., *The Taming of the Shrew* (London: Arden, forthcoming 2010).
Maguire, Laurie E. and Thomas L. Berger, eds., *Textual Formations and Reformations* (Newark and London: University of Delaware Press and Associated University Presses, 1998).
Marcus, Leah S., 'Marlowe *in tempore belli*', in *War and Words: Horror and Heroism in the Literature of Warfare*, ed. Sara Deats *et al.* (Lanham, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004), 295–316.
——, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996).
Marino, James J., 'The Anachronistic Shrews', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60 (2009): 25–46.
Oliver, H. J., ed., *The Taming of the Shrew* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1984).
Pope, Alexander, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare*, 8 vols. (London, 1728).
Rowe, Nicholas, ed., *The Works of Mr. William Shakespeare*, 6 vols. (London, 1709).
Sams, Eric, *The Real Shakespeare* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995).
——, 'The Timing of the *Shrews*', *Notes and Queries* 32 (1985): 33–45.
Sisson, C. J., *New Readings in Shakespeare*, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1956).
Theobald, Lewis, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare*, 7 vols. (London, 1733).
Thompson, Ann, 'Feminist Theory and the Editing of Shakespeare', in *The Margins of the Text*, ed. D. C. Greetham (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1997), 83–103.
Thompson, Ann, ed., *The Taming of the Shrew* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
Wayne, Valerie, 'The Sexual Politics of Textual Transmission', in *Textual Formations*, ed. Maguire and Berger, 179–210.

# 6

# Putting the Silent Woman Back into the Shakespearean *Shrew*

*Margaret Maurer and Barry Gaines*

The 'silent woman' of the Shakespearean *Taming of the Shrew* is Bianca. Her silence is not absolute, of course, but relative, compared to the noisy resistance of her shrewish sister Katherina; and, of course, her character has not been removed from the text of the play. It has, however, been substantially altered by emendations aimed at making her actions and the motives for those actions clearer than they are in the First Folio. In effect, editors have rearranged elements of the scenes in which she appears to induce her, as it were, to speak up, substituting more direct speech and action for the evasion and indirection that characterize nearly everything she says and does. Her silent quality, however, as F1 conveys it, is an essential element of the intrigue through which Shakespeare joins her to Lucentio, an action that complements the taming of her sister more profoundly than the version of this action in the modern text.

Appreciating *Shrew*'s Bianca intrigue in all of its nuance has consequences for the interpretation of the play because the wooing of the shrew's sister is a major qualification of the play's representation of shrew-taming, an action that the play's audiences and readers probably from the first have enjoyed and deplored in equal proportions. With respect to shrew-taming, the play is a kind of handbook or user's guide to proven techniques, with Petruchio, at one point, inviting anyone who 'knows better how to tame a shrew/ … Now … [to] speak; 'tis charity to shew' (4.1.210–11).[1] As *The Taming of the Shrew* is constructed, however, two other actions render ironic, or otherwise qualify the action showcased by its title. One of these actions, not directly at issue in this essay but certainly related to the one that is, is the so-called induction of the play. This action introduces the wooing and marrying of the two daughters of Baptista Minola as a play offered as entertainment to Christopher Sly, a drunken tinker being practiced on

by a nobleman who, for his own amusement, treats him as someone more refined, that is, gentler than he is. The other qualifying action is the wooing of Bianca.

Neither the Sly action nor the Bianca action mitigates the coarseness of the taming action, let alone makes Shakespeare a feminist. The relationship each has to shrew-taming is conceited, that is conceptual, and as such is easy to ignore or dismiss as irrelevant to any moralizing criticism of the brutality Shakespeare represents in his play. Nonetheless, the peculiar way Shakespeare sets off his shrew-taming in the Bianca action as conveyed in F1 deserves reconsideration, if only for the intricacy of its configuration.[2]

## I

A silent woman as the object of a courtship intrigue originates in the character of Polynesta in George Gascoigne's *The Supposes*, a translation of a comedy by Ludovico Ariosto and Shakespeare's source for the Bianca action in *Shrew*. Gascoigne's Polynesta is silent in several senses. She appears in only two scenes and says nothing at all in one of them, the final scene of the play. The scene in which she does speak, the play's first scene, is a dialogue between her and her nurse Balia, setting out what a marginal note in the text identifies as the 'the first suppose & grownd of all the suposes' (114):[3] that Polynesta's lover, whom Balia knows as 'a poore servaunt of your fathers' (112), is actually the gentleman Erostrato, who has exchanged identities with his own servant Dulipo, so that he can be near Polynesta. Dulipo, as Erostrato, is suing for Polynesta's hand in competition with an old man, Cleander, her father's choice.

Balia's opening speech suggests that the women want not to be heard; they are whispering or at least anxious about others who might be listening:

> [BA.] Here is no body, come foorth *Polynesta*, let us looke about, to be sure least any man heare our talke: for I thinke within the house the tables, the plankes, the beds, the portals, yea and the cupbords them selves have eares.
> POL. You might as well have sayde, the windowes and the doores: do you not see how they harken? (112)

In their conversation, Balia urges silence on Polynesta in another sense, to beware of being seen talking with the supposed Dulipo, saying she regrets her action of giving him the means to Polynesta's bed, since it

now appears Polynesta loves him. Polynesta's protestation is an illustration of her capacity for silence in yet a third sense, of going, so to speak, unheard because she speaks riddlingly:

> PO. … I love not *Dulipo*, nor any of so meane estate, but have bestowed my love more worthily than thou deemest: but I will say no more at this time.
> BA. Then I am glad you have changed your minde yet.
> PO. Nay I neither have changed, nor will change it.
> BA. Then I understande you not, how sayde you?
> PO. Mary I say that I love not *Dulipo*, nor any suche as he, and yet I neither have changed nor wil change my minde.
> BA. I can not tell, you love to lye with *Dulipo* very well: this geare is Greeke to me: either it hangs not well togither, or I am very dull of understanding: speake plaine I pray you.
> PO. I can speake no plainer, I have sworne to the contrary. (113)

Balia eventually extracts from Polynesta what she is trying to conceal, that the supposed Dulipo is the disguised Erastrato.

According to its editor Geoffrey Bullough, *The Supposes* was performed in 1566 at Gray's Inn before it was printed (66), which may be the reason that Cleander is a lawyer and that the play briefly considers the legal perplexities that spring from some of its supposings, particularly from the false identities assumed by the gentleman, his servant, and a stranger engaged to represent himself as the gentleman's father Philogano. When the actual Philogano unexpectedly arrives, he engages Cleander to prove that the supposed Erastrato and the supposed Philogano are imposters. The lawyer stresses the difficulty of the matter being put before him:

> Yea, but howe will ye prove that he is not *Erastrato*, having such presumptions to the contrarie? or how shall it be thought that you are *Philogano*, when an other taketh upon him this same name, and for proofe bringeth him for a witnesse, which hath bene ever reputed here for *Erostrato*? (150)

Gascoigne's play stops considerably short of trying to resolve this legal quagmire,[4] nor does it consider another conundrum that would result should the gentleman's father not unexpectedly arrive before the lady's father consents to her marriage to the supposed Erastrato and it is solemnized. Under these circumstances, when the lady, married to the supposed

Erastrato, continues her liaison with the supposed Dulipo, would she be adulterous or not, and who, in law, would be the father of any child she might conceive? *The Supposes* dodges these questions. Marriage to the supposed Erastrato is never imminent; and by the time Polynesta will give birth to the child she has conceived by Erastrato under the name of Dulipo, she can be wed to Erastrato under his own name.

*Shrew* likewise uses the unexpected arrival of the disguised gentleman wooer (Lucentio)'s father to expose the impostures, but it goes further than *The Supposes* to consider the complications arising from a gentleman and his servant exchanging identities. At the center of *Shrew*'s more complex situation is a lady, Bianca, imbued with a capacity for indirection and ambiguity barely hinted at in Polynesta's riddling denial that she loves Dulipo. An inspiration for this more elaborately silent woman, as 3.1 of *Shrew* signals, is Penelope, the heroine of ancient story known for her indirection and capacity for flirtation, the paragon of wifely conduct who is both notoriously faithful and no less notoriously rumored to be nothing of the sort, only very clever in seeming so.

Two Jacobean plays inspired by Shakespeare's *Shrew* seem to have appreciated the dramatic potential of such a silent woman. In Ben Jonson's *Epicoene, or the Silent Woman,* a low-voiced bride-to-be turned wedded shrew is the means whereby a nephew foils his uncle's plan to disinherit him. The quiet demeanor and docility of the lady is a lure to get the old man to marry her. When, after her marriage, she is transformed into a loud and sexually rapacious wife, he makes the nephew his heir in exchange for the latter's help in dissolving the marriage. Indirection and ambiguity are essential to this action, though it proves to be not the silent woman who has the capacity for such behavior but rather the nephew who masterminds the device of deploying someone to play her.

A closer act of imitation of *Shrew* is John Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed*, in which Bianca herself reappears as Byancha, the inciting force if not the central character of that play's two actions. Byancha is the one who persuades Petruchio's new wife Maria to resist his conjugal tyranny and force him to subscribe to a new marriage contract. When a friend of Petruchio notices the change in the way Maria speaks, he uses the crucial phrase to register his surprise:

> That's a shrewd saying; from this present houre, I never will believe a silent woman. When they break out, they are bonfires. (1.3.106–8)[5]

Byancha is also the principal agent in resolving the fortunes of Maria's sister Livia, assisting her by a quasi-legal trick to marry the man she

loves in despite of her father's wishes that she marry a rich old man. Fletcher's play is explicit about what the characters of these women owe to the figure of Penelope. When Maria cheerily accedes to Petruchio's intention to leave her, she describes herself awaiting his return as his 'glad *Penelope*' (4.5.173). Petruchio immediately accuses her of planning to take on many lovers in his absence and 'what she do's with one i' th day, i' th night / Undoe it with an other' (4.5.175–6).

Subsequent to Jonson and Fletcher, however, adaptations of Shakespeare's play lose sight of the silent woman's quality and the kind of intrigue that can be developed around her. In John Lacey's *Sauny the Scot, or the Taming of the Shrew*, Bianca's character is reconceived and the complexities involved in securing her hand are streamlined. Concerned primarily to set up her turnabout resistance on her wedding day, Lacey has her speak more plainly and alters the dynamic between her and her suitors. His adaptation sets the tone for subsequent ones by James Worsdale (1735) and David Garrick (1756), both of which reduce the Bianca intrigue still more.[6] The primary significance of Lacey's *Sauny*, however, is the degree to which it influenced editors of Shakespeare's play.

It seems to have impressed Nicholas Rowe, who, in his edition (1709) redistributed dialogue between Bianca and her suitors Cambio (a disguised Lucentio) and Litio (another disguised suitor, Hortensio) in *Shrew*'s 3.1 to create the impression that Bianca is disposed to favor Lucentio. Some further redistribution, even more in the direction of Lacey's version, occurs in a subsequent edition (1714) that also bears Rowe's name. Lewis Theobald's decisive emendations (1733), first set out in his *Shakespeare Restored* (1726), go further than any of these earlier versions of the play; and in one crucial moment, they betray a fundamental misunderstanding of what Bianca is saying. What Theobald did to *Shrew*'s text, particularly in the two scenes of Bianca with her suitors (3.1 and 4.2), might be justified as an attempt to improve on the suggestions of his predecessors; in any case, it doubtless owes its durability to the effect of seeming to be the final word of a gradually building consensus.[7]

Since Theobald's *Shakespeare Restored* and his edition of Shakespeare, the Bianca intrigue in *Shrew* has been, to use his word, 'regulated'.[8] In the post-Theobald text of *Shrew*, Bianca is unambiguously uninterested in both of the suitors who apply for her as the play opens – the rich old man Gremio and the younger Hortensio of less certain prospects – and she is immediately attracted to Lucentio once he identifies himself to her. In her resistance to come at his command at the play's end, she is then surprisingly disobedient, a reversal that complements in an obvious

way Katherina's change in the other direction. In F1's *Shrew*, however, neither Bianca's character nor the action in which she is involved nor its relationship to shrew-taming is that simple.

## II

*Shrew*'s design from first to last emphasizes a contrast between the sisters, a contrast that belies a fundamental similarity in their disposition to resist what men would impose on them. Katherina explicitly refuses to entertain a lover, a resistance Petruchio counters by taking, not her silence, but her direct refusal for consent. He then marries her in the play's middle scene; and in the second half of the play, trains her, by means analogous to the training of a horse or a hawk or a dog, to say what men would have her say. Unlike her sister, Bianca is open to the attentions of several suitors. Her consent to any one of them and to only one of them, however, variously constructed out of her actual silence or out of things she says but that others do not hear or do not understand, remains in suspense. Something like her consent to a monogamous marriage to Lucentio may be inferred from her elopement with him; but it is significant that it is a secret marriage, and more to the point, that (owing to the unexpected efficiency of Petruchio's marrying Katherina) it occurs in haste, just before she would have been publicly married to another of her suitors, while a third stands ready to claim her if that arrangement falls through. As a new bride, she continues to say little. Hers is a resistance that men have difficulty overcoming because they do not detect it.

In the first scene in which she and her sister appear, Shakespeare signals this contrast in an exaggerated way. After Lucentio and Tranio have observed Bianca and Katherina in action with their father, Tranio describes Katherina as 'stark mad or wonderful froward' (1.1.69); on the other hand, when Lucentio registers his response to Bianca it is with a formulation that suggests his hearing is affected by his sense of sight: 'But in the other's silence do I see /Maid's mild behavior and sobriety' (1.1.70–1). The paradox of seeing silence might be dismissed as a conventional figure of speech (*see* in the sense of *perceive*), but Shakespeare draws it out further in Lucentio's subsequent exchange with Tranio:

TRA. Saw you no more? Mark'd you not how her sister
Began to scold, and raise up such a storm
That mortal ears might hardly endure the din?
LUC. Tranio, I saw her coral lips to move,

> And with her breath she did perfume the air,
> Sacred and sweet was all I saw in her.
>
> (1.1.171–6)

Thereafter, Bianca generally goes effectively unheard. At crucial points in the play, others misconstrue her words, reacting as if she has said something different from what she says.

The mistaking is not, as in Petruchio's taming scheme, deliberate. To be fair to those in the play who misunderstand her, witty indirection is a consistent feature of what she says. Further, in the afterlife of Shakespeare's play, this quality of her speech is compounded by anomalies in the F1 text in the two scenes of *Shrew* in which she is principally involved – a repeated speech prefix in 3.1 and the absence of an explicit stage direction at the beginning of 4.2. All in all, Bianca's cleverness has succeeded to perverse effect. Elements of what she says and does have eluded *Shrew*'s editors, some of whom have responded by emendations that fundamentally alter the action in which she is involved.

A crucial difference between F1 and the modern emended text is that in the latter Bianca says things midway in the play that indicate her preference for Lucentio over the other suitors competing for her. This reading of her character has no basis in F1 and can be traced to Lacey's *Shrew*. Lacey renames Lucentio Winlove and translates the 'philosophy' (3.1.13) lesson in the equivalent of 3.1 of Shakespeare's play from a Latin lesson focused on Ovid's *Heroides* i, Penelope's letter to Ulysses, to one in French focused on the myth of Daphne, a nymph who changes into something else once her lover possesses her. Winlove concludes this scene, 'I dare half believe she Loves me' (15); and his confidence is warranted. By the next scene he is rushing off to share his triumph over another suitor with 'my *Biancha*' (19).[9] Moreover, in Lacey's play, a later scene, equivalent to the one arranged by Shakespeare's Lucentio and Tranio to persuade another suitor (Hortensio, Geraldo in Lacey's play) to foreswear her (4.2), treats her rejection of Geraldo as a *fait accompli*, focusing instead on Geraldo's recriminations against Biancha. In effect, Lacey's interest in the Bianca intrigue begins and ends in setting up her reversal in the final scene. In Shakespeare's play, however, nothing Bianca says establishes whom she prefers to marry or even that she sees romantic marriage as a desirable condition. It is others who express certainty on these points, construing what she says in ways that reflect their own preoccupations.

For example, when she tells her father in 1.1, 'Sir, to your pleasure [in postponing her marriage until her older sister is wed] humbly I subscribe; / My books and instruments shall be my company, / On them to

look and practice by myself' (1.1.81–3), Lucentio, who overhears this, 'hear[s] Minerva speak' (1.1.84), the goddess of wisdom, presumably because he deems her protestation of contentment to be the accommodation of a wise daughter who respects her father. Later in the play, however, and especially in the version of 3.1 as printed in F1, Bianca shows herself to have spoken with pointed accuracy about her engagement with her lessons, especially with books. Her command of Ovid surpasses Lucentio's; and it seems to have given her a facility with language that is more associated with Mercury, the god of clever speech, than Minerva.[10]

When she answers her sister's question about 'Whom [she loves] best' with 'Believe me, sister, of all the men alive / I never yet beheld that special face / Which I could fancy more than any other,' Katherina, preoccupied with the difference between her sister's fortune and her own, hears it as deliberate falsehood: 'Minion thou liest. Is't not Hortensio?' (2.1.9, 10–12, 13). Lacey hears it as confirming that the new man Lucentio (whom he will name Winlove), whose face she has not yet beheld, is the man who will win her affections. Her statement, however, directly professes an indifference to any one man, an indifference that is consistent with the sexual freedom that marriage can enable if a woman is clever enough.

When she answers the question put to her by Cambio (Lucentio) at Katherina's wedding, 'Mistress, what's your opinion of your sister?' with 'That being mad herself, she's madly mated', Gremio hears it as her confirming what preoccupies him, and, indeed, that preoccupies any naïve members of the audience at this moment in the play, that is, Petruchio's misfortune in marrying Katherina: 'I warrant him,' says Gremio in reply, 'Petruchio is Kated' (3.2.243–5). Gremio misses, however, what the author of *The Woman's Prize* noted and made the basis of his sequel to Shakespeare's play: Bianca disdains Katherina's strategy of straightforward resistance. Schooled by Byancha, Maria in *The Woman's Prize* says of Petruchio's first wife, 'She was a foole, / And took a scurvy course; let her be nam'd / 'Mongst those that wish for things, but dare not do 'em: / I have a new daunce for him, and a mad one' (1.2.140–3).

When she asks her father's pardon in 5.1 for marrying without his consent, he is so certain of her obedience that he does not understand her – replying to her 'Pardon, dear father,' with 'How hast thou offended?' Even after Gremio and Vincentio register outrage at the deception, Baptista remains confused: 'Why, tell me, is not this my Cambio?' Her reply, 'Cambio is chang'd into Lucentio' (5.1.113, 122, 123), is a play on Lucentio's assumed name, cleverly supporting her

father's disposition to presume her innocence by noting that in marrying someone her father did not choose, she has in fact married the man he did. In Lacey's play at this point, Biancha, using the transparently significant name of the man she marries, speaks plainly: 'He put on that Disguise to Court me, he is the true *Winlove*' (38).

There is one moment in Shakespeare's play when someone (it is her new father-in-law) registers the wit of what she says. In 5.2, Bianca picks up on Gremio's observation about the catty exchange between Katherina and Hortensio's widow: 'Believe me, sir, they butt together well.' Bianca has a rejoinder for him, aimed at Petruchio and Hortensio: 'Head, and butt! an hasty-witted body / Would say your head and butt were head and horn.' Vincentio's surprise registers Bianca's habitual silence: 'Ay, mistress bride, hath that awakened you?' (5.2.40–2). Ann Thompson, editing the modern text, is also surprised, finding this moment 'out of key with [Bianca's] image as the stereotype romantic heroine … but [Thompson says, it] helps to prepare us for her subsequent behaviour.'[11] There has, however, been bawdy repartee before, even in the modern text, though the most conspicuous example of it is lost if F1's rendering of Hortensio's offer of a 'gamouth' is regularized to 'gamut' in an exchange with Bianca (at 3.1.67, 71, 72, 73, and 79) in which she shows herself able to parry his insinuations with some of her own. Having read aloud Hortensio's 'gamouth', Bianca in F1 responds, 'Call you this gamouth? tut I like it not, / Old fashions please me best, I am not so nice / To charge true rules for old inventions' (TLN 1372–4). The Second Folio may be right that 'charge' should be 'change'; but Alexander Pope, who changed 'old inventions' to 'new inventions' and Theobald who changed them to 'odd inventions' (most modern editors follow Theobald here) were surely wrong to emend, obscuring Bianca's disdain for Hortensio's clichéd crudity: 'One Cliffe [clef], two notes have I' (TLN 1370). 'Nice' is the critical word in her cryptic comment, suggesting wanton conduct or its opposite, demure or fastidious behavior. One way or another, Bianca shows herself sophisticated enough to understand Hortensio's coarse insinuation.[12]

It is something of an irony that scholars and commentators on Shakespeare's play, who might be expected to appreciate such things, do not linger over the implications of the answer she sends her new husband by Biondello, 'That she is busy, and she cannot come', hearing it, for the most part, as just a less peremptory version of the widow's 'She says you have some goodly jest in hand. / She will not come; she bids you come to her.' Lucentio hears only the denial as well: 'The wisdom of your duty, fair Bianca, / Hath cost me [a] hundred crowns since

supper-time' (5.2.81, 91–2, 127–8). Lucentio might do well to begin to pay attention, however, to her subtly turned phrases. Here what she says indicates that there might be something she is not saying. Winlove in *Sauny the Scot* is equally discomfited by losing the wager, but he need not suspect her. Her word by Jamy to Winlove – 'Sir, she says she's busie, and she can't leave Mr. *Geraldo*'s [Hortensio's] Lady' (46) – spells out at once what Katherina, in *Shrew*, reports later in the scene: 'They sit conferring by the parlor fire' (5.2.102). Bianca's answer in *Shrew* is vague about what she is doing, a habit that can be a handy cover for all kinds of mischief in the future.

Two moments in Shakespeare's play require more detailed consideration of what Bianca is saying and not saying because they are significant places where the version of them in F1 differs from that of the modern emended text. One occurs in 3.1, the first of two scenes in which she is alone with her suitors, Hortensio disguised as Litio and Lucentio disguised as Cambio. Lucentio has just told Bianca, under the pretext of construing or translating a passage from Ovid's *Heroides* i, that he and Tranio have exchanged identities; and she has just replied, under the same pretext, 'I know you not … I trust you not … take heed he [Hortensio] hear us not … presume not … despair not' (3.1.42–5). Hortensio then interrupts them, and he and Lucentio exchange angry words. The next lines of that scene, are, in the modern text, arranged as a dialogue between Bianca and Lucentio:

> [BIAN.] In time I may believe, yet I mistrust.
> [LUC.] Mistrust it not, for sure Aeacides
> Was Ajax, call'd so from his grandfather.
> [BIAN.] I must believe my master, else, I promise you,
> I should be arguing still upon that doubt.
> But let that rest. Now, Litio, to you:
> Good master, take it not unkindly, pray,
> That I have been thus pleasant with you both.
> (3.1.51–8)

In F1, only 'Mistrust it not, for sure Aeacides / Was Ajax, call'd so from his grandfather' is assigned to Bianca; it is Lucentio who says, 'In time I may believe, yet I mistrust,' as the last line of a speech referring to Hortensio's interruption:

> LUC. How fiery and forward our Pedant is,
> Now for my life the knave doth court my love,

> *Pedascule*, Ile watch you better yet:
> In time I may beleeve, yet I mistrust.
> (TLN 1341–4)

The speech beginning 'I must beleeve my master … ' is, in F1, Hortensio's, and he concludes with a dismissal of Lucentio: 'You may go walk, and give me leave a while; / My Lessons make no musicke in three parts' (TLN 1347–51, 53). To be sure, F1 invites emendation here. The speech prefix *Hor.* that introduces 'You may go walk … My Lessons make no musicke in three parts,' follows the same prefix introducing the previous five lines, 'I must beleeve my master else …'. F2 (1632) resolves the duplication by giving 'You may go walk … ' to Bianca. It is an interesting perspective on the disposition of Rowe to emend this part of the scene that, working probably from F4 and almost certainly not from F1, he would have found no overt difficulty with it. Readers of *Shrew* from 1632 to 1709, in effect, found a Bianca even more explicitly dismissive of Lucentio and open in turn to Hortensio than she appears in F1.

This suggests that Lacey's *Shrew* was a factor in the editorial changes to this scene that began with Rowe in 1709. Lacey's version of this scene, with no equivalent to this passage, includes a speech for Biancha that holds out considerably more hope to Winlove than 'I know you not … I trust you not … take heed he hear us not … presume not … despair not.' Biancha says, 'Now let me see, *I* know not how to believe you. But if it be true, Noble Mr. *Winlove* deserves to be belov'd; and, in the mean time, keep your own Councell; and it is not impossible but your Hopes may be Converted into Certainties' (14). This leads to Winlove's concluding the scene 'half believ[ing] she Loves me' (15), which prepares for his leaving the equivalent of the next scene eager to share his success in duping Woodall with 'my *Biancha*' (19).

In reassigning the speech headings as he did in his 1733 edition, Theobald described the lines as 'stupidly shufflled and misplac'd to wrong Speakers: so that every Word said was glaringly out of Character'.[13] His judgment depends, however, on a particular construction of her character. That is, it is correct only if the scene is read as a moment in which Bianca rejects Hortensio and begins to think favorably of the man who says he is a disguised Lucentio. If that is not what she is doing in the scene, then the speech F1 gives Lucentio makes sense. He is suspicious of Hortensio, once he realizes that Hortensio may be doing the same thing he is doing, courting Bianca under the guise of tutoring her: 'How fiery and forward our Pedant is … In time I may beleeve, yet I mistrust';

and Bianca's next two lines, 'Mistrust it not, for sure *Æacides* / Was *Ajax* cald so from his grandfather' (TLN 1345–6), are her highly ambiguous reply to him.

The difference changing the assignments of these speeches makes to the Bianca intrigue is considerable: in the modern emended text, Bianca is the doubter, and Lucentio reassures her with a classical allusion (as it happens, one that is inaccurate in the context of *Heroides* i) to ratify his claim to a nobler lineage than he appears to have in his disguise as schoolmaster. In F1, the scene overall conveys quite the opposite: Lucentio expresses doubt, and Bianca replies with a reference to Aeacides that exploits the ambiguity of that patronymic to mock the suitor who has just identified himself as the son of Vincentio. Aeacides in *Heroides* i is Achilles, but in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* xiii Ajax also claims that title. For Bianca to say she is sure the *Heroides* Aeacides is Ajax might reassure Lucentio that her command of *Heroides* i is flawed; but under cover of that ostensible misreading, it allows her to mock him for Hortensio to hear. In *Metamorphoses* xiii, Ajax claims the name as part of his unsuccessful bid for the armor of Achilles, an argument that Ulysses scornfully dismisses: '*bona nec sua quisque recuset*' (let each man make the most of his own powers).[14] Further, the lines, delivered in Englished Latin, would imply that a person who would say what Lucentio has just said is an 'ass' and 'a jakes' (privy).[15]

In the modern text, Bianca seems to want to correct Lucentio's construction of the Latin by saying she might dispute the reading that Aeacides is Ajax, but she chooses not to pursue it: 'I must believe my master, else, I promise you, / I should be arguing still upon that doubt. / But let it rest' (3.1.54–6). In F1, these lines spoken by Hortensio convey either that he misses her put-down of Lucentio because he is preoccupied with the error about Aeacides (I must bow to your superior authority, but otherwise I would question that interpretation, but no matter) or, more interestingly, that he catches the error but ironically approves it anyway for purposes of the insult to Lucentio (I could dispute that interpretation, but I see the point of your misconstruction so I will not).

In the modern text, Bianca then turns to Hortensio, 'Now, Litio, to you: / Good master, take it not unkindly, pray./ That I have been thus pleasant with you both,' before Hortensio dismisses Lucentio, 'You may go walk, and give me leave a while; / My lessons make no music in three parts' (3.1.56–8, 59–60). In F1, Hortensio continues, first addressing Bianca and referring to himself under his assumed name in the third person – 'now *Litio* to you'[16] – and then addressing Lucentio – 'Good master take it not unkindly pray / That I have beene thus pleasant with

you both. / You may go walk, and give me leave a while, / My Lessons make no musicke in three parts' (TLN 1349–53). All in all, Bianca says less in 3.1 as it is printed in F1 and what she says is more ambiguous.

In the opening of what the modern text calls 4.2, the other scene in which Bianca is alone on stage with suitors, what she says and to whom she says it have again been affected by emendation. Since F2, lines assigned to Hortensio in F1 have been transferred to Lucentio, so that, now, in the modern emended text, Bianca and Lucentio converse for several lines, whereas in F1 she does not speak directly to him in his own person until the play's last scene in which she calls him a fool for 'laying on [her] duty' (5.2.129). F2's redistribution of these speeches seems to have occurred to correct the inconsistency created by its opening direction, 'Enter Tranio and Hortensio,' followed by a dialogue that unfolds between Tranio and Lucentio.

F2, therefore, changes speech headings so that the opening exchange in the scene occurs between Tranio and Hortensio, and it is basically the F2 disposition of lines that is followed in the modern text. Tranio begins accosting Hortensio, 'Is't possible, friend Litio, that Mistress Bianca / Doth fancy any other but Lucentio? / I tell you, sir, she bears me fair in hand.' Hortensio replies to this with 'Sir, to satisfy you in what I have said, / Stand by and mark the manner of his teaching' – 'his teaching' being that of Lucentio (known to Hortensio as Cambio) of Bianca. Bianca then enters alone, according to the stage direction in all the Folios; but F2 assigns the first address to her to Lucentio, 'Now, mistress, profit you in what you read?' Bianca replies to this question with a question: 'What, master, read you? First resolve me that.' Lucentio replies, 'I read that I profess, the Art to Love,' to which Bianca responds, 'And may you prove, sir, master of your art!' Lucentio in all texts closes the episode, 'While you, sweet dear, prove mistress of my heart!' (4.2.1–10). The lines as disposed in F2 have Tranio and Hortensio witnessing a love dialogue between Lucentio and Bianca.

Two things preserved in F2 from F1, however, militate against the way F2 redistributes the lines in this passage, and Rowe noticed both of them and emended accordingly. One is that the direction for Bianca's entrance is that she enters alone; the other, more compelling, is that after Lucentio's 'While you, sweet dear, prove mistress of my heart', Hortensio expresses his amazement: 'Quicke proceeders marry, now tel me I pray, / you that durst sweare that your mistris *Bianca* / Lov'd me in the World so well as *Lucentio*' (TLN 1859–61). Rowe added Lucentio to the direction marking Bianca's entrance. More significantly, he realized that Tranio's opening speech in the scene is inconsistent with

Hortensio's later 'Lov'd me' if Tranio speaks to a Hortensio who replies, 'Sir, to satisfy you in what I have said, / Stand by and mark the manner of his teaching.' So Rowe emended 'Lov'd me' to 'Loved none.' Both of Rowe's emendations still stand in the modern text, along with Theobald's revision of Bianca's counterquestion to 'Mistris, profit you in what you reade?' – 'What Master reade you first, resolve me that?' (TLN 1852–3) – into the more demure and polite acknowledgment of her interlocutor's superiority in their common studies – 'What, master, read you? First resolve me that' (4.2.7).

In F1, however, the first dozen lines of this scene are exemplary not only of Bianca's way with words but also of the similarly indirect construction of moments like this in the play itself.[17] The text does not specify when Lucentio enters the scene; but if the coherence of his being the one to reply to Tranio's astonishment that Bianca might love anyone so well as him is assumed, the rightness of both Bianca's entrance alone and Hortensio's speech, 'now tel me I pray / you that durst sweare that your mistris *Bianca* / Lov'd me in the World so well as *Lucentio*', is obvious. The difficulty about Lucentio's entrance can be easily resolved by assuming he enters with Tranio, making it seem to Hortensio that Lucentio is the source of Tranio being told that Bianca fancies Hortensio, a situation, Lucentio says, that will be proven true when Tranio observes Bianca and Hortensio interact. In F1, Bianca's dialogue with Hortensio is even more ambiguously flirtatious than it is in the modern text. Hortensio's overture, 'profit you in what you reade?' is met with Bianca's unwillingness to declare herself until he has made his intentions plain: 'What Master reade you first, resolve me that?' Having maneuvered him into a declaration, 'I reade, that I professe the Art to love,' she responds with a line that hovers between being receptive to his attentions and ironically dismissive: 'And may you prove sir Master of your Art' (TLN 1854–7).

Lucentio's wish that this spells his success with her, 'While you sweet deere p[r]ove Mistresse of my heart' (TLN 1858), meets with no reply from her, certainly a significant instance of her silence in the play. Theobald covered this silence with a stage direction: 'They [Bianca and Lucentio] retire backward,' allowing them a private moment for her to tell him he is in her heart. *Sauny the Scot* supplies dialogue for such a conference:

> WIN. Madam, you need not doubt my Passion; by those fair Eyes I swear (an Oath inviolable) you have made a Conquest over me so absolute, that I must dye your Captive.

TRAN. What does he say, what does he say?
GER. I cannot hear, Listen.
BIAN. I must believe you Sir, there's some strange power attends your Words, your Attractive Actions, and your Person, which is too strong for my weak resistance; you have won, but do not boast your Victory. (20)

This occurs in Lacey's play at the beginning of the equivalent of 4.2; it is significant that it does not occur in Shakespeare's play at all. Instead, it is Tranio's reaction that registers Bianca's silent acceptance of Lucentio's attention:

O despiteful love, unconstant womankind!
I tell thee, Litio, this is wonderful.
(4.2.14–15)

As he and Lucentio have staged it, he, that is, Tranio, betrothed to Bianca as Lucentio, having been told that she is encouraging Hortensio, now witnesses her dismissal of Hortensio and her acceptance of the attentions of yet another man.

Tranio and Lucentio accomplish in this scene in F1 what they project in 3.2, to 'overreach … The quaint musician, amorous Litio' (3.2.147). What her betrothed is ostensibly led to observe of Bianca's conduct persuades him to offer to forswear Bianca on the condition that Hortensio do so as well. Something has clearly occurred between Bianca and Lucentio (and/or Tranio) to allow this plan to work, but it is interesting that Shakespeare does not stage the moment, leaving in doubt the degree of Bianca's involvement in the stratagem. Moreover, when the device has been successful, it is Tranio, not Lucentio, with whom Bianca speaks. When Tranio reports to Bianca that Hortensio has given her up, 'Nay, I have ta'en you napping, gentle love, / And have forsworn you with Hortensio' (4.2.46–7), he teasingly reproaches her, continuing a familiarity that he has indulged in before. In 3.2, at her father's suggestion, he had encouraged Bianca to 'practice how to bride it' (3.2.251) with him. Now her reply ('Tranio, you jest, but have you both forsworn me?') leaves unexpressed which of the two, Tranio or Hortensio, is the point of her questioning if 'both' have done so. Lucentio's next line, making it clear that what he hears is that she is seeking assurance that 'we are rid of Litio' (4.2.48–9), is an invitation for the audience to consider the other possibility, that Bianca is teasing Tranio about his abandoning her.

In her dealings with her various suitors, Bianca proves so much the opposite of her sister Katherina as to be more than her equal in the threat she poses to men. Where Katherina is defiant and resistant of attempts to control her, says her no plainly, Bianca speaks cryptically, ambiguously, or not at all to the men who pursue her. As the use of *Heroides* i as the pretext for Lucentio's lesson with her in 3.1 suggests, she is a veritable Penelope in her dealings with multiple suitors. Fletcher builds on this conception of her character. In *The Woman's Prize*, there is a reference to her husband but no sign of him, she flirts with the suitor who is in love with Livia, and she is clearly in some kind of mistress relationship to Tranio, whose social condition also seems to have improved to the point of his being in actuality in that play what he was only supposed to be for most of Shakespeare's *Shrew*. In this latter respect, too, the author of *The Woman's Prize* seems to have been alert to the complex structure of *Shrew*. The supposed gentleman Tranio is, in fact, the crucial complement to the silent woman in Shakespeare's play. In combination, they make the Bianca intrigue a significant counterweight in its intricacy to the more easily read business of shrew-taming.

## III

Over forty years ago, Cecil C. Seronsy argued that the importance of Gascoigne's *The Supposes* to *Shrew* goes well beyond the circumstance that its action is the source of the part of Shakespeare's play focused on Bianca. Seronsy called attention to how what he called 'the theme of "supposes" … enters substantially into both the shrew action and the induction,' and, particularly with respect to the former, 'becomes a guiding principle of Petruchio's strategy in winning and taming the shrew' (15–16). If Bianca's character and the action focused on her, however, are permitted to stand in all of the ambiguity that surrounds them in the F1 text, Seronsy's argument about the importance of Gascoigne's play to Shakespeare's seems an understatement. The significance of *The Supposes* to *Shrew* extends further – to a deeper connection the two wooing actions have to the concept of taming or making gentle what is otherwise wild or base.

Tranio's masquerade as Lucentio connects in an obvious way to what Petruchio does to Katherina. What Seronsy calls the thematic connection depends on two senses of the word *gentle*, etymologically related at one time but in practical usage even in Shakespeare's day, distinct: gentle in the sense of well-born and gentle in the sense of easily managed or tame. Tranio masquerades gentility in the first of these senses to

enable the Bianca intrigue; Petruchio imposes gentleness in the second sense on Katherina.

But the Bianca intrigue of the F1 *Shrew* has a more deeply figurative connection to shrew-taming as well. The concept of gentility as a condition of birth can be seen to be subverted when a low-born man can successfully pose as a gentleman; but gentility itself is rendered porous when women are agents in undermining it. Bianca in 3.1 'practic[ing] how to bride it' with Tranio alludes to the possibility inherent in the intrigue Lucentio and Tranio set in motion that Bianca might husband both the actual and the supposed Lucentio once they are constituted in a single household. The arrival of Vincentio, with his capacity to distinguish the actual from the supposed Lucentio, only appears to stabilize the situation. A child conceived by Bianca will be Lucentio's son, regardless of which Lucentio, the real or sometime supposed one, is his biological father. In effect, F1's text of *Shrew* suggests that Shakespeare's preoccupation in *Shrew* is not only with the taming process whereby men make gentle women but also with the wittily construed converse of such taming: a process whereby women can exert, in a different and even retributive way, their power to make, out of base stock, gentle men.

That this is Shakespeare's peculiar concern in *Shrew* emerges from a comparison of Tranio to, on the one hand, the comparable character in Gascoigne's play, out of which Shakespeare develops the Bianca intrigue of his play, and, on the other, the Tranio of Lacey's adaptation of it in his version of the Shakepearean *Shrew*. Both take more care than Shakespeare's play to limit the consequences that can follow from a gentlemen's surrendering his identity to his servant.

*The Supposes* is unambiguous in its representation of Polynesta's affection for the man who disguises himself as a servant to be her lover. Moreover, *The Supposes* hedges the implications of a servant's ability to feign his master's dignity by having the masquerading servant be revealed at last to have been the long-lost son of the old man suitor favored by the lady's father. *Sauny the Scot*, resolving early in the play that Biancha favors Winlove, likewise never imagines the lady's reaction to being courted, however feignedly, by Tranio. Lacey's play nonetheless defuses the possibility of the lady taking man for master by having Tranio profess his absolute loyalty to Winlove when they embark on their intrigue:

> Thou, *Tranio* [says Winlove in the opening moments of the play], hast been my Companion, still one Bed has held us, one Table fed us; and tho' our Bloods give me Precedency (that I count Chance) My Love has made us Equal, and I have found a frank return in thee.

To which Tranio replies,

> Such a Discourse commands a Serious Answer; Know then, your Kindness tells me, I must Love you: The Good you have Taught me Commands me to Honour you; I have Learnt, with you, to hate Ingratitude; But setting those aside, for thus I may seem to do it: for my own sake, be assur'd, I must Love you, though you hate me; I neither look at Vice nor Virtue in you, but as you are the Person I dote on. (1)

This exchange, establishing Tranio's loyalty to the Lucentio-parallel Winlove, obscures any possibility that Tranio might double-cross Winlove by actually bedding Bianca. It is tempting to think that Lacey was alive to this possibility in the Bianca intrigue of the Shakespearean *Shrew* and so moved to prevent it from being a factor in his play. Certainly his Biancha, like Polynesta, is not the kind of woman who would exploit her situation in that way. Her speech in the equivalent of *Shrew*'s 3.1, 'if it be true [that you are who you say you are], Noble Mr. *Winlove* deserves to be belov'd' (14), establishes her priorities for conferring her favors.

Shakespeare's Bianca, however, especially before she is transformed by editors who clarify and, in effect, tame what she is saying and doing, shows signs of being 'not so nice'; and at several points in the play, others, including Tranio himself, wonder about her reaction to his courtship of her. Significantly, the first incidence of this is the exchange that Lacey transformed into Tranio's elaborate protestation of loyalty to his master; and it is a moment marked in *Shrew* by the particular injunction of a member of the on-stage audience to 'mind the play' (1.1.249), to listen carefully to what is said.

In the last lines in F1 devoted to Sly, the tinker-turned-gentleman is represented as falling asleep at the point where, in the play being performed for him, Lucentio and Tranio have exchanged clothes and Tranio has professed his loyalty to his master with the handy-dandy formulation 'I am content to be Lucentio, / Because so well I love Lucentio' (1.1.216–17). Biondello then arrives, and Lucentio gives him a command: 'Wait you on [Tranio], I charge you, as becomes, … And not a jot of Tranio in your mouth, / Tranio is chang'd into Lucentio' (1.1.233, 236–7). Biondello's envious assent, 'The better for him, would I were so too!' (1.1.238), draws a second comment from Tranio that hints at the possibility of a double cross: 'So could I, faith, boy, to have

the next wish after, / That Lucentio indeed had Baptista's youngest daughter' (1.1.239–40). The ambiguity in what Tranio says (assuming the identity of Lucentio, he loves himself and he wishes that he, in deed, had Bianca) sets up his jesting references to Bianca 'practic[ing] how to bride it' (3.2.251) with himself and his accusation that he has taken Bianca napping in witnessing her 'kiss and court' (4.2.27) Lucentio.

What Bianca has to say about these insinuations is, predictably, nothing at all. It is her father who responds to the suggestion that she practice being a bride with Tranio ('She shall, Lucentio,' 3.2.252); and when Lucentio interprets her 'Tranio, you jest, but have you both forsworn me?' (4.2.48) as confirmation that Litio will no longer pursue her, she keeps her own counsel about what she meant by the question. It is left to Tranio to say what has or will transpire between Bianca and him in a conversation he has with Petruchio in the last scene.[18]

When Vincentio calls attention to Bianca's jibe at Petruchio and Hortensio ('an hasty-witted body / Would say your head and butt were head and horn'), she immediately reverts to her silent ways saying, 'I'll sleep again' (5.2.40–1, 43). Petruchio is intrigued and invites her to engage with him 'for a better jest or too [two]' (TLN 2588),[19] but she declines, likening herself, with flirtatious innuendo, to a bird shifting her bush and inviting him to try to pursue her with Ulysses's weapon, 'your bow' (5.2.47). Petruchio then compares his own failure to engage with her to Tranio's:

> Here, Signior Tranio,
> This bird you aim'd at, though you hit her not;
> Therefore a health to all that shot and miss'd.

drawing Tranio's reply,

> O, sir, Lucentio slipp'd me like his greyhound,
> Which runs himself, and catches for his master.

Petruchio, catches the undertone in this: 'A good swift simile, but something currish' (5.2.49–54). In his subordinate position as hound not hunter, Petruchio realizes, Tranio is in a position to catch what he would not even try to hit. The confounding vexation of it all for shrew tamers is also the source of its delight for others in the playhouse: with the likes of F1's Bianca, one would never know.

## Notes

1. In general, the text of *The Taming of the Shrew* in this essay is quoted from *The Riverside Shakespeare*, gen. ed. G. Blakemore Evans. When the argument depends on the way the text is printed in the First Folio, that text is followed and passages are located by the through-line numbering in the Norton facsimile of *The First Folio of Shakespeare*, prepared by Charlton Hinman, converting the long *s* and following modern conventions for *i-j* and *u-v*.
2. In *Unediting the Renaissance* (New York: Routledge, 1996), Leah Marcus imagines what might be gleaned from 'unimpeded access' (1) to early modern texts. Our essay, at several points, works with a relatively 'unedited' *Shrew*. Marcus's essay in this volume also argues for a reconsideration of some other textual decisions being made about *Shrew* by editors since Pope.
3. The text of *The Supposes* used here is that printed in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, Vol. I, *Early Comedies, Poems, and* Romeo and Juliet, ed. Geoffrey Bullough; page numbers are those of that text.
4. Philogano's solution is too long for a play: 'I will tel you sir, let me be kept here fast in prison, & at my charges let there be some man sent into *Sicilia*, that may bring hither with him two or three of the honestest men in *Cathanea*, and by them let it be proved if I or this other be *Philogano*, and whether he be *Erostrato* or *Dulipo* my servant: & if you finde me contrarie, let me suffer death for it.' Cleander's professional opinion is that 'It will aske great labour & great expences to prove it this way, but it is the best remedie that I can see' (150).
5. Quotations from *The Woman's Prize* are from *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, Vol. 4, gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, with act, scene, and line numbers used in that edition. Shakespeare's and Fletcher's plays may be found in our forthcoming volume of Shrew texts (*Three Shrew Plays*, eds. Barry Gaines and Margaret Maurer [Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2010]) together with an argument for a closer relationship between them than is often presumed. Also presuming a close relationship between the two plays is Anna Bayman and George Southcombe's 'Reading Shrews in Pamphlets and Plays' in the present volume. Bayman and Southcombe see 'Fletcher's starting point [as] a rejection of Shakespeare's ending, but it was a rejection which may have been shared by some of Shakespeare's original audience.' We would argue that a crucial aspect of Fletcher's play is also implicit in F1's *Shrew*.
6. In Worsdale's *A Cure for a Scold* (1735), Gainlove (Lucentio) has one rival for Flora's (Bianca's) love in Heartwell, her father's choice. In Garrick's *Catharine and Petruchio*, an undisguised and unrivaled Hortensio woos Bianca.
7. See Margaret Maurer, 'The Rowe Editions of 1709/1714 and 3.1 of *The Taming of the Shrew*,' and 'Constering Bianca: *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed*.' The arguments of these two essays are part of our argument here and so are rehearsed briefly below.
8. In Theobald's edition of 1733, his note to 3.1.51 ('In time I may believe, yet I mistrust') reads, 'This and the 7 Verses, that follow, have in all the Editions been stupidly shufflled and misplac'd to wrong Speakers: so that every Word said was glaringly out of Character. I first directed the true Regulation of them in my SHAKESPEARE *restor'd*, and Mr. *Pope* has since embraced it in his last Edition. I ought to take notice, the ingenious Dr. *Thirlby*, without seeing my Book, had struck out the self-same Regulation.'

9. The text quoted here of Lacey's play is that of the facsimile of the 1698 quarto, located by page numbers to that text.
10. See Maurer, 'Constering Bianca,' and Patricia Parker, 'Construing Gender: Mastering Bianca in *The Taming of the Shrew*.' Parker's alert reading of the subtexts of allusion and wordplay is based on the modern text of 3.1. Her argument is even more relevant to the F1 text of the scene. An earlier essay focused on Bianca in 3.1 is Thomas Moisan, 'Interlinear Trysting and "household stuff": The Latin Lesson and the Domestication of Learning in *The Taming of the Shrew*,' also, of course, discussing the scene as printed in the modern text.
11. Thompson makes this comment in a note to 5.2.40–8 as lineated in the Cambridge text, p. 155.
12. The etymological note on *nice* in the OED concludes, 'The semantic development of this word from 'foolish, silly' to 'pleasing' is unparalleled in Latin or in the Romance languages. The precise sense development in English is unclear. *N.E.D.* (1906) s.v. notes that 'in many examples from the 16th and 17th cent. it is difficult to say in what particular sense the writer intended it to be taken.'
13. For modern editors, as presumably for the compiler of F2, the provocation to emend is technical: the successive *Hor.* speech prefixes at TLNs 1347 and 1352. The repetition need not indicate an error in assigning the speeches, however; it may also occur because something has been omitted from the text. See Hinman's introduction to the Norton facsimile of F1, p. xvii. Modern editors must share, however, at least in part Theobald's motive, or they would resort to F2's more elegant solution to the problem, if it is a problem.
14. This is the translation of *Metamorphoses* xiii, 139, in the Loeb edition trans. Frank Justus Miller, rev. G. P. Goold.
15. 'Ass' occurs at a significant moment in *The Woman's Prize*, together with the word 'construed', a version of the exercise of 'constering' that is what Lucentio and Bianca are doing with Ovid's *Heroides* i in 3.1 of *Shrew*. In *The Woman's Prize*, Byancha has been arranging some documents so that they will be signed by men who do not know what they are signing. She has engaged Tranio to arrange for these documents to be prepared, and when she asks if he has done so, he replies that he does not understand why he has made these arrangements. Her retort to him is, 'Y'are an Asse / You must have all things constru'd' (4.3.3–4).
16. Hortensio also refers to himself in the third person in the last line of the scene, 'Hortensio will be quit with thee by changing' (3.1.92). As a disguised character, he would be signaling to himself and to the audience which of his two identities is saying the lines. In F1, then, 'now *Litio* to you' might be understood to acknowledge that he spoke the previous lines, 'I must beleeve my master else . . . ', to Bianca as Hortensio, in other words, to a Bianca who recognizes him. He has, after all, been her suitor for some time. Note also Tranio's reference to himself as Lucentio at 4.2.2.
17. The stage direction that opens 5.1 in the modern text, '*Enter* Biondello, Lucentio, *and* Bianca; *Gremio* is out before,' seeming to indicate some element of the plan to 'overreach the greybeard, Gremio' (3.2.145), is another instance of the directions in F1's *Shrew* requiring some wordless action to occur.
18. This moment of Petruchio and Tranio speaking about Bianca might be the inspiration of *The Woman's Prize*. They are the only three characters in *Shrew* who reemerge in the later play.

19. F1s 'better' makes better sense in this context than Theobald's conjecture 'bitter', often followed in modern editions.

## Works cited

Bullough, Geoffrey, 'Introduction [to *The Taming of the Shrew*]', in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*. 8 Vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957–75), Vol. I, 55–68.

Fletcher, John, *The Woman's Prize: or, The Tamer Tam'd*, ed. Fredson Bowers, in *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*. 10 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966–96), Vol. 4, 3–148.

Gaines, Barry, and Margaret Maurer, eds., *Three Shrew Plays* (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2010).

Garrick, David, *Catharine and Petruchio, 1756 (*London: Cornmarket Press, 1969).

Gascoigne, George, *Supposes,* ed. Geoffrey Bullough, in *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*. 8 vols. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957–75), Vol. I, 111–58.

Hinman, Charlton, *The First Folio of Shakespeare: The Norton Facsimile* (New York: Norton, 1968).

Jonson, Ben, *Epicoene, or The Silent Woman*. Ed. R. V. Holdsworth (New York: Norton, 1996).

Marcus, Leah S., *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe, Milton* (New York: Routledge, 1996).

Maurer, Margaret, 'Constering Bianca: *The Taming of the Shrew* and *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed*,' *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 14 (2001): 186–206.

——, 'The Rowe Editions of 1709/1714 and 3.1 of *The Taming of the Shrew', i*n *Reading Readings: Essays on Shakespeare Editing in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Joanna Gondris (Madison: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1998), 244–67.

Moisan, Thomas, 'Interlinear Trysting and "household stuff": The Latin Lesson and the Domestication of Learning in *The Taming of the Shrew*,' *Shakespeare Studies*, 23 (1995): 100–19.

Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Frank Justus Miller, rev. G. P. Goold. Loeb Classical Library. 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1984).

Parker, Patricia, 'Construing Gender: Mastering Bianca in *The Taming of the Shrew*', in *The Impact of Feminism in English Renaissance Studies*, ed. Dympna Callaghan (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 193–209.

Seronsy, Cecil C., '"Supposes" as the Unifying Theme in *The Taming of the Shrew*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 14 (1963): 15–30.

Shakespeare, William, *The Taming of the Shrew*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans, *The Riverside Shakespeare* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1997), 138–75.

Theobald, Lewis, *Shakespeare Restored* (1726) *(*New York: AMS Press, 1970).

——, ed., *The Taming of the Shrew,* in *The Works of Shakespeare* (New York: AMS Press, 1968) (1733), Vol. II, 269–355.

Thompson, Ann, ed., *The Taming of the Shrew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Worsdale, James, *A Cure for a Scold, 1735 (*London: Cornmarket Press, 1969).

# 7
# Unknown Shrews: Three Transformations of *The/A Shrew**

*Helmer J. Helmers*

Although it is well known that English strolling players achieved quite some success during their travels on the continent, the impact of their mediation between theatrical cultures has been systematically downplayed, a tendency which is perhaps best illustrated by the depreciating term 'strolling player' itself. Scholars who have painstakingly reconstructed the players' routes and the repertoire that was brought from London to various cities and courts in Germany and the Netherlands, have generally regarded the plays as vulgarizations of the English originals, hardly worth studying were it not for their proving the early presence of the dramatic genius of William Shakespeare outside the British Isles.[1] Only recently, Anston Bosman has argued for a revaluation of the itinerant stage, or, as he terms it, Renaissance Intertheater. Tracking the fortunes of *Somebody and Nobody* throughout early modern Europe, Bosman has shown that the strolling players were in fact responsible for 'a remarkable form of cultural interaction between England and the continent', and that they constituted a significant force behind cultural and dramatic innovation.[2]

In this article, I subscribe to Bosman's revaluation of the strolling players and their repertoire. I will be looking at three mid-seventeenth-century Dutch appropriations of *The Taming of the Shrew* that exemplify the process of cultural transformation he described. My main purpose here, however, is to stress that study of such adaptations (that have for a long time been ignored because of their presumed inferiority to Shakespeare) does not only add to our understanding of early modern cultural exchange or the development of dramatic cultures on the continent, but can also

* I would like to thank Ton Hoenselaars for his generous support and advice during the early stages of the research for this article.

be of direct value to traditional, Anglo-centric Shakespeare studies. The fact that the early re-workings of Shakespeare and his contemporaries were created in a culture that was both temporally and spatially close to Shakespeare's London, by people who witnessed or even participated in the performances by Shakespearian actors, means that they give us the unique opportunity to gain new information about the performance practice of those plays. In these adaptations we may observe, in Ton Hoenselaars' words, that 'foreign' Shakespeare and 'native' Shakespeare interact, and look for problems, meanings and answers that are 'not generally recognized by the native industry'.[3] In his pioneering work on the seventeenth-century reception of Shakespeare in Europe, Hoenselaars has forcefully illustrated this point. The Dutch *Shrews*, too, yield valuable information about the early modern performance and interpretation of Shakespeare's original.

Of the three appropriations of *The Taming of the Shrew* discussed here, Abraham Sybant's *The Mad Wedding* (1654) is the only one that may be known to Shakespearians. After Jacob Worp recognized Sybant's play to be the first translation of a Shakespeare play ever, it has enjoyed considerable scholarly attention.[4] Annie van Nassau Sarolea has written a short biography of the strolling player Abraham Sybant, to which she has added a meticulous comparison of Sybant's play with Shakespeare's original.[5] In their historicizing account of the play, Ton Hoenselaars and Jan-Frans van Dijkhuizen have discussed *The Mad Wedding* as part of a Dutch discourse on marriage that was dominated by Jacob Cats' immensely successful poem *The Marriage*.[6] Maria Theresia Leuker, finally, included the play in her discussion of shrew-taming plots in the Dutch Republic, which may serve as a starting point for a future study of *The Taming of the Shrew* as one exponent of a European tradition of shrew-plays.[7] Below, by way of introduction, I shall show that Sybant's play was also part of a short-lived vogue for English plays in the Netherlands that was caused by the success of adaptations of Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* and Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* that both derived directly from the repertoire of the strolling players.

The focus of this article shall however be on the two Dutch *Shrews* that have hitherto not been recognized as adaptations of English plays: the anonymous *Pots van Kees Krollen, hertogh van Pierlepom* ('*Farce of Kees Krollen, Duke of Neverland*', 1649) and Melchior Fockens' *Klucht van dronkken Hansje* ('*Farce of Hans the Drunkard*', 1657). For my purposes, these two rather obscure farces, which are both adaptations of the Christopher Sly frame of *The Taming of the/a Shrew*, are more interesting than *The Mad Wedding*, because they yield new information about the

performance history as well as the interpretation of both *A Shrew* and *The Shrew*. Whereas the comparison between the 1649 Dutch farce and its predecessors *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* sheds new light on the discussion about the relationship between both English plays, a historicizing reading of the 1657 farce shows that in the mid-seventeenth century, the *Shrew* material became politically relevant as it was included in a royalist discourse. As a set, the triad of Dutch *Shrews* illustrates the dynamics of the rich early afterlife of Shakespearian drama, and may serve to fill in some of the blanks in our knowledge about the early performance history of English *Shrews*.[8]

## I. *The Mad Wedding* and early Shakespeare translations in the Dutch Republic

'English poets', wrote the prolific Dutch writer Peter Rabus in 1695, 'do not touch us Dutchmen much'. In the long, alphabetical list of English poets that followed, Rabus mentioned, besides such 'obscure' authors as 'J. Donne', 'B. Johnson' and 'J. Lukkling' (a misprint for Suckling), one 'W. Shakespear'.[9] Although hard to believe for twentieth-century Dutchmen, who grow up in an essentially Anglo-Saxon culture in which Shakespeare is by far the most popular playwright, Rabus' observation holds true for the seventeenth century. The Dutch at that time were not just untouched by Shakespeare, they did not even know his name. There were some notable exceptions, like the anglophile Constantijn Huygens, who might have owned a First Folio,[10] but they did not do much for Shakespeare's popularity in the Low Countries. Rabus and his contemporaries did not know, however, that quite a few Shakespearian plays did reach Dutch audiences, albeit without his name attached to them.[11]

Indeed, the first Shakespeare translations ever to be written were Dutch. As early as in 1621 an anonymous Dutch poet took pains to translate a large part (ll. 1–810) of *Venus and Adonis*,[12] and although English literature continued to be frowned upon in Holland, in the course of the seventeenth century playwrights started to be attracted by Shakespeare as well. Most Dutch translators would still prefer a 'safe', classical or French source for their plays, but an enterprising group of actors/authors working at the newly built Municipal Theatre in Amsterdam (1638) turned to English drama instead.[13] Judging from their writings they did not look for beautiful language or complex characters. On the contrary, they preferred the farcical, horrific and moralizing aspects above all. Perhaps because of this, especially Shakespeare's early plays

were in want. The mid-seventeenth-century Shakespeare adaptations, besides *The Taming of the Shrew*, are *Richard III*,[14] and, most notoriously, *Titus Andronicus*.

Jan Vos, a glazier who prided himself for not being overly educated, wrote his rather loose adaptation of *Titus Andronicus* in 1637–38. Following the play's first performance in Amsterdam in 1642, *Aran en Titus* (as he called his play) was to become by far the most popular play of the seventeenth century in Holland, and maybe even in Northern Europe as a whole. It ran through at least 34 editions, was praised by great scholars like Barlaeus and Constantijn Huygens, and was even (re-)translated into Latin and German. The Dutch version was also taken abroad by a famous Dutch playing company to be performed at the courts of German and Swedish princes, and it continued to hold the stage well into the eighteenth century.[15] Thus, *Titus Andronicus* came to be known to many continental audiences as a Dutch play, because Vos, perhaps unwittingly, did not refer to his source.

Vos is a relatively famous example. He is the only Dutch Shakespeare adapter, for instance, who is mentioned in modern editions of Shakespeare.[16] Although establishing the precise relationship between Shakespeare's original, a 1620 German edition,[17] and a lost Dutch version by the strolling player Adriaen van den Bergh is fraught with philological problems,[18] the fact that there is a connection between Shakespeare and Vos is undisputed, and signifies the beginning of the short-lived, mid-century Dutch interest in English plays. Vos's *Aran en Titus* is therefore a necessary starting point for any discussion of the first Dutch translation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, Abraham Sybant's *De Dolle bruyloft* ('*The Mad Wedding*', 1654).[19] For while Sybant's *Shrew* would never be as successful as Jan Vos's *Andronicus*, it did have a similar history. Like *Aran and Titus*, *The Taming of the Shrew* was translated by an upstart playwright of humble origins: Abraham Sybant was an ivory turner as well as a young actor at the Amsterdam Theatre. Furthermore, like *Titus*, *The Shrew* was adapted to Dutch tastes, which meant, for instance, that it was neo-classicized and set in alexandrines throughout. Indeed, it appears that Sybant was an apprentice of Vos, who, after the success of his *Titus*, had become one of the regents of the Amsterdam theatre, and, in effect, Sybant's boss.

The first recorded performance of *The Mad Wedding* took place in Amsterdam on 9 November 1654.[20] This event, the cash registers of the Amsterdam Theatre tell us, was well attended. The play made 231 guilders, a figure well above the average revenue.[21] Regrettably for

Sybant, however, interest soon faded, and after only six performances, Katherine and Petruchio disappeared from the Amsterdam stage, only to return in modern performances of the *Taming of the Shrew* in the twentieth century. This did not mean the end of *The Mad Wedding*, however, as it was taken up by the same group of Dutch strolling players that had transported Jan Vos's *Aran and Titus*. In 1658 they performed it in Zittau, Germany. It remains to be seen whether the 1693 German version of *The taming of the Shrew*, the *Comödie der bösen Catherine* owed more to Shakespeare than to Sybant.[22] In any event, both *Titus Andronicus* and *The Taming of the Shrew* were mediated to seventeenth-century Europe by Dutch playwrights.

It is equally clear that both were fashioned according to the same practical, Vossian poetics. Comparisons between Sybant's text and its Shakespearean source have been made several times since 1880, when *The Mad Wedding* was first recognized as a Shakespeare translation.[23] First of all they reveal that Sybant has quite dramatically re-structured the play. He had a firm aesthetic view on drama, and at least some knowledge of neoclassical theory. Shakespeare did not please him in this aspect. Attempting to unify the action, probably the first thing Sybant did was cutting the Induction, and re-arranging the divisions between the Acts, which, according to Jan Vos's practice, had to be of more or less equal length. He also changed the beginning, so that he could start *in medias res* rather than *ab ovo*: in Sybant's version, Lucentio's arrival to Padua is reported rather than shown. Furthermore, he radically shortened the Shakespearean ending, by cutting the wager scene, for instance. In the meantime, though, where he did not cut, Sybant tried to keep close to his source text. Although it is impossible to say which edition he used, either the First Folio, the 1631 Quarto or the Second Folio must have been available to him, as a textual comparison quickly yields sentences translated verbatim.

A second, very consistent line of change was prompted by religious sentiments. Thus, when Shakespeare writes 'God', Sybant prudently translates 'heaven' (as a Jacobean English adapter would probably have done as well). A bit more puzzling is Sybant's rendering 'Sunday' as 'tomorrow' throughout the play. The reason for this may be found in Petruchio's announcement in Act 2, Scene 1 of *The Taming of the Shrew*: 'upon Sunday is the wedding day'.[24] In seventeenth-century Holland, Sunday weddings were not allowed,[25] and although a Sunday wedding could well be fitted in Petruchio's taming/shaming scheme, Sybant did probably not want to risk a confrontation with the Amsterdam authorities if he could avoid it with a simple alteration.

Sybant's translation strategy was typical for Vos's translating actors.[26] Without exception, they would render their sources more baroque, with touches of *couleur locale*, often while robbing them of their ambiguities to achieve sound moral instructions (as the omission of the wager scene indicates). Such changes add little to our understanding of Shakespeare's source play. Interesting as they may be from the perspective of a cultural historian or a scholar of seventeenth-century Dutch drama, they are not likely to enthuse Shakespearians or English theatre historians. The main reason for this is that the play is based on a static source text, and scholarly emphasis has, as a result, been on the target text and the target culture.

*De Pots van Kees Krollen,* and *Klucht van Dronkken Hansje* are everything that *The Mad Wedding* is not. While Sybant omitted the Induction, these playlets leave out the play-within-the-play and focus solely on the farcical Sly-plot. Furthermore, they are not translations inspired by a textual source, but adaptations of performances by English actors in the Netherlands. Performances that, as I will show, did not only contain material from *The Shrew*, but bore even more resemblance to *A Shrew*. In contrast to translations like Sybant's, therefore, these plays can enhance our understanding of the dynamics of early modern English *Shrews* in performance.

## II. An early amalgamation of *The Shrew* and *A Shrew*?

*De Pots van Kees Krollen* (hereafter *Kees Krollen*) was published in Leiden in 1649 by an anonymous writer.[27] It is a short black-letter farce, written in an odd threehundred so-called 'knittelverzen' (that is: unmetered, rhyming couplets that were customary in Dutch comedy). In this rather unpromising form it tells the story of Kees, a tinker, who is thrown out of a pub by the owner, and, amidst his pots and pans, falls asleep along the road. He is then picked up by a group of hunters, who take him to their country house and dress him up as if he were their Lord. When Kees awakes, they tell him that he has been ill for a long time, and has been imagining himself to be a tinker, while in fact, he is their rightful Lord. At first, Kees is reluctant to believe them. 'I am plain and simple Kees,' he indignantly replies (*KK*, B1r), echoing Sly's 'Am I not Christopher Sly – old Sly's son of Burton heath, by birth a pedlar, by education a cardmaker, by transmutation a bearherd, and now by present profession a tinker?' (*The Shrew*, Ind.2.16–19). Only when Kees is introduced to his wife Angelica, does he succumb to the deceit. He begins to enjoy ordering his servants around, and loves to dance during the musical interlude that is provided by his English musician (a fact that

will prove to be significant). Kees is feasted until he is again saturated with wine, and drops on the table. The real Lords's servants then return him to his pots and pans, where he eventually wakes again, to ponder about his exquisite dream.

The parallels to the Sly story in *Kees Krollen* are obvious. Yet in many cases when Dutch seventeenth-century plays resemble older, foreign drama, it is a pitfall to jump to the conclusion that the play in question is an adaptation, because there is almost always a common source in the form of a novel, a collection of stories, or a commonplace anecdote. Thus a 1634 Dutch play called *Romeo en Juliette* is not a Shakespeare translation, but a dramatization of one of Bandello's *Tragic Histories*.[28] For the Sly plot, many possible sources might be named that contained the folktale of the deceived drunkard, all listed by Stephen Miller.[29] These were as readily available to Dutch authors as they were to English playwrights, although it is worth mentioning that no written Dutch version of the story seems to have existed before 1649.[30] Some scepticism about the relationship between the English *Shrews* and the anonymous Dutch play would therefore have been in place, had not certain particulars been so overwhelmingly congruent. For besides the general outline of the plot, there are some remarkable resemblances between the induction of *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Kees Krollen* that cannot be found in other sources. The fact that the clown is a tinker, for instance, can only be found in *The Shrew*. Another detail particular to *The Shrew* are the silver basin and the ewer with which Sly is offered to refresh himself. In the Dutch farce, Kees is also allowed to wash himself with a basin and ewer and though these happen to be *gold*, they are presented at exactly the same moment in the action. Evidently, there are reasons to suspect that Kees Krollen is indeed an adaptation of the induction of *The Shrew*.

When we compare *Kees Krollen* to *A Shrew*,[31] however, the similarities turn out to be even more convincing.[32] Of course, the ending of *Kees Krollen*, when Kees is returned to his pots and pans by two servants, can only be found in *A Shrew*. But since it is quite probable (or at least not impossible) that a lost version of *The Shrew* also ended with the conclusion of the induction, this cannot be taken as evidence for the Leiden playwright's dependance on *A Shrew*.[33] The fact that Kees is thrown out by a *male* tapster at the beginning of the play, however, only finds support in *A Shrew*. An even more telling clue is offered by the names of the two Lords in *Kees Krollen*, who are called Valerius and Horatius. Latin names are rare if not non-existent in Dutch farces, and with this fact in mind, the Dutch author's echoing Valeria and Aurelius in *A Shrew's* play-within-the-play can hardly be a coincidence. All in all, there are at

least six places where *Kees Krollen* agrees with *A shrew* where *The Shrew* differs. But the little dialogue with which the hunters, Valerius and Horatius, and their servants Pedro and Papierio make their entrance, really seals the link between both plays (my translation):[34]

VAL. My lord brother, we've gone far enough! The night is falling,
How beautiful does the golden sun shine, as the poets feign,
On the loving lap of his beloved love
He kisses her lips with his beams to fulfill his lust
HOR. Well said, lord brother, beautiful nights, beautiful days
Diana has been kind to us in our hunting,
And wants to guide us freely to our respectable country house
Papierio, mind the dogs ( … )

The resemblance to *A Shrew*, which has Lord Simon enter with his famous ode to nightfall, is obvious:[35]

SI. Now that the gloomy shadow of the night,
Longing to view Orions drizzling looks
Leaps from th'antarctic world unto the sky
And dims the welkin with her pitchy breath
And darksome night o'ershades the crystal heavens
Here break we off our hunting for tonight
Couple up the hounds and let us hie home

Spoken by two characters instead of one and phrased somewhat differently, the tone of *Kees Krollen*'s ode to nightfall is nevertheless strikingly alike the one found in *A Shrew*. This similarity is all the more remarkable, because *A Shrew*'s ode contains one of those infamous Marlovian borrowings that cannot be found in *The Shrew*: Shakespeare's Lord enters with the order to mind the dogs. The first four lines of the passage that occurs in *A Shrew* are copy-pasted from *Doctor Faustus*, which has been interpreted as evidence that *A Shrew* was a rewritten version of *The Shrew* spiced up with popular quotations.[36] This claim is not undisputed, but whether or not the passage can be taken as evidence for the priority of *The Shrew*, if there has ever been an Ur-*Shrew* from which both *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* were taken, this would probably not have been in it. The fact that the *Faustus* passage has been translated into Dutch therefore proves that *Kees Krollen* is an adaptation of *A Shrew*, rather than *The Shrew*.

This being established, there are some oddities which beg explanation. For how would an adapter of *A Shrew* know that Sly is a *tinker*?

Or that he should be presented with a basin and ewer? These details, as we have seen, can only be found in *The Shrew*. Should we, then, imagine that our anonymous Leiden playwright had copies of both *A Shrew* and *The Shrew* on his desk? This is unlikely. Probably, he did not have a text at hand at all. For unlike Sybant's *Mad Wedding*, *Kees Krollen* provides only few sentences that are translated verbatim. The similarities rather point towards a memorial reconstruction of a performance. Especially the two elements that were taken from *The Shrew* could easily have been mediated visually: the basin and the ewer were of course visibly present on stage, while Sly could have been identified as a tinker by his pots and pans. Instead of translating and combining two texts, Kees Krollen's author has probably witnessed a performance of *A Shrew* by strolling players, which contained elements of *The Shrew* as well.

There are other clues that support this view. First of all, among the English companies that sought refuge on the continent after the closing of the English theatres in 1642, Leiden, where *Kees Krollen* was printed, was a popular destination.[37] The city even had an English theatre, where English companies would perform.[38] The anonymous Leiden playwright, then, was in a position to witness a performance of the original. That English actors were indeed involved in the conception of *Kees Krollen* is further suggested by the fact that it actually stages a strolling player. Halfway through the play, Kees is entertained by an English musician called 'squinting Herrie' (the musical interlude replaces the play-within-the-play of *The Shrew* and *A Shrew*).[39] I have not been able to find records of a historic English player travelling the continent called Harry or Henry, but like the Sinclo mentioned in the Folio version of *The Shrew*, he may well have been one of the original performers.

More than fifty years after *A Shrew* was first printed, and more than twenty-five years after the appearance of *The Shrew* in the First Folio, an unknown Dutch playwright produced a farce that incorporated elements from both plays. Can we somehow deduce from this how *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* relate? Does this unattractive little playlet offer the 'new, external evidence' Shrew-editor Brian Morris deemed necessary to decide the relationship between *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* 'beyond peradventure'?[40] It is of course all too easy to dismiss the suggestion: a lot could have happened in between the English and the Dutch publications. To name just one possibility: English players that may have seen or read *The Shrew* could have incorporated elements from Shakespeare's play in their own playbooks of *A Shrew*. Another plausible – even likely – possibility is the existence of a lost

play like *Bottom the Weaver*, in which Sly's adventure was isolated for short performances.[41] But despite the time gap and the impossibility to determine what happened in between the publication of the English plays and the Dutch adaptation, the comparison between the three plays does seem to favour the current orthodoxy in the debate about the relationship between *The Shrew* and *A Shrew*. For if *Kees Krollen* is indeed a reflection of a version of *The Taming of a Shrew* that contained elements from *The Shrew*, the best conjecture seems to be that this source play had rather *preserved* than incorporated them. Some elements of *The Shrew* that did not end up in the printed version of *A Shrew*, nevertheless remained part of *A Shrew*'s performance practice. It is, admittedly, speculation, but speculation that adds up to textual evidence gathered by Miller and others.

Regardless of how one construes the relationship between the three plays, *Kees Krollen* does show that the Induction of *A Shrew* was performed (perhaps as a separate play) on the continent, alongside Shakespeare's play-within-the-play, a fact that has not been recognized by scholars of the strolling player repertoire. It also shows that *A Shrew* and *The Shrew* had a joined afterlife on stage. The dynamics of the playtexts, once they were in the hands of a performing company, were evidently a lot greater than any philological exercise will ever be able to reveal. This is confirmed by the other farcical appropriation of the Sly-plot, *De Klucht van Dronkken Hansje*, which illustrates its political resourcefulness. The second Dutch playlet can tell us something about the reason why mid-seventeenth-century Dutch authors and audiences might have been drawn to the inductions of *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* in the first place.

## III. Sly politicized

Melchior Fockens' *Klucht van Dronkken Hansje* (1657)[42] had considerable success: it ran through at least fourteen performances at the Amsterdam Theatre between 1657 and 1664 and was reprinted twice, in 1661 and 1663. Again the main character, here called Hans, is the alter-ego of Christopher Sly. Again, the plot is identical to that of the Induction. By renaming the protagonist Hans, Fockens gives us a clue about the provenance of his source: the stock-in-trade Dutchman in early modern English drama, Hans or Pickleherring, was a popular character that was introduced on the continent by English strolling players.[43] Again, therefore, it seems that the influence of English strolling players could offer a fruitful perspective on the play.

By far the most intriguing aspect of Fockens' farce, however, are the repeated political allusions. These are most apparent at the end of the play. When Hans is returned to the place where he has been found in his inebriety by the servants, he wakes up and tells them about his adventure. 'The beds were made of fine glass,' he says, 'in which I lay as if I were a grand master, like Cromwell'. And later: 'I had at least three-hundred pages and lackeys! You would have thought / (had you seen it) I were the Protector'.[44] These seemingly casual references to Cromwell completely politicize Fockens's adaptation of the subject matter of the Induction.

Like most Dutchmen in the mid-seventeenth century, the writer of *Dronkken Hansje*, Melchior Fockens, was no supporter of the English republican regime. On the outset of the First Anglo-Dutch War, he was one of the many Dutch writers who scorned the English people and the Rump parliament for the execution of Charles I in 1649. In a 1652 broadsheet entitled *Op de Tvvist tussen Engelandt en Hollandt* ('*On the Dispute between England and Holland*'), Fockens rhetorically asks the English people: 'Did the Earl's nor the King's blood / Fulfill yur hellish, cunning lust?'[45] By referring to hell, Fockens was playing on the popular image of the English people as fallen angels, as becomes clear at the end of the poem, when he writes: 'You, that bear the Angels' name / O! Blinded race, o! terrible shame!'[46]

Anti-English and anti-Cromwellian pamphlets were no rarities in Holland in the 1650s, when English politics were closely monitored by Dutch commentators. However crude and polemic, anti-Cromwellian propaganda had its own imagery, its own poetics, and its own subtleties. Connected to the idea that the inhabitants of Anglia somehow descended from angels, was the old and widespread notion that Englishmen were tail-men.[47] According to one version of this legend, the English had tails, because they descended from the devil. Cromwell came to epitomize the tail-man. A well-known depiction of Cromwell as 'the terrible tail-man' is obviously inspired by a more maritime explanation of the English tail, but Dutch writers of the 1650s ingenuously explored every possible connotation to the word tail in order to ridicule Cromwell and Parliament. Besides devil's tails and sea monster's tails like the one depicted on *The Terrible Tail-man*, we might find revolutionary Englishmen with dogtails, foxtails, or, of course, more phallic interpretations. Plain 'tail' or 'English tail' was also a regular invective for an Englishman.

*Topoi* such as these were also brought to the stage. But to get an outright anti-English *pamphlet* published was one thing, to get an outright anti-English *play* to be performed on the Amsterdam stage was quite

another. Pamphlets could be published in any city, but the Amsterdam Theatre was closely monitored by the regents of the city, who were, before and after the war, anxious to affront Cromwell. Only during the Anglo-Dutch wars could a royalist martyr play such as Dullaert's *Charles Stuart, or martyred majesty* (w. 1649, p. 1652) be performed. In 1657, when Fockens wrote *Dronkken Hansje*, Cromwell had just entered his second protectorate, and outspoken royalist sentiments had no chance on the Amsterdam stage.

When we return to Fockens's farce bearing in mind the Dutch preoccupation with the English revolution and the slumbering royalist sentiment in the latter half of the 1650s, small or coded references to England and the protectorate become rather significant. When Hans is thrown out of his pub at the beginning of *Dronkken Hansje*, the hostess calls him an 'English tail', linking the beggar to England for the first time and even suggesting that he is an Englishman. In the eyes of a Dutch audience, his susceptibility for deceit would thereby be sufficiently explained. If we add Hansje's tail to the references to Cromwell at the end of the play, the allegorical qualities of Fockens' farce can hardly be misunderstood: by appropriating the carnivalesque Induction of *The Taming of a Shrew* he was criticizing the Cromwellian regime.

In fact, his play seems to have been part of a royalist propaganda campaign that sought to discredit Cromwell by associating him with the farcical qualities such as artisanship and play-acting. As in English royalist propaganda, Dutch pamphlets in the 1650s often portrayed Cromwell as a brewer, or indeed any artisan. A 1652 broadsheet represents Cromwell as cooper, working on a barrel filled with dissension and conflict.[48] A year later, a Dutch war pamphlet called the Rump parliament an assembly of 'shoe-makers, cheap-tailors, kettle-menders, rag-peddlers, rat-catchers, dog-butchers, manure-sweepers, cutpurses, privy-sweepers, animal gelders'.[49] Jacobus Stermont, a royalist Calvinist minister from The Hague, also resented the fact that a bunch of 'former tailors, brewers, bankrupts, and innkeepers ( … ) drove over 200 of its rightful members from the Parliament by force'.[50] Representing the English revolution as a revolution of the lower classes was a common strategy in royalist propaganda. One of its attractions was that it likened the English Revolution to the anabaptist risings in Amsterdam and Münster and the revolt in Naples rather than to the Dutch Revolt, which would of course have been counter-productive. Another effect of equating Parliament with an assembly of artisans was that it evoked the world of topsy-turviness and comedy.

The implication in Fockens' play that Cromwell was play-acting to be a king as much as Hansje and Kees played the duke needed no explanation to be understood by contemporary audiences. Especially during the Protectorate, Cromwell was frequently associated with role-playing, comedy and the carnivalesque in the Dutch Republic. In various media and in various social strata, jokes about Cromwell's protectorate played upon the idea of the Protector as a Prince of Misrule. In one anti-Cromwellian pamphlet that was published in the same year as Fockens' farce, a comparison is made between Pilate's soldiers who cast lots for Christ's tunic[51] and the regicides: 'Cromwell ( . . . ) has proved the winner, and put on the royal tunic, which he now displays on the royal throne. Dissatisfied with the name of Protector, he wants to *play* the King'.[52] The pamphleteer, of course, considered kingship to be an innate, God-given status, and Cromwell can never do more than play and pretend. At a more playful tone, Constantijn Huygens too accused Cromwell of playing the king. In a poem Huygens wrote to his 'grande maistresse' Amelie van Brederode in 1654, he called Cromwell 'that comic Protector', a 'hypocrite who mocks / all the British people'. Huygens points out that the Brits have been conquered for the second time, but this time not by a French Prince with a powerful army, but by 'rude Fate that made / A man who used to be like me / To come and play the King'.[53] Jan Vos, the adapter of *Titus Andronicus* who was also an outspoken royalist, similarly associated Cromwell's rule with exchangeability and theatricality. Moreover, in his epigram *On Twelfth Night* he explicitly compared the interregnum government in England with festive games of inversion. Playing a 'high and mighty king' at the night of the epiphany, Vos wondered if Cromwell enjoyed 'ruling for a day'.[54]

As Anna Bayman and George Southcombe emphasized in Chapter 1, *The/A Shrew*'s meaning changed depending on the political context in which it was (re)performed (re)published or (re)read. Fockens' *Dronkken Hansje* alerts us to the fact that even such a commonplace carnivalesque plot as the Induction of either *The* or *A Shrew* was subject to such change. Of course, the political, anti-revolutionary aspects of such farcical material have always been recognized, but they became infinitely more pronounced by the unprecedented political developments in the 1650s.

The fact that a Dutch playwright adapted English material to reflect on English politics is not as surprising as it might seem. Especially in the 1640s and 1650s, when the English theatres were closed, continental theatres and playgrounds did not only show Shakespearian plays adapted, they also showed a continued practice, as English plays and players

were, like the King and his court, displaced. Not all English actors opted for banishment after the regicide, but those who did retained close ties with the several English courts in exile. The well-known performance of Beaumont and Fletcher's *A King and No King* (1618) by English players at the court of Elizabeth Stuart in The Hague in 1654 is not only indicative of the continued relationship between courts and players on the continent, it also shows that in the context of revolution and Cromwellian Protectorate, the players did not hesitate to explore old plays for new, propagandistic meanings. Acted in a royalist environment, *A King and No King* was interpreted as 'a sarcastic commentary on the paradoxically regal pretentions of the [Protector]'.[55]

Citing an issue of Nedham's *Mercurius Politicus*, which reported that 'the English Stage-players' on the continent 'stile themselves to be [the King's]', John Astington has recently suggested that the players in exile 'maintained an ethos of cultural mission, Anglophile and royalist'.[56] The presence of English actors, playwrights and patrons in the Low Countries puts Fockens' political appropriation of *The/A Shrew* in a rather different perspective. His reading of the Shakespearian material, is likely to have been the reading of an English royalist as well, and strongly suggests that the 'cultural mission' of the strolling players was executed in collaboration with their continental colleagues. When Restoration playwrights appropriated Shakespeare in order to serve monarchic interests, then, they were in a way continuing the theatrical propaganda project that had been developed partly in the Low Countries.

## IV. Conclusion

In an 1860 issue of *The Athenaeum*, the antiquary and Shakespearean James Orchard Halliwell observed that:

> [t]he dramatic treasures of Holland are, indeed, so extensive that, considering the nearness of that country to England, and the probable circumstance that the early English actors visited it as well as Germany, I have long felt convinced that there must exist amongst them something illustrative of the works of our own great dramatist.[57]

Halliwell's intuition is not entirely unjustified. Mediated by the itinerant theatre, or Renaissance Intertheatre, seventeenth-century Dutch translations and adaptations are frequently the closest we can get to the early afterlife of Shakespeare's plays on stage – and may indeed occasionally

shed light on certain problems in the texts themselves. Thus the stage directions in *Kees Krollen* put the debate about the relationship between *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* in a new perspective, showing that the distinction between the Inductions of both plays was not as clear-cut in performance as it seems to be in the printed texts.

The broader cultural and political contexts I have concentrated on in my discussion of Fockens' *Dronkken Hansje* suggest that in the 1650s, the Induction of *The/A Shrew* became part of the royalist propaganda effort in the Low Countries. Further research on the role of the drama during the royalist exile experience is required, but we may conclude here that it is likely that the players who performed *The/A Shrew* in the English Theatre in Leiden, in 1649, were well aware of its implications.

## Notes

1. This is especially true for the nineteenth-century German scholarship on the strolling players represented by Albert Cohn's *Shakespeare in Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; an account of English actors in Germany and the Netherlands and of the plays performed by them during the same period* (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1971). For a near-complete bibliography of the work done on the travelling English players, see: Anston Bosman, 'Renaissance Intertheater and the Staging of Nobody'. *ELH* 71:3 (2004), 559–85.
2. See Bosman, passim.
3. Ton Hoenselaars, 'The Seventeenth-Century Reception of English Renaissance Drama in Europe'. In: María Fuencisla García-Bermejo Giner (ed.) *Sederi X. In memoriam Patricia Shaw* (Salamanca 1999), 69–87.
4. Jacob A. Worp. 'Eene Hollandsche vertaling uit de 17de eeuw van Shakespeare's *The taming of the shrew*'. *De Nederlandsche spectator* (1880), 144–7. Also see: Jacob A. Worp 'De invloed der Engelsche letterkunde op ons tooneel in de 17de eeuw'. *Tijdspiegel* III (1887), 266–300.
5. Annie van Nassau Sarolea. 'Abraham Sybant, Strolling Player and First Dutch Shakespeare translator'. *Theatre Research* 13 (1973), 38–59.
6. Ton Hoenselaars and Jan-Frans van Dijkhuizen, 'Abraham Sybant tames *The taming of the shrew* for the Amsterdam stage'. *Ilha do desterro* 36 (1999), 53–70. See also Hoenselaars, '"There is Tremendous Poetry in Killings": Traditions of Shakespearean Translation and Adaptation in the Low Countries'. In: Rui Carvalho Homem and Ton Hoenselaars (eds.) *Translating Shakespeare for the Twenty-First Century* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 82–5.
7. Maria Theresia Leuker, 'Die Widerspenstigen Zähmung'. In: *'De last van't huys, de wil des mans … ': Frauenbilder und Ehekonzepte im niederländischen Lustspiel des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Regensberg, 1992).
8. That little is known about these early performances is apparent in Tori Haring-Smith, *From farce to metadrama: a stage history of The taming of the shrew 1594–1983* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985).

9. Cited in Cees W. Schoneveld, *Intertraffic of the Mind: Studies in Seventeenth-century Anglo-Dutch Translation with a Checklist of Books Translated from English into Dutch, 1600–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 1983), 120.
10. See: A.G.H. Bachrach, 'Engeland en Huygens in zijn levensavond'. In: A.Th. van Deursen (ed.) *Veelzijdigheid als levensvorm* (Deventer: Sub Rosa, 1987), 67 and A.J. West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book. Volume II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 13.
11. In the second half of the nineteenth century, several Dutch philologists tried to find traces of Shakespeare in Dutch seventeenth-century drama with varying success, uncovering many shared plots and motifs, some doubtful adaptations, and only few real translations. See: H.E. Moltzer, *Shakspere's invloed op het Nederlandsch tooneel der zeventiende eeuw* (Groningen: Wolters, 1874); Worp (1887).
12. J.C. Arens, 'Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis (1–810): A Dutch translation printed in 1621'. *Neophilologus* 52 (1968), 421–30.
13. The group of authors turning to English drama comprises forgotten actors like Dirk Kalbergen, Abraham Sybant, Isaac Vos, Triael Parker (an Englishman) and Mathijs Gramsbergen. Cf. Ernst F. Kossmann, *Nieuwe bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche tooneel in de 17e en 18e eeuw* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1915) and Ben Albach, *Langs kermissen en hoven: ontstaan en kroniek van een Nederlands toneelgezelschap in de 17e eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1977).
14. O.J. Campbell, *The position of the Roode en Witte roos in the saga of King Richard III* (New York: AMS Press, 1971), concludes that Lambert van den Bosch's *Roode en Witte Roos* ['*Red and White Rose*'] (Amsterdam, 1651) has been inspired by the last Acts of Shakespeare's *Richard III*. For a discussion of the political implications of Van den Bosch's adaptation, see A.J. Hoenselaars, 'Shakespeare and the Early Modern History Play'. In: M. Hattaway (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 35–8.
15. W.J.C. Buitendijk (ed.) *Jan Vos: Toneelwerken* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1975). Also available on: www.dbnl.nl. For the history of the playing company, which was much influenced by English actors, see: Albach (1977).
16. See Jonathan Bate's Arden 3 edition of *Titus Andronicus* (London: Routledge, 1995), 48.
17. Found in Robert Reynold's *Engelische Comedien and Tragödien* (1620). The playtexts in this little volume are reprinted in Wilhelm M.A. Creizenach, *Die schauspiele der englischen komödianten* (Berlijn: W. Spemann, 1889).
18. See W. Braekman, 'The Relationship of Shakespeare's *Titus Andronicus* to the German play of 1620 and to Jan Vos's *Aran en Titus*'. *Studia Germanica Gandensia* 9 (1967), 9–117 and 10 (1968), 9–65. Also published as a separate volume as W. Braekman, *Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus. Its relationship to the German Play of 1620 and to Jan Vos's Aran en Titus* (Gent: Blandijnberg, 1969).
19. Besides being the first proper translation of *The Taming of the Shrew*, it also is the first translation of a Shakespeare play in history.
20. E. Oey-de Vita and M. Geesink, *Academie en Schouwburg. Amsterdams Toneelrepertoire 1617–1665* (Amsterdam: Huis aan de Drie Grachten, 1983), 163.
21. Ibid., 125.

22. A.J. Hoenselaars and J.F. van Dijkhuizen (1999), 53–70.
23. Worp (1880); Worp (1887), 285–7; Van Nassau Sarolea, 38–59; Hoenselaars and Van Dijkhuizen, passim.
24. Quotations from Shakespeare are taken from the Norton edition: S. Greenblatt, W. Cohen, J.E. Howard and K. Eisaman Maus (eds.) *The Norton Shakespeare. Based on the Oxford edition* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1997).
25. Van Nassau-Sarolea, 50.
26. Another member of Vos' circle, Dirk Kalbergen, adapted John Mason's *The Turke* (1610) in 1652.
27. Anon. *Pots van Kees Krollen, hertogh van Pierlepom* (Leiden: Severijn Matthijsz, 1649). Royal Library, The Hague, sig. 12 J 24.
28. Another example is Jan Starter's *Timbre de Cardone* (1618), the plot of which is parallel to Shakespeare's *Much Ado about Nothing*. Recently, Marguérite Corporaal has argued that Starter might after all have made use of *Much Ado*. I am not persuaded by her argument, however, which is based on a single reference in Starter's play to the classical Hero and the presence of a comical subplot in Starter's play, a standard. Cf. Marguérite Corporaal, 'Women, Wit and Honor: A Comparative Study of *Much Ado About Nothing* and Jan Jansz Starter's *Timbre de Cardone ende Fenicie van Messine*'. In: Ton Hoenselaars and Holger Klein (eds.) *Shakespeare and the Low Countries*. Shakespeare Yearbook vol. 15 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 141–64.
29. See Miller's introduction to *A Shrew,* in: S.R. Miller, *The Taming of a Shrew. The 1594 Quarto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 1–19. The anecdote is listed in: A. Aarne, *The Types of the Folktale* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1964), nr. 1531.
30. Joannes Lamotius, who wrote the 1614 Dutch translation of Goulart's *Thresor d'histoires admirables et memorables de notre temps* (1606), omitted the story about the deceived drunkard.
31. I use Miller's edition throughout. Cf. n. 28 above.
32. A more elaborate comparison (in Dutch) can be found in H.J. Helmers, 'Christopher Sly in de Republiek'. *Folio. Tijdschrift van het Shakespeare-genootschap Nederland en Vlaanderen* 11:1 (2004), 5–23.
33. Much has been said about this hypothetical alternative ending of *The Taming of the Shrew*. See, for instance: P. Alexander, 'The original ending of *The Taming of the Shrew*'. *SQ* 20 (1969), 111–16, K.P. Wentersdorf, 'The original ending of The taming of the shrew: a reconsideration'. *SEL* 18 (1978), 201–15; E.P. Kuhl, 'Shakespeares purpose in dropping Sly'. *Modern Language Notes* 36 (1921), 321–9; T.N. Greenfeld, 'The transformation of Christopher sly'. *Philological Quarterly* 33 (1954), 34–42 and Ann Thompson's introduction to *The Shrew* in: Shakespeare, *The taming of the shrew*. Edited and with an introduction by Ann Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 10–13.
34. *Kees Krollen*, A4r. Translated from the original Dutch: "VAL.: Heer broeder dat is soo vergebracht! Den avond is aen't vallen / Hoe schoon blinkt de gulde son gelijk de poeten mallen / In de verliefde schoot van sijn geliefde lief / En kust haer lippen met sijn stralen tot sijns lusts gerief. / HOR.: Recht geseit, heer broeder, schoon avonden, schoon dagen / De godin Diana heeft ons gunstich geweest int jagen / En wil ons vrij en vrank geleyen in ons aensienlijk land-huis / Papierio, pas op de honden ( … )".

35. *A Shrew*, 1.8–1.13.
36. See Miller, 20–2.
37. From the perspective of the English players, the presence of many English students was one of Leiden's main attractions. See: N. Begemann, 'De Engelse komedianten in de Nederlanden'. *De Gids* 127 (1964), 398–412; A.G.H. Bachrach, 'Leiden en de strolling players'. *Leids jaarboekje* 60 (1968), 29–37.
38. J.G. Riewald, 'New light on English actors in the Netherlands c.1590–c.1660'. *English Studies* 41 (1960), 84–5.
39. *Kees Krollen*, B1r. In the original Dutch, 'schele Herrie' ('squinting Harry') is introduced as the Kees 'oldest English musician'.
40. B. Morris (ed.) *The taming of the shrew* (London: Methuen, 1981), 45.
41. Anon. *The Merry Conceited Humors of Bottom the Weaver. As It Hath Been Often Publikely Acted by Some of His Majesties Comedians, and Lately, Privately, Presented, by Several Apprentices for Their Harmless Recreation, With Great Applause* (London: F. Kirkman and H. Marsh, 1661).
42. M. Fockens, *Klucht van dronkken Hansje* (Amsterdam: Dirck Cornelisz. Houthaeck, 1657). Leiden University Library, sig. 1089 B 25:2.
43. See: Ben Albach, 'Pekelharing: Personage en Potsenmaker'. *Literatuur* 17 (1990), 74–80 and Peg Katritzky, 'Pickelhering and Hamlet in Dutch art: The English comedians of Robert Browne, John Green, and Robert Reynolds'. In: *Shakespeare and the Low Countries*, 113–40.
44. *Dronkken Hansje*, 16. Translated from the original Dutch: 'Daar lag ik in gelijk of ik zo een groot meester als Kromwel was ( … ) 'k had wel drie vier hondert pagien en lakkijen, je zoud mienen / (hadje 't esien) dat ik de Protector was'.
45. M Fockens, *Op de Tvvist tussen Engelandt en Hollandt* (Utrecht, 1652). Plano in the Royal Library's Knuttel Catalogue, nr. 7266 (Knuttel 7266).
46. Translated from the original Dutch: 'Gy draegt der Eng'len naam ( … ) Verblint Geslacht, och lacy, och schaam!'
47. See: D. Th. Enklaar, 'De gestaarte Engelsman'. *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen* 18 (1955), 105–39 and E. Staffell, 'The Horrible Tail-Man and the Anglo-Dutch wars'. *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000), 169–86.
48. Mol, J. de. *Engels-kviper* (Middelburg: Ian Bastiaansz. Krol, 1652). Kn. 7330. Laura Knoppers cites the Mercurius Elenctitus of 21–28 Februari (OS), which likewise represents parliament as an assembly of 'Brewers and Bakers, Coblers, Pedlers *and Tinkers*' (emphasis added). Cf. Laura L. Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell. Ceremony, Portrait and Print 1645–1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 27.
49. Anon. *Een goede balsam op een quade wonde, geleght op de melaetsheden van't tegenwoordigh Parlement van de republijcque van Engelandt* (Leiden: SI, 1653), 6. Kn. 7434. Translated from the original Dutch: 'Schoepluggers, lap-schroors, ketel-boeters, deken-kramers, ratte-vangers, honde-slagers, dreck-vagers, buydel-schrobbers, privaet-schrobbers, beeste-lubbers'.
50. Stermont, J. [attr.] *Eenvoudich Advys om met de meeste spoed ende de minste schade te gheraken uyt den schadelicken Oorloch met Engelant* (The Hague: 1652). Knuttel 7257.
51. The reference is to John 19:23–4. See also: Matth. 27:35, Mark 15:23, and Luke 23:34.

52. Anon. *Vergelijckinge tusschen Claudius Tiberius, Kayser van Romen, en Oliver Cromwel, Protector, of misschien toekomenden koninck van Engelandt, &c. Waer in haere veynseryen, listighe lagen, oneyndbaere staetsucht … in 't Latijn is verhaelt geworden* (1657), 18. Kn. 7822. Translated from the original Dutch: 'Cromwel ( … ) overwinnaer gebleven is, en heeft den Rock nu aengetrocken, daer hy op den Koninckklijcken Troon nu mede pronckt, en met de name van Protector niet te vreden zijnde, den Koningh spelen wil'. Emphasis added.
53. Huygens, Constantijn. 'Estreine a sa gaijeté' ['New Year's Gift for her Gaiety'] (1654), ll. 80–8. In: Worp, J.A. (ed.) *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens* Vol. 5 (Groningen: Wolters, 1895), 114–17. Translated from the original French: '( … ) ce drosle de Protecteur, / Qui faict le bigot et la nicque / A tout le peuple Britannique, / Conquis pour la seconde fois, / Non pas par un Prince françois / (85) Suiui d'une puissante armée, / Mais par la brusque destinée / D'un homme jadis comme moij /Faict à venir jouër le Roij'. See also: http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Huygens/HUYG54.html.
54. Jan Vos, 'Op drie Koningen avont'. In: Jan Vos, *Alle de Gedichten* I (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescailje, 1662), 378–9. Translated from the original Dutch: 'Ik wierdt onlangs, door 't lot, een Koning van ontzagh: / Want als ik sprak begon myn hofgezin te beeven. / Heeft Kromwel geen vermaak in 't heerschen van een dagh? / Zoo heb ik ook geen vrees, om door zyn bijl te sneeven'. About the political resourcefulness of festive games of inversion, see: Marc Jacobs, 'King for a Day. Games of Inversion, Representation, and Appropriation in Ancient Regime Europe'. In: Jeroen Deploige and Gita Deneckere (eds.) *Mystifying the Monarch. Studies on Discourse, Power, and History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006), 117–38. Cf. also Anne-Marie le Bourg-Oulé, *Roi d'un jour. Les métamorphoses d'un rêve dans le théâtre européen* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1996).
55. See, for example: Zachary Lesser, 'Mixed Government and Mixed Marriage in *A King and No King*. Sir Henry Neville reads Beaumont and Fletcher'. *ELH* 69 (2002), 947. Although Lesser acknowledges the royalist appropriation of the play during the interregnum, he argues for a more complicated reading of the play, which originally 'was neither a simple defence of or attack on absolute monarchy' (948).
56. John Astington, 'Actors and the Court after 1642'. *Early Modern Literary Studies* 15 (2007), 6.1–23, par. 17. http://purl.oclc.org/emls/si-15/astiacto.htm.
57. *The Athenaeum*, 21 April 1860, cited in A.C. te Loffelt, *Uren met Shakespeare* (Leiden: Brill, 1889) 119.

## Works cited

1649 *Pots van Kees Krollen, hartogh van Pierlepom* (Leiden: Severijn Matthijsz).
1653 *Een goede balsam op een quade wonde, geleght op de melaetsheden van't tegenwoordigh Parlement van de republijcque van Engelandt* (Leiden: s.i.).
1657 *Vergelijckinge tusschen Claudius Tiberius, Kayser van Romen, en Oliver Cromwel, Protector, of misschien toekomenden koninck van Engelandt, &c. Waer in haere veynseryen, listighe lagen, oneyndbaere staetsucht … in 't Latijn is verhaelt geworden* (s.p.: s.i.).

1661 *The Merry Conceited Humors of Bottom the Weaver. As It Hath Been Often Publikely Acted by Some of His Majesties Comedians, and Lately, Privately, Presented, by Several Apprentices for Their Harmless Recreation, With Great Applause* (London: F. Kirkman and H. Marsh).

Aarne, A., *The Types of the Folktale* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1964).

Albach, B., *Langs kermissen en hoven: ontstaan en kroniek van een Nederlands toneelgezelschap in de 17e eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Press, 1977).

—— 'Pekelharing: Personage en Potsenmaker', *Literatuur* 17 (1990), 74–80.

Alexander, P., 'The original ending of *The Taming of the Shrew*', *SQ* 20 (1969), 111–16.

Arens, J.C., 'Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis (1–810): A Dutch translation printed in 1621', *Neophilologus* 52 (1968), 421–30.

Astington, John, 'Actors and the Court after 1642', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 15 (2007), 6.1–23. http://purl.oclc.org/emls/si-15/astiacto.htm.

Bachrach, A.G.H., 'Engeland en Huygens in zijn levensavond', in A.Th. van Deursen (ed.), *Veelzijdigheid als levensvorm* (Deventer: Sub Rosa, 1987), 67.

—— 'Leiden en de strolling players,' *Leids jaarboekje* 60 (1968), 29–37.

Begemann, N., 'De Engelse komedianten in de Nederlanden', *De Gids* 127 (1964), 398–412.

Bosman, A., 'Renaissance Intertheater and the Staging of Nobody', *ELH* 71:3 (2004), 559–85.

Bourg-Oulé, A.-M. le., *Roi d'un jour. Les métamorphoses d'un rêve dans le théâtre européen* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1996).

Braekman, W., *Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus. Its relationship to the German Play of 1620 and to Jan Vos's Aran en Titus* (Gent: Blandijnberg, 1969).

Buitendijk, W.J.C. (ed.), *Jan Vos: Toneelwerken* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1975).

Campbell, O.J., *The position of the Roode en Witte roos in the saga of King Richard III* (New York: AMS Press, 1971).

Cohn, A., *Shakespeare in Germany in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; an account of English actors in Germany and the Netherlands and of the plays performed by them during the same period* (New York: Haskell House Publishers, 1971).

Corporaal, M., 'Women, Wit and Honor: A Comparative Study of *Much Ado About Nothing* and Jan Jansz Starter's *Timbre de Cardone ende Fenicie van Messine*', in Ton Hoenselaars and Holger Klein (eds.), 'Shakespeare and the Low Countries', *Shakespeare Yearbook* vol. 15 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2005), 141–64.

Creizenach, W.M.A., *Die schauspiele der englischen komödianten* (Berlijn: W. Spemann, 1889).

Deploige, J. and G. Deneckere (eds.), *Mystifying the Monarch. Studies on Discourse, Power, and History* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2006).

Enklaar, D. Th., 'De gestaarte Engelsman', *Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Academie van Wetenschappen* 18 (1955), 105–39.

Fockens, M., *Klucht van dronkken Hansje* (Amsterdam: Dirck Cornelisz. Houthaeck, 1657).

—— *Op de Tvvist tussen Engelandt en Hollandt* (Utrecht: s.i., 1652).

Greenblatt, S. et al. (eds.), *The Norton Shakespeare. Based on the Oxford edition* (New York and London: W.W. Norton, 1997).

Greenfeld, T.N., 'The transformation of Christopher sly', *Philological Quarterly* 33 (1954), 34–42.

Haring-Smith, T., *From farce to metadrama: a stage history of The taming of the shrew 1594–1983* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1985).
Helmers, H.J., 'Christopher Sly in de Republiek', *Folio. Tijdschrift van het Shakespeare-genootschap Nederland en Vlaanderen* 11:1 (2004), 5–23.
Hoenselaars, A.J., 'The Seventeenth-Century Reception of English Renaissance Drama in Europe', in María Fuencisla García-Bermejo Giner (ed.), *Sederi X. In memoriam Patricia Shaw* (Salamanca 1999), 69–87.
—— 'Shakespeare and the Early Modern History Play', in M. Hattaway (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's History Plays* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 35–8.
—— '"There is Tremendous Poetry in Killings": Traditions of Shakespearean Translation and Adaptation in the Low Countries', in Rui Carvalho Homem and Ton Hoenselaars (eds.), *Translating Shakespeare for the Twenty-First Century* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2004), 82–5.
Hoenselaars, A.J. and J.-F. van Dijkhuizen, 'Abraham Sybant tames *The taming of the shrew* for the Amsterdam stage', *Ilha do desterro* 36 (1999), 53–70.
Katritzky, P., 'Pickelhering and Hamlet in Dutch art: The English comedians of Robert Browne, John Green, and Robert Reynolds', in 'Shakespeare and the Low Countries', *Shakespeare Yearbook* 15 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellon Press, 2005), 113–40.
Knoppers, Laura L., *Constructing Cromwell. Ceremony, Portrait and Print 1645–1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
Knuttel, W.P.C., *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht: Oosthoek 1978).
Kossmann, E.F., *Nieuwe bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsche tooneel in de 17e en 18e eeuw* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 1915).
Kuhl, E.P., 'Shakespeares purpose in dropping Sly', *Modern Language Notes* 36 (1921), 321–9.
Lesser, Z., 'Mixed Government and Mixed Marriage in *A King and No King*. Sir Henry Neville reads Beaumont and Fletcher', *English Literary History* 69 (2002), 947–77.
Leuker, M.-Th., 'Die Widerspenstigen Zähmung', in *'De last van't huys, de wil des mans … ': Frauenbilder und Ehekonzepte im niederländischen Lustspiel des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Regensberg, 1992), 216–32.
Loffelt, A.C. te., *Uren met Shakespeare* (Leiden: Brill, 1889).
Miller, S.R., *The Taming of a Shrew. The 1594 Quarto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
Mol, J. de., *Engels-kviper* (Middelburg: Ian Bastiaansz. Krol, 1652).
Moltzer, H.E., *Shakspere's invloed op het Nederlandsch tooneel der zeventiende eeuw* (Groningen: Wolters, 1874).
Nassau Sarolea, Annie van., 'Abraham Sybant, Strolling Player and First Dutch Shakespeare translator', *Theatre Research* 13 (1973), 38–59.
Oey-de Vita, E. and M. Geesink, *Academie en Schouwburg. Amsterdams Toneelrepertoire 1617–1665* (Amsterdam: Huis aan de Drie Grachten, 1983).
Riewald, J.G., 'New light on English actors in the Netherlands c.1590–c.1660,' *English Studies* 41 (1960), 84–5.
Schoneveld, C.W., *Intertraffic of the Mind: Studies in Seventeenth-century Anglo-Dutch Translation with a Checklist of Books Translated from English into Dutch, 1600–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 1983).

Shakespeare, W., *The Taming of the Shrew*, edited and with an introduction by Brian Morris (London: Methuen, 1981).
—— *The Taming of the Shrew*, edited and with an introduction by Ann Thompson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984).
——*Titus Andronicus*, edited and with an introduction by Jonathan Bate (London: Routledge, 1995).
Staffell, E., 'The Horrible Tail-Man and the Anglo-Dutch wars', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000), 169–86.
Stermont, J. [attr.], *Eenvoudich Advys om met de meeste spoed ende de minste schade te gheraken uyt den schadelicken Oorloch met Engelant* (The Hague: 1652).
Vos, J., *Alle de Gedichten* I (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescailje, 1662).
Wentersdorf, K.P., 'The original ending of *The Taming of the Shrew*: a reconsideration', *SEL* 18 (1978), 201–15.
West, A.J., *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book. Volume II* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
Worp, J.A., 'Eene Hollandsche vertaling uit de 17de eeuw van Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*', *De Nederlandsche spectator* (1880), 144–7.
—— 'De invloed der Engelsche letterkunde op ons tooneel in de 17de eeuw', *Tijdspiegel* III (1887), 266–300.
—— (ed.) *De Gedichten van Constantijn Huygens* Vol. 5 (Groningen: Wolters, 1895).

# 8

# ‘Ye sid ha taken my Counsel sir’: Restoration Satire and Theatrical Authority

*Charles Conaway*

The second volume of the popular 1703 poetical miscellany, *Poems on Affairs of State* includes ‘A Satyr by the Lord Rochester, which King Charles took out of his Pocket.’ The title of the poem recalls the events surrounding the monarch’s discovery of another satire – Wilmot’s infamous, vulgar ‘On King Charles,’ which led to Rochester’s banishment when, in a state of drunken confusion, he showed it to the king. Despite the fact that *POAS* attributes the ‘Satyr’ to Rochester, however, its authorship has been questioned.[1] Prior to its appearance in print, the satire appeared in three separate manuscripts where it was titled, simply, ‘Satyr,’ and where its authorship was ascribed to a ‘Mr. Lacy,’ whom George deForest Lord identifies as John Lacy, the famous Restoration comic actor who adapted Shakespeare’s *The Taming of the Shrew* in 1667 as *Sauny the Scot*.[2]

The specific concern of this satire of questionable authorship, as Harold Weber writes, is the king’s ‘enslavement, his betrayal of royal stature, responsibility, and authority to the merely biological.’[3] ‘Was ever prince’s soul so meanly poor,’ the satire asks, ‘To be a enslav’d to ev’ry little whore?’[4] Charles II privileges affairs of the flesh over the affairs of the state. He is told to ‘Be yet a king and wear the royal bays!’ (68), and he is scolded because his amorous affairs have political consequences: ‘How poorly squander’st thou thy seed away, / Which should get kings for nations to obey!’ (19–20). When he privileges the fulfillment of his sexual appetites and enslaves himself to his mistresses, Charles enacts a gender reversal in which he squanders his seed: he betrays both his royal responsibilities and his masculine authority.

Despite its overriding concern with the king’s behavior, the poem, which sometimes appears under the variant title, ‘Upon Nell Gwynne’s and the Duchess of Portsmouth’s Naked Pictures,’ nevertheless directs

the majority of its invective against Charles's mistresses.[5] Nell Gwynn is proclaimed a 'whore' (32) and a 'bitch' (34), a mere actress who makes 'the people mad with rage' (33) when they see her so highly advanced. Barbara Palmer is a 'harlot' (43), whose 'monstrous lechery exceeds all fame' (46): 'Full forty men a day have swiv'd the whore, / Yet like a bitch she wags her tail for more' (51–2). Here, the 'Satyr' performs the function of what James Grantham Turner has identified as *pornographia*, 'an act of *designation* or *marking* … [that] carried associations of punishment and publication.'[6] In its crudest sense, *pornographia* 'means uttering and affixing the single word *whore*' (2), and, as Turner notes, *pornographia* 'readily mutates into the "porno-political", which uses images of the "regnant whore" … to delegitimize actual or emergent institutions … [including] the Restoration Court' (14). In such a light, we can see that the 'Satyr' rails against the supposedly unbridled sexuality of the mistresses of Charles II, in part at least, in order to launch 'an attack directed at the king and his sexual [and monarchical] failings.'[7]

At the same time, the satire calls for Charles to mend his ways. If he rights himself, the poem suggests, he will no longer meet with 'unkind and cruel votes' in Parliament (84). This expression of contempt for the king's behavior, coupled with a hope for its improvement, is not limited to the 'Satyr.' Discontent with the king's management of state was often expressed through criticism of, and satire about, the ways in which Charles doted upon his mistresses. The king's submission to the likes of Nell Gwynn and Barbara Palmer was used, over the course of decades, in a trope-like fashion to criticize his betrayal of royal and masculine power.

The purpose of this paper, then, is *not* to claim the 'Satyr' for Lacy: the poem's authorship is immaterial compared to the fact that this trope, in which gender reversal signifies the betrayal of royal responsibilities, was in widespread use. I will show that Lacy exploited this pervasive but veiled discontent with the king in his play, *Sauny the Scot*. Just as the satires caution the king about submitting himself to women, Lacy's Petruchio is repeatedly cautioned by his servant – the eponymous Sauny, who was played by Lacy – to reconsider his efforts to woo 'the shrew' because he might find himself dominated by a woman. Furthermore, like the 'Satyr,' Lacy's play calls for the reassertion of male hegemony. Sauny repeatedly attempts to reduce Margaret – Lacy's Katherine – to a sexual object, and when he tells Petruchio that 'Ye sid ha taken my Counsel Sir,' Sauny humorously suggests that his master should silence his wife by taking out her tongue.[8] In so doing, Lacy's play claims to possess knowledge about how properly to treat women – something

about which Charles II, it seems, is woefully ignorant. *Sauny the Scot* thus uses Shakespeare to imagine for the theater an anti-feminist authority that marks it as morally superior to its supposedly submissive patron. Such a use of Shakespeare counters the dominant critical view that Restoration Shakespeares served monarchic interests. Far from appropriating Shakespeare in order to celebrate England's restored monarch, *Sauny the Scot* uses *Shrew* and Shakespeare in order to serve the interests of the theater.

## I. The restoration of discontent: cautious reproofs of amorous monarchs

Before I discuss Lacy's play, I want to show how cultural expressions of discontent with the ways in which the king handled affairs of state sprang from a variety of concerns during the first decade of the Restoration. Samuel Pepys writes that the most raucous complaints initially came from 'the discontented Cavaliers that thinks their Loyalty is not considered.'[9] On 7 March 1662, the diarist summarizes a sermon presented at the chapel at Whitehall before the king, wherein it was claimed that 'it had been better for the poor Cavalier never to have come in with the King into England again' (III.42). This sentiment about the 'poor' Cavaliers was 'a common complaint.'[10] In fact, according to John Miller, '*within days* of [Charles's] return there were complaints that he seemed more concerned to reward Presbyterians and Cromwellians than old Cavaliers' (my emphasis).[11] Far from filling the hearts of every English citizen with bliss at his supposedly blessed restoration, then, Charles's return to England immediately caused a fairly significant amount of contention and resentment, even among some of his most loyal supporters.

While the Cavaliers complained that Charles too often tolerated, indemnified, and even served as patron to those who had not been his most loyal supporters, others criticized the king for his failure, more generally, to attend to affairs of state. Such discontent quickly began to proceed through expressions of contempt for Charles's frequent amorous liaisons. In May 1663, for example, Pepys writes that 'the King doth mind nothing but pleasures and hates the very sight or thoughts of business' (IV.136), and in July 1667 he claims that the king seems to be 'at the command of any woman like a slave' (VIII.356) and that he 'adheres to no man, but this day delivers himself up to this and the next to that, to the ruin of himself and business' (VIII.356). Robert Latham and William Matthews note over thirty-five instances in the

*Diary* where Pepys connects Charles's neglect of business to his love of pleasure or sexual indulgence (XI.45). Just as Lacy does in his 'Satyr,' then, Pepys argues that Charles ignores the affairs of the state because he dotes on the affairs of the flesh.

More disturbing than his neglect of state affairs, perhaps, is the fact that the king appeared to have turned over the administration of the state to women – in particular, that he had turned it over to Lady Castlemayne (Barbara Palmer, later the Duchess of Cleveland), whose beauty, supposedly, inspired such intense desire in Charles that she was easily able to exert her influence over him. Brian Masters writes that Lady Castlemayne 'shamelessly raided the Privy Purse' and that she managed to convince Charles to 'dispense with elder statesmen, and replace them with her own creatures … [men who were in her] debt, and obedient to her commands.'[12] In his May 1663 diary entry, Pepys records a conversation he had with Sir Thomas Crew who complained that 'my lady Castlemayne rules [the king and] … hath all the tricks of Aretin that are to be practiced to give pleasure' (IV.136–7), and in January 1669 Pepys notes, 'my Lady Castlemayne is now in a higher command over the King then ever; not as a mistress, for she scorns him, but as a tyrant to command him' (IX.417). When Pepys and other Englishmen criticized Charles for submitting himself to Lady Castlemayne's influence, then, they were concerned with the fact that Charles had not only ignored his monarchical responsibilities, but that he had also allowed a woman to begin running the state.

Anxieties about Lady Castlemayne surface in increasingly worried reports of her behavior. For example, John Fenn reports to Pepys an account of an argument between the king and Lady Castlemayne in July of 1667. She was apparently pregnant with the child of Henry Jermyn and insisted that Charles should acknowledge the child as his own. When Charles refused her demand, she is reported by Pepys to have claimed that 'she will have it christened in the Chapel at White-hall as, and owned for the King's as other Kings have done; or she will bring it into White-hall gallery and dash the brains of it out before the King's face' (VIII.355). Fenn and Pepys depict Lady Castlemayne as a monstrous female who has abandoned her supposedly maternal instincts and threatens infanticide in Lady Macbeth-like fashion (*Macbeth*, I.vii.54– 9). This report, however, is mild compared to the depiction of Lady Castlemayne as a castrating cannibal. In what is claimed to be an eyewitness report, Lady Castlemayne is said to have visited the disinterred body of Bishop Robert Braybrooke, exhumed more than two hundred years after his death. The bishop's remains were said to

have been remarkably well-preserved until just after Lady Castlemayne's visit. Shortly after her departure, Lord Coleraine, the 'eyewitness' reporter, found that the Bishop's corpse had been 'served like a Turkish eunuch, and dismembered of as much of the Privity as the lady could get into her mouth to bite.'[13] Such representations of Lady Castlemayne are not only symptomatic of what Turner argues is an early modern pornographic desire to reveal, revile, and mark the whore (1), but also, like concerns about shrewish and scolding women, evidence of male anxiety about female rule in the domestic and public sphere.

It is important to note that the responses to the king's liaisons with his mistresses had little to do with an outraged sense of sexual impropriety. Though raised in a Puritan household, Pepys, for example, was simplistically puritanical neither in his religion, his politics, nor his regard for the sanctity of marriage. He speaks rather candidly in his *Diary* of his erotic responses to women other than his wife, admitting to masturbating on numerous occasions and getting himself so worked up while groping Edward Mountagu's maid that he 'spent in [his] breeches' (III.190–1). Like Charles II, Pepys engaged in numerous adulterous affairs. Unlike the king, however, Pepys betrayed neither his status in the gender hierarchy nor his professional responsibilities. In fact, Pepys exploited his gender, professional, and social status in his relationships with women. As E. Pearlman writes, 'Pepys chose his mistresses from the lower and dependent classes and relied on the power of his position to insure compliance and discretion.'[14] Betty Martin, Mrs Bagwell, and Mrs Robins were wives of men who were in the employment of the Navy. Pepys used his own position of power within the Navy to persuade these women to perform sexual favors for him in exchange for one sort of benefit or another for their husbands. Jane Welsh, Doll Lane and other women with whom Pepys engaged in adulterous affairs were from the lower classes and were rather easily dominated by Pepys. Deb Willet was a young, dependent member of his own household. As Pearlman contends, 'almost all of Pepys's philanderings were on this model' of power and domination (44). Pepys expressed regret for his own actions on numerous occasions, and he recognized that he had temporarily strayed from moral behavior, but he was not displeased with the king's sexual affairs merely because they were adulterous. What appears to disturb Pepys is that the king submits himself to his mistresses. He cedes his authority to them in the bedroom and in the court.

By the time that Lacy penned *Sauny the Scot* in 1667, then, his audience was already familiar with the trope wherein Charles's wanton sexuality and his submission to women signify his betrayal of imperial

and masculine responsibilities. Moreover, the Restoration Stage, like the *Diary* of Pepys, and like the satirical poetry that was circulated in manuscript form, oftentimes commented on the monarch and his personal affairs. The king's influence over the drama of the period has been well documented. His license reopened the theaters shortly after his return to England in 1660. He was, as Allardyce Nicoll writes, 'the first English sovereign to attend in any frequency a public playhouse.'[15] Both theater managers and many of the playwrights of the period had close relationships with the king. Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant had shared in at least part of the king's exile, for example, and many influential plays were written by people who had direct access to the king, including Buckingham, the Howards, Rochester, and others. As Nancy Klein Maguire writes, well more than half of the playwrights who celebrated the Restoration of the king in their tragicomedies 'had close family or personal connections with the Stuarts.'[16] Likewise, the greatest part of the audience had more than a passing interest in the affairs of the king.

This does not mean, however, that all of the drama produced during the period supported the king. Nicoll's influential notion that, 'the Restoration theatre was *from first to last* an aristocratic playhouse,' has been modified by many scholars who conclude that the audience and drama of the period were undeniably heterogeneous: while many plays written during the 1660s were quite clearly sympathetic to Charles, others were not entirely reverent.[17] Toward the beginning of the decade, for example, the 1663 staging of Christopher Marlowe's *Doctor Faustus*, replaces the Act III episodes at the Papal Court in Rome with a scene that is set at the Court of the Turkish Emperor at Babylon. When the scene refers to the Emperor's '*Saralious,*' it undoubtedly alludes to Charles and his paramours.[18] Likewise, at the beginning of the next decade, Buckingham's *The Rehearsal* (1671) lampoons the heroic dramas of the 1660s that celebrated the Stuart Restoration.[19] At least occasionally, then, the drama of the period failed to treat the monarch with as much reverence as might be expected.

John Lacy, on the one hand, appears to have been loyal to the king. He fought for the Royalist cause during the Civil War and is known to have been, after the Restoration of Charles II, a particular favorite of the king. Along with most of his other fellow actors in Killigrew's company, Lacy was sworn as a Household servant to Charles II on 6 October 1660.[20] According to contemporary accounts, he was one of the most popular actors of his day.[21] Pepys greatly admired him, writing on 21 May 1662, 'We went to the Theatre to *The French Dancing*

*Maister* … The play pleased us very well; but Lacy's part, the Dancing Maister, the best in the world' (III.87–8), and Gerard Langbaine writes in 1691 that Lacy was 'a Comedian whose Abilities in Action were sufficiently known to all that frequented the King's Theatre, where he was for many years an Actor, and perform'd all Parts that he undertook to a miracle; insomuch that I am apt to believe, that as *this* Age never had, so the *next* never will have his Equal, at least not his *Superiour*.'[22] He was so well regarded by the king, Langbaine continues, 'that he caus'd his Picture to be drawn, in three several Figures in the same Table. *viz*. That of *Teague* in the *Committee*, *Mr. Scruple* in *The Cheats*, and *Mr. Galliard*, in *The Variety*' (317).[23]

Some of Lacy's plays clearly support the royalists. Teague, the Irish footman in *The Committee; or, the Faithful Irishman* (1662), dimwittedly helps his Cavalier masters expose the corruption of Interregnum committeemen who more or less rob the estates of loyalists who refuse to take the Covenant. But not all of Lacy's roles lent such clear support to the king. The first play that he wrote, for example, *The Old Troop; or, Monsieur Raggou*, depicts, as Derek Hughes writes, the 'plundering and double-dealing of both parliamentarians and royalist troops during the Civil War,' and during a performance of *The Change of Crowns*, Lacy so infuriated the king that he was sent to the porter's lodge. Edward Howard's play premiered on 15 April 1667, one week after Pepys attended a performance of *Sauny the Scot*.[24] The main plot of the play involves two usurpations in two kingdoms, followed eventually by two 'rightful' restorations. But the play also includes a subplot in which, as Pepys writes, 'Lacy did act the country gentleman come up to Court, who doth abuse the Court with all the imaginable wit and plainness, about selling of places and doing every thing for money' (VIII.167–8). Howard's play thus celebrates the Restoration, but then, through Lacy's character, Asinello, suggests that Court favorites, rather than the monarch, hold imperial power.

Charles II attended the opening night performance of *The Change of Crownes*, and responded to the production by closing it down. Boas writes that, in the surviving manuscript prompt copy of Howard's play, 'the action[s] which gave offence to king Charles II' have been circled, and all of those encircled episodes involve Lacy's part in the subplot.[25] Lacy was sent to the porter's lodge, but his stay was not long. Upon his release, he argued with Howard – in fact, they exchanged blows. But all of the ill-will that arose from his performance in the play seems rather quickly to have abated, and Lacy, as Highfill notes, 'was back on the stage at the latest by 1 May 1667' (101).[26] While Lacy's argument with

Howard indicates that he did not enjoy being the object of the king's anger, this incident reveals that neither he nor his fellow playwrights and actors failed on occasion to test the limits of the king's tolerance. Although many members of the 1660s theater had close ties to the king, they often wrote and acted in comedies that satirized the Court, its 'merry monarch,' and his amorous affairs. As Hughes writes, 'by the mid-1660s, there is … a more seriously admonitory approach to the King's lifestyle, with loyal dramatists *cautiously reproving their amorous monarch*' (129–30, my emphasis). It is just such a cautious reproof of his amorous monarch, I suggest, that Lacy offers in *Sauny the Scot*.

## II. Shrew tamer or submissive male? Lacy's *Sauny* and critical satire

Lacy was a member of The King's Company, which had staged Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew* at St James's Place in 1663. Assuming that Katherine's submission speech was left intact in that production, any members of *Sauny's* audience in 1667 who had attended the earlier production of *Shrew,* or anyone who was otherwise familiar with Shakespeare's play, might have been prepared to read the courtship and marital relations in Lacy's play as an allegory involving 'right rule' in the state. In Shakespeare's play, the allegory is made explicit in Katherine's submission speech, but no such explicit connection is made in *Sauny the Scot*. In fact, Margaret's speech consists of only three lines of prose: 'Fy, Ladys, for shame. How dare you infringe that Duty which you justly owe your Husbands; they are our Lords and we must pay 'em Service' (5.1.426–8). Noticeably absent, here, is Katherine's equation between the duty a 'subject owes the prince' and that which 'a woman oweth to her husband.'[27] Also missing from Lacy's play are Katherine's claim that women should not 'seek for rule, supremacy, and sway' (5.2.163) and Petruchio's assertion that Kate's apparent submissiveness bodes 'an aweful rule, and right supremacy' (5.2.109). Clearly, such lines would have helped to crystallize an analogy between Lacy's Petruchio and Margaret on the one hand and King Charles II and his subjects on the other. Perhaps Lacy's play, then, is less concerned with drawing an analogy between a shrewish woman and unruly subjects in general, and more concerned with making a connection between a shrewish woman and the king's mistresses. Given the prevalence of cultural concerns about the king's entanglements with assertive women, most spectators would have been prepared and able to make just such a connection.

There are at least two very important differences between the gender relations in Shakespeare's play and those in the poetic satires of the Restoration. First, even though Shakespeare's Katherine is depicted as an assertive and potentially dominating female who troubles anti-feminist notions of gender hierarchy, and even though Shakespeare's England often insisted on a connection between loquacity and licentiousness, Katherine's sexuality is in no way demonized in the vulgar and explicit terms that are applied to the mistresses of Charles II. Second, unlike the way Charles II is portrayed in the Restoration satires, Shakespeare's Petruchio is never depicted as a submissive male. In the wager scene, for example, Petruchio's cohorts doubt that Katherine has changed, but no one suggests that he is a submissive husband: the widow states that Petruchio may be 'troubled with a shrew' (5.2.28), and Tranio tells him that ''Tis thought your deer holds you at a bay' (5.2.56), but it is generally thought that Kate is as 'madly mated' as Petruchio (3.2.244).

Furthermore, Grumio constructs Shakespeare's Petruchio as a more-than-able shrew-tamer. When Hortensio introduces the idea of wooing Katherine, Grumio claims that his master will have no problem wooing and taming her. Petruchio states that, if a woman is rich enough, 'Be she as foul as was Florentius' love, / As old as Sibyl, and as curst and shrowd / As Socrates' Xantippe, or a worse, / She moves me not' (1.2 69–72), and Grumio agrees, telling Hortensio that 'nothing comes amiss, so money comes withal' (1.2.81–2). Grumio thus endorses Petruchio's opinion of himself, depicting him as someone who does not need to worry about an alliance with a so-called shrew. As he later tells Gremio, he wishes he was 'as sure of a good dinner' (1.2.217) as he is sure that Petruchio will win Kate.

Petruchio's prowess as a shrew-tamer will proceed, Grumio suggests, through sexual aggression. He tells Hortensio that Petruchio does not need to worry about Katherine's so-called 'scolding tongue' (1.2.100):

> I pray you, sir, let him go while the humor lasts. A' my word, and she knew him as well as I do, she would think scolding would do little good upon him. She may perhaps call him half a score knaves or so. Why, that's nothing; and he begin once, he'll rail in his rope-tricks. I'll tell you what, sir, and she stand him but a little, he will throw a figure in her face, and so disfigure her with it, that she shall have no more eyes to see withal than a cat. You know him not, sir. (1.2. 107–16)

The general sense of this notoriously confusing passage is that if Kate were to begin scolding Petruchio, she would regret it because Petruchio

would throw scolding, or 'rope-trick,' rhetoric – that is, 'rhetoric for which the author deserved hanging' – right back in her face.[28] But the passage also contains one of Shakespeare's most vulgar bawdisms. Grumio suggests that if Katherine manages to excite Petruchio, to make his sex organ 'stand … but a little,' he will throw in her face, not only a rhetorical figure of speech, but also his semen, which contains the generative seed of his own figure.[29] According to Grumio, then, Petruchio will rhetorically and sexually dominate and humiliate Katherine, and her disempowerment, it would seem, is a foregone conclusion.

It is precisely in the character and commentary of Petruchio's servant – particularly, his attitudes about his master's shrew-taming prowess – that *Sauny the Scot* offers a radical departure from Shakespeare's play, and this departure suggests that Lacy's play is in dialogue with the satires of Charles II. Sauny provides a running commentary on events throughout the play, appearing in a variety of scenes in which Shakespeare's Grumio does not. As Katherine West Scheil notes, 'Sauny even dominates most of the scenes between Petruchio and Margaret.'[30] His discourse, as Sandra Clark writes, 'takes the form of subversive commentary and asides to the audience, undercutting the speech and action of the main characters.'[31] Whereas Grumio, in *The Taming of the Shrew*, focuses on Petruchio's supposedly inevitable shrew-taming success, Sauny focuses on the constant danger represented in Margaret. On the one hand, Sauny's fear of Margaret combines with his thick accent and the coarseness, incivility, and uncleanliness that mark him as a stereotypical stage Scotsman, to make him the butt of the play's joke. On the other hand, however, Sauny functions as an analogue to the satirists and the diarist. His commentary reminds us that the threat of gender reversal is ever-present, thus 'undercutting' Petruchio's efforts to establish his shrew-taming prowess. What remains clear in Shakespeare's play – that Petruchio is not a dominated husband by any stretch of the imagination – is thrown into question in Lacy's. It is in this sense that *Sauny the Scot* continuously reproaches Lacy's amorous monarch as figured in the character of Petruchio.

Partly in order to explain the presence of the Scotsman, Sauny, and partly in order to bring the gender dynamics of the play closer to home and to Charles II, Lacy sets his play in London, where, as Act II begins, Petruchio arrives with his servant, Sauny, who suggests that his master's efforts to woo and tame Margaret are foolish and doomed to failure. Geraldo – Lacy's Hortensio – offers to help Petruchio to a rich wife who 'has a *Tongue* that keep's more Noise then all that ever Mov'd at Billingsgate' (2.1.80–1). When Petruchio responds that he is resolved to

woo her, Sauny cries out, 'Wun's man, an she be a Scawd, awaw with her, awaw with her' (2.1.96–7). Sauny implies that Petruchio's shrew taming efforts will more than likely fail when he repeatedly jokes that it might be a better idea to return to Scotland than to stay with his master: 'Gud, *I*'se nea tarry with a Scauding Quean, Sir. Yet the Dee'l faw my Luggs if Ise ken which is worse, to tarry and venture my Cragg, or gea heam t*o Scotland*' (2.2.150–2). Throughout the wooing and taming process in the play's second and third acts, Sauny comically worries about Margaret's ability to make life miserable for himself, his master, and Petruchio's other servants.[32] In a very un-Grumio-like fashion, Sauny, as Scheil notes, 'guides the viewers' reactions to the taming plot, emphasizing Margaret's shrewishness and pointing out the dangers for Petruchio in attaching himself to a shrew' (41). Unlike Shakespeare's Grumio, who is certain that Petruchio will tame Katherine, Sauny tells his foolish master that he would 'nea gi twa Pence for my Luggs gin you make her yer Bride' (2.2.138–9).

Sauny not only warns his master to avoid wooing and wedding Margaret, but he also tries to show him how foolish he is to believe he has successfully tamed her. When Sauny, Geraldo, Margaret, and Petruchio return to London for Biancha's wedding, Petruchio fails to persuade Margaret that the sun is the moon and threatens to return home, prompting Geraldo to prod Margaret to 'Say as he sayes, or we shall never go' (4.3.12). Sauny, however, refuses to play along, exclaiming, 'S'breed, but *I* say nay, Sir. Out, out, a Lies' (4.3.17). Nevertheless, Margaret appears to relent, and Geraldo claims that 'the Field is Won' (4.3.22). Petruchio gloats that 'Now the Bowl runs with a Right Byas' (4.3.23–4), presumably buying into Margaret's newfound willingness to agree with him. Moments later, they meet Sir Lyonell, Lacy's Vincentio, and Sauny insists that Sir Lyonell is an old man rather than the 'Budding Virgin' (4.3.39) that Margaret, following Petruchio's direction, proclaims him to be. Likewise, Sauny mutters that the devil 'has built a Bird's Nest in [Margaret's] Head' (4.3.42), calling attention to the absurdity of her agreement with her husband. Ultimately, Lacy's play adds Sauny to this scene, then, precisely in order to demonstrate Petruchio's failure to note the craftiness of Margaret's compliance with his will. The bowl does not run with a right bias, and Petruchio puts himself at risk when he fails to note this.

Margaret's cunning and the problem that it poses for Petruchio is demonstrated upon her return to London, where she tells her sister that she is 'resolv'd now I'm got home again I'll be reveng'd' (5.1.4–5), that she was, in fact, dissembling when she agreed with Petruchio on the

road to London. '[T]he case is alter'd,' Margaret tells her husband, 'I am at home now, and my own disposer … your Patient Wife will make you no more Sport' (5.1.58–61). Sauny has been warning Petruchio about the possibility of gender role reversal, and such an inversion now appears imminent. After a brief battle of wits and wills wherein Petruchio threatens to have a barber draw out Margaret's tooth and, when that fails, bury her alive, Margaret promises that she 'will not dare to think a thought shall Cross [Petruchio's] Pleasure' (5.1.305– 6)– an obviously hyperbolic promise that the episode on the road to London has taught us to read as unlikely. Nevertheless, Petruchio seems convinced that she is in earnest. Sauny, however, remains doubtful, protesting to his master that 'You ken very well she was awway's a lying Quean when she was Living, and wull ye believe her now she's Dead?' (5.1.310–12). Of course, Margaret is not dead; she has only been threatened with premature burial, and when Petruchio promises his very quick and quick-witted wife to make her his 'Mistress both of my self and all I have' (5.1.314–15), Sauny and Woodall – Lacy's Gremio – remain incredulous. In fact, Woodall advises Petruchio to 'Take heed of giving away your Power' (5.1.317), and when Petruchio ignores this advice, deciding instead to 'venture it' (5.1.318), he does exactly what Sauny has always feared would result from an entanglement with an assertive woman: he cedes his authority to her.

The play's conclusion punctuates such a concern. Petruchio wins his wager at the wedding banquet, but Margaret's submission to him is clearly destabilized. She comes to Petruchio when bidden because it is her 'duty' (5.1.404), and she tells Biancha and Geraldo's Widow that they owe such duty to their husbands. Sauny admits surprise at his master's apparent success – 'O my Saul, she's ean a daft gued Lass; she's at your Beck, steake her and kiss her Man' (5.1.395–6) – but his claim that Petruchio should 'steake' Margaret, that he should lay claim to her and tether her, suggests he remains anxious about the fact that even if she is at her husband's beck and call she may somehow slip his grasp again. Such a possibility is alluded to in Petruchio's epilogue-like comment that '*I*'ve *Tam'd the Shrew*, but will not be asham'd, / If next you see the very *Tamer Tam'd*' (5.1.435–6). The couplet no doubt refers to an anticipated revival of John Fletcher's sequel to *The Taming of the Shrew*, but it also closes the play by again calling attention to the possibility – perhaps even the inevitability – of gender role reversal.[33] What is at stake in *Sauny the Scot*, then, is the potential betrayal of masculine power – the exact concerns of Pepys, the satirists, and other dramatists who cautiously reprove their amorous monarch.[34]

## III. 'steake her and kiss her Man': Sauny's reassertion of male hegemony

Just as Sauny's discourse undercuts Petruchio's sense of himself as an able shrew-tamer, his commentary also undercuts Margaret's speech and actions by constructing her as a sexual object that should be silenced. Throughout the play, Sauny's bawdy language suggests that Margaret's body is available for male penetration. During the wooing scene, for example, Petruchio tells Sauny to stop Margaret from leaving, and Sauny responds, 'S'breed, Sir, stay her yer sen. But hear ye, Sir, an her tale gea as fast as her tang, Gud, ye ha meet with a Whupster, Sir' (2.2.218–20). Margaret's own actions throughout the play lend no support to Sauny's claim, but he nevertheless defines her as a woman who possesses the lascivious body of a whipster. Likewise, after the marriage between Margaret and Petruchio has been pronounced 'a Match' (2.2.281), Petruchio exits with her as Sauny follows behind, offering to act as Petruchio's 'Lieutenant and bring up your reer, Madam' (2.2.292–3). When the married couple returns to Petruchio's home, Margaret calls for Sauny, who replies that he is 'een hard at your Arse, Madam' (4.1.12), and he tells her that Petruchio has 'gone to the Market himself, and he'l bring ye heam a Braw Bull's Puzzle to Swaddle your Weam with' (4.1.14–16). These comic vulgarities insist that Margaret's body is open for male pleasure, even bestialization, and Sauny's more or less final comment that Petruchio should 'steake [Margaret] and kiss her' (5.1.396) argues for a course of action that would replicate the function of his discourse. That is, just as Sauny's comments rewrite Margaret's body – insisting, more or less, that her tail goes as fast as her tongue – the suggestion that Petruchio should claim, tether, and kiss Margaret because she is at his 'Beck' is a proposal that also revises in that it sounds more than a little like rape, an act in which a woman's refusal is rewritten as an invitation (5.1.396).

For Sauny, the sexual objectification and figurative violation of women is not the only ingredient necessary to secure male power. After Petruchio calls for a barber to draw Margaret's tooth, and after Margaret strikes the barber and Petruchio sends him away, Sauny tells Petruchio that 'Ye sid ha taken my Counsel, Sir' (5.1.219), and Sauny's counsel at this particular moment is that the barber should take Margaret's tongue instead of her tooth: 'Hear ye, Sir, Cou'd not ye Mistake and pull her Tang out instead of her Teeth?' (5.1.207–8). The notion is so appealing that Sauny repeats it: 'Cud ye not Mistake, and Draw her Tang instead of her Teeth, Sir' (5.1.215–16). Sauny 'humorously' suggests that women

should be reduced to silenced, erotic objects in order to reassert male dominion in marriage.

At the same time that Sauny's discourse calls attention to Margaret's body, it also directs the gaze of the audience to the body of the actress who portrays her. Jean I. Marsden argues that 'the advent of actresses upon the Restoration stage revolutionized English drama, creating a new climate for sexual display.'[35] As far back as the sixteenth century, anti-theatricalists railed about the sexuality of actors, and Kristina Straub shows that these obsessive anxieties continued during the Restoration and the eighteenth century, when most actors and actresses continued to be regarded in some quarters as 'sexual suspects.'[36] Actresses during the period were sometimes considered prostitutes – women who were readily and willingly available to male theater patrons, or women who were sexually victimized by their profession. Elizabeth Howe concurs, noting that society in general seems to have considered the actress 'fair game' for sexual exploitation.[37]

This offstage exploitation of actresses – or at least, this *perception* that actresses were sexually suspect – was exacerbated by the fact that the theaters exploited the actresses' bodies onstage as well.[38] Jessica Munns suggests that, during the Restoration, cross-dressing roles in which female characters disguised themselves as boys called attention to the actress, offering 'the opportunity for a display of female legs and sexy roguishness.'[39] Thus, the obsession with the actress's sexuality, as Katherine Eisaman Maus writes, 'was not merely a matter of audience prurience; it was made one of the foci of the dramatic spectacle.'[40]

I do not mean to suggest that the actress on the Restoration stage was always and only reduced to an erotic object; the potential objectification of an actress through a sexist male gaze describes only one of a number of possible relationships involving the actress, her performance, and the audience. Jill Dolan speaks, for example, of the 'feminist spectator as critic' – one who reads against the grain of stereotypes and resists the manipulation of performance texts.[41] Robert Weimann reminds us that theatrical authority can be located not only in what is represented in the drama, but also in the labor or voice of the actress – in her performance.[42] Such observations are applicable to the Restoration stage. Howe argues, for example, that the introduction of the actress to the 1660s stage 'was simultaneously radical – in allowing women a voice on the public stage for the first time – and conservative' – in situating them within a theater which exploited their sexuality, and Deborah C. Payne writes that we need to think of actresses on the Restoration Stage both in terms of 'reified objects' and 'emergent professionals': Pepys, Dryden,

and numerous critics, she contends, not only expressed an interest in the sexual habits of actresses, but admired them for their craft and professional expertise.[43]

In such a light we can imagine that whereas Sauny's discourse focuses the audience's gaze onto the sexualized body of the actress, the actress might very well have fashioned a performance that prompted spectators to read against the grain of his vulgar commentary. Audience members might have admired the actress's performance for its craftsmanship; they might have attributed to her something other than the lascivious body of a whipster. Likewise, whereas Sauny's comments attempt to undercut the speech and actions of the character, Margaret, by depicting her as a sexual object, they cannot foreclose on the fact that she speaks and acts. She has a motive for marrying Petruchio. She will test his shrew-taming prowess: 'The Devil's in this fellow, he has beat me at my own Weapon. *I* have a good mind to marry him to try if he can *Tame* me' (2.2.252–4). Margaret is an active, plotting subject.

But her ability to act and plot is precisely what concerns Sauny and precisely what fuels his effort to urge Petruchio to take his counsel and reassert male hegemony. In so doing, *Sauny* echoes the 'Satyr' and its hope that Charles II will 'Be yet a king and wear the royal bays!' (68). Like the satirists, then, Lacy's play attempts to school the king. The theater, it would seem, knows better than Charles II how properly to treat women – they should be staked and kissed, raped (or, at least, objectified) and silenced. Given, Elin Diamond's claim that when the theater attempts to make erotic objects of its actresses, it attempts to deny their professionalism – to deny the voice that they seize through their work – we can say that Lacy's play attempts to claim that the theater knows how to put into effect the advice that Sauny offers his master.[44] This is a delusion, of course – the professionalism of actresses cannot be successfully denied or erased – but it is clear that *Sauny the Scot* nevertheless attempts to imagine for the theater an anti-feminist authority that marks it as morally superior to the so-called 'merry monarch' who apparently lacks the knowledge or ability to assert his authority over women.

This exploitation of the king's supposed failings must have responded, in part at least, to the Restoration Theater's profound material dependence for its own survival on the king's goodwill. The theatrical duopoly of the Restoration was legally licensed when Charles granted to Davenant and Killigrew the exclusive right to establish and operate theater companies in London. But the king then granted an additional theatrical license to George Jolly in December 1660. Lacy's theater was thus indebted to the king not only for its very existence, but also for

its potential profitability, and the number of competitors it would face was dependant upon the whims of a king, who, in Pepys's words, could hardly be relied upon to attend to 'the very sight or thoughts of business' (IV.136). Edward A. Langhans reminds us that 'the companies were businesses, and shares in them were sold to raise the money needed to furnish theatres, hire personnel, and produce plays.'[45] These managers, playwrights, and actors, then, were not only people with close family or personal connections to the king, but they were also entrepreneurs who struggled for and were concerned about the success of the theater. Over time the companies struggled, and in 1682 they were forced to unite into a single company. While these more dire economic circumstances occurred well after Lacy's play premiered, the theater during Lacy's time nevertheless needed to be profitable in order to avoid the fate that would, in fact, later befall it. In such a light, it is not surprising that Lacy, a shareholder in Killigrew's company, might write a play that evidenced a concern for the affairs of the theater over and above the affairs of the king.

Finally, this authority that Lacy's play imagines for itself comes, not from Shakespeare, but from the reworking of *Shrew's* sexual politics. Shakespeare had fairly little cultural authority in 1667, and as Michael Dobson argues, in part because he had so little clout during the Restoration, his plays were revised in such a way that they buckled under 'the tremendous pressure towards political orthodoxy' and uncritically celebrated the Restoration of Charles II.[46] Clearly, however, Lacy's play uses Shakespeare in a markedly different fashion. Far from celebrating the restoration of the monarch, *Sauny the Scot* uses Shakespeare to pit the theater's supposed moral authority against the license and authority of the king.

Elsewhere in this volume, the traditional notion of 'shrew' has been de-sexed and transvalued. Holly Crocker shows us that in the medieval and early modern eras both men and women could be regarded as shrews. Anna Bayman and George Southcombe argue that female loquacity in the Jacobean era was seen simultaneously from a variety of perspectives, both positive and negative, and Leah Marcus likens her editorial approach to that of a '(reformed) shrew' who notes how previous editorial conventions have constructed and privileged anti-feminist responses to Shakespeare's play. Given such revised notions of unbridled speech and shrewishness, perhaps it is possible to say that a number of contradictory shrew and shrew-taming voices circulate in Lacy's adaptation. When the play takes on the voice of the satirist, warning Charles II that there are real life shrews (Barbara Palmer, for

example) who need to be brought under male control, and claiming that the theater knows what to do with real life shrews (such as Restoration actresses), it appears to take on the voice and attitude of a shrew-tamer. At the same time, however, we might recall that Sauny, the comic Scotsman, fears Margaret and is therefore the butt of the joke. Following Crocker's argument, we might then conclude that Sauny voices the attitudes and opinions of those early male shrews who were incapable of governing their own domestic spheres and, in response to supposedly unruly women, slipped into violent behavior. Finally, we ought to recall that Lacy's play presumes to correct the king. Rather than support the personal interests of Charles II, or reflect positively on dominant national interests, *Sauny the Scot* speaks out of turn, satirizing, 'nagging' or 'troubling' the monarch in order to promote the concerns of theatrical professionals, and in that sense we might also say that Lacy makes Shakespeare's play speak shrewishly.

## Notes

I would like to thank Holly Crocker, Graham Holderness, Suvir Kaul, Lori Humphrey Newcomb, Tony Pollock, Michael Shapiro, and David Wootton for their helpful comments with this paper.

1. George deF. Lord notes that the 'Satyr' has appeared in the 1739 edition of *The Works of the Earls of Rochester, Roscommon, and Dorset* (425). 'Notes,' *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714, Vol. I: 1660–1678* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), p. 425.
2. Lord, p. 425.
3. Harold Weber, 'Charles II, George Pines, and Mr. Dorimant: The Politics of Sexual Power in Restoration England,' *Criticism* 32 (1990): 193–219, p. 197.
4. John Lacy, 'Satire' (1677), *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714, Vol. I: 1660–1678*, ed. George deF. Lord, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963), pp. 425–8, ll. 7–8. Subsequent references to the 'Satyr' will be to this edition and line numbers will appear parenthetically in the text.
5. The variant title is inaccurate given that the satire discusses Nell Gwynn and the Duchess of Cleveland, Barbara Palmer. Louise de Kérouaille, the Duchess of Portsmouth, was yet another mistress of Charles II.
6. James Grantham Turner, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630–1685* (Cambridge University Press, 2007). p. 2.
7. Weber, p. 199.
8. John Lacy, *Sauny the Scot* (1667), *Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare*, ed. Sandra Clark (London: J. M. Dent, and Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1997). 5.1.219. Subsequent references to *Sauny* will be to this edition and act, scene, and line numbers will appear parenthetically in the text.

9. Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols. eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews, (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1971), VI.303. Subsequent references to the *Diary* will be to this edition and volume and page numbers will appear parenthetically in the text.
10. Robert Latham and William Matthews, eds., 'Notes,' *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols., by Samuel Pepys (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983), III.43 n.1.
11. John Miller, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000), p. 164. The resentment of the Cavaliers stemmed from the ways in which Charles tolerated, indemnified, and even set himself up as patron to those who did not staunchly support the Anglican Church. For a more detailed discussion of the early-1660s frustrations of the Cavaliers, see Miller, *After the Civil Wars*, pp. 132–5 and 164–8, and *Charles II* (London: Weidenfed and Nicolson, 1988); Paul Seaward, *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661–1667* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Antonia Fraser, *Royal Charles: Charles II and the Restoration* (New York: Delta Publishing Co., Inc., 1979); Stephen Coote, *Royal Survivor: The Life of Charles II* (New York: Palgrave – now Palgrave Macmillan, 2000); and Charles II's 'Declaration of Breda,' as well as the 'Act of Indemnity and Oblivion' and the 'Act of Uniformity,' which can be found in *English Historical Documents Vol. VIII 1660–1714*, ed., Andrew Browning (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953).
12. Brian Maters, *The Mistresses of Charles II* (London: Blond & Briggs, 1979), pp. 74 and 67–68.
13. Cited in Masters, 83.
14. E. Pearlman, 'Pepys and Lady Castlemaine,' *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 7:2 (1983): 43–53. p. 44.
15. Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of Restoration Drama, 1660–1700*, 2nd Edition (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1928). p. 8.
16. Nancy Klein Maguire, *Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660–1671* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 18.
17. Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama 1660–1900, Volume 1: Restoration Drama, 1660–170*0 (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1952), p. 74 (my emphasis). For modifications of Nicoll's claim, see Emmett L. Avery, 'The Restoration Audience,' *Philological Quarterly* 45 (1966): 54–61; Harold Love, 'Who Were the Restoration Audience?' *The Yearbook of English Studies: Literature and its Audience, I Special Number* 10 (1980): 21–44; Robert D. Hume, *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984); and Harry William Pedicord, 'The Changing Audience,' *The London Theatre World, 1660–1800,* ed. Robert D. Hume (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, and London and Amsterdam: Feffer & Simon, Inc., 1980): 236–52.
18. See Frederick S. Boas, 'Appendix IV: Extracts From the 1663 Quarto,' *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (New York: Gordian Press, Inc., 1966), pp. 200–8.
19. Lacy played Bayes in Buckingham's farce, mimicking John Dryden, it seems, to everyone's delight, except Dryden himself.

20. John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus, Or an Historical Review of the Stage*, eds. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1987). p. 4 n14. For a discussion of Lacy's biographical information, see Philip H. Highfill, Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800,* 4 vols. (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1984); and James Maidment and W. H. Logan, 'Prefatory Memoir' and 'Notes,' *The Dramatic Works of John Lacy, Comedian* (Edinburgh: William Paterson, and London: H. Sothern and Co., 1875. Reprinted New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967).
21. By the time *Sauny* was staged, the comic actor had appeared as a Welshman in *The Royall King* (1662), the Dancing Master in *The French Dancing Master* (1662), Brancadoro in *The Surprisal* (*c*. 1662), Johnny Thump in *The Changes* (1662), Maurico in *Love's Sacrifice* (1662), Teague in *The Committee; or, the Faithful Irishman* (1662), and Scruple in *The Cheats* (1663). See John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus,* eds. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1987).
22. Gerard Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691). p. 317.
23. The painting, which was completed some time between 1662 and 1675 and which now hangs at Hampton Court, consists of three full-length images of Lacy in character. There has been some dispute over exactly which of the many characters that Lacy is known to have played are depicted in the portrait. There seems to be little doubt that two of the figures are Scruple and Galliard. But the identity of the third figure is disputed. Langbaine identifies the third character as the Irishman, Teague. Highfill et al. claim that he is Monsieur De Vice from *The Country Gentleman*. Hazleton Spencer refers to John Evelyn's diary entry of 3 October, 1662, which remarks that the disputed figure seems to be 'a Scotch Highlander.' See Hazelton Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved: The Restoration Versions In Quarto and On The Stage* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, Co., 1927), p. xii. According to Spencer, then, the disputed figure must be Sauny. But the character of Sauny wasn't created, as Spencer himself notes, until 1667.
24. Derek Hughes, 'Restoration and Settlement, 1660 and 1688.' *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theater*, ed. Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge University Press, 2000), 127–41, p. 128.
25. Frederick S. Boas, 'Introduction,' *The Change of Crownes: A Tragi-Comedy*. By Edward Howard (London: Oxford University Press, 1949), pp. 1–17.
26. For an account of Lacy's argument with Edward Howard, see Pepys' report of the incident in his *Diary* VIII.172–3.
27. William Shakespeare, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974), 5.2.155–6. Subsequent references to *The Shrew* will be to this edition and act, scene, and line numbers will appear parenthetically in the text.
28. Brian Morris, 'Notes,' *The Taming of the Shrew*, by William Shakespeare (London: Methuen & Co., 1981), pp. 189–90 n.110–11.
29. Morris, pp. 189–90 n.110–11. See also Anne C. Lancashire, 'Lyly and Shakespeare on the Ropes,' *JEGP* 68 (1969): 237–44; Richard Levin, 'Grumio's "Rope-Trick's" and the Nurse's "Ropery,"' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 22 (1971): 82–6;

Eric Partridge, *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (London: Routledge, 1947); and Gordon Williams, *A Glossary of Shakespeare's Sexual Language* (London: Athlone, 1997). Lancashire argues that 'rope' was an Elizabethan slang-term for 'penis' used by Shakespeare in *The Comedy of Errors*, and Levin supports her arguments by claiming that Shakespeare invokes such a meaning in this passage from *Shrew*. Both Partridge and Williams argue that 'stand,' obviously enough, refers to an erect penis, and each suggests that 'throw' refers to the act of 'tumbling,' or placing a sexual partner 'in a suitably recumbent posture' (Williams, 307). Grumio uses the term differently, here, to suggest ejaculation.

30. Katherine West Scheil, *The Taste of the Town: Shakespearian Comedy and the Early Eighteenth-Century Theater* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2003), p. 40.
31. Sandra Clark, 'Introduction,' *Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare* (London: J. M. Dent, and Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1997), pp. xli–lxxx, xlviii.
32. See, for examples, Sauny's comments at 2.2.206–7, 2.2.266, 3.2.50–2, and 3.3.8–9.
33. Downes refers to only one production of *The Tamer Tamed* during the period 1660–1706 and that production was a 1659 performance by Monk's company at the Cock-Pit (43–5). There is, then, no evidence of a production of *The Tamer Tamed* which followed the inaugural performance of Lacy's *Sauny the Scot*.
34. See Susan Staves, *Players' Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979). Staves argues that Lacy's play 'seems to reflect greater tension [than Shakespeare's] and even animosity in the sex war and also some loss of belief in the traditional ideological underpinnings of a husband's claim to authority' (134). She locates her argument in an analysis of the ways in which sovereignty in the family changes over the course of the Restoration. I locate my reading of the play in a more localized anxiety about Charles and his effectiveness as a ruler.
35. Jean Marsden, 'Rape, Voyeurism, and the Restoration Stage,' *Broken Boundaries: Women & Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. Katherine M. Quinsey (The University of Kentucky Press, 1996), pp. 185–200, p. 185. Of course, women, including Queen Henrietta Maria and her ladies-in-waiting, had appeared in court masques well before the Restoration, and their sexuality – indeed the sexuality of all actors – was considered by some to be on display and subject to reinscription and demonization even then. In *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), for example, William Prynne wrote that female actors were '*notorious impudent, prostituted Strumpets*' (214), and he lost his ears when it was assumed that his comments were aimed at the Queen.
36. Kristina Straub, *Sexual Suspects: Eighteenth-Century Players and Sexual Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).
37. Elizabeth Howe, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama, 1660–1700* (Cambridge University Press, 1992), p. 33.
38. Again, such a process of exploitation did not originate on the Restoration Stage. Renaissance drama, for example, frequently called attention to the sexed bodies of boy actors when the female characters they played often

disguised themselves as boy pages, leading to what Michael Shapiro calls 'theatrical vibrancy' – the process wherein 'the layerings of gender identity' lead to an audience's 'awareness, residual or activated, of the actor's own identity' as well as that of the female character (7). Michael Shapiro, *Gender in Play on the Shakespearean Stage: Boy Heroines and Female Pages* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1994).

39. See Jessica Munns, 'Change, Skepticism, and Uncertainty,' *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theater,* ed. Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge University Press, 2000). pp. 142–57. p. 145. Jean Marsden, 'Spectacle, Horror, and Pathos,' *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theater*, ed. Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 174–90, 'Introduction,' *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth* (New York: St. Martin's Press – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1991), pp. 1–10, and 'Rewritten Women: Shakespearean Heroines in the Restoration,' *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth* (New York: St. Martin's Press – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1991), pp. 43–56.
40. Katherine Eisaman Maus, '"Playhouse Flesh and Blood": Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress,' *ELH* 46 (1979): 595–617. pp. 601–2.
41. Jill Dolan, 'The Discourse of Feminisms: The Spectator and Representation,' *The Routledge Reader in Gender and Performance*, ed. Lizbeth Goodman (London: Routledge, 1998). pp. 288–94.
42. Robert Weimann, 'Bifold Authority in Shakespeare's Theatre,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39 (1988): 401–17, p. 402.
43. Howe, xi, and Deborah C. Payne, 'Reified Object or Emergent Professional? Rethinking the Restoration Actress,' *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theater*, eds. J. Douglas Canfield and Deborah C. Payne (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1995), pp. 13–38. Also see Fiona Ritchie, 'Shakespeare and the Eighteenth-Century Actress,' *Borrowers and Lenders: The Journal of Shakespeare and Appropriation* 2:2 (2006).
44. See Elin Diamond, '*Gestus* and Signature in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*,' *ELH* 56 (1989): 519–41.
45. Edward A. Langhans, 'The Theatre,' *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, ed. Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp. 1–18. p. 4.
46. Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660–1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 33.

## Works cited

'Act of Indemnity and Oblivion' (1660) *English Historical Documents Vol. VIII 1660–1714*, ed. Andrew Browning (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953) 164–5.

'Act of Uniformity,' (1662) *English Historical Documents Vol. VIII 1660–1714*, ed. Andrew Browning (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953) 377–82.

Avery, Emmett L, 'The Restoration Audience,' *Philological Quarterly* 45 (1966): 54–61.

Boas, Frederick S., ed,. 'Appendix IV: Extracts from the 1663 Quarto,' *The Tragical History of Doctor Faustus* (New York: Gordian Press, Inc., 1966) 200–8.
——., 'Introduction,' *The Change of Crownes: A Tragi-Comedy*, by Edward Howard (London: Oxford University Press, 1949) 1–17.
Clark, Sandra, 'Introduction,' *Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare* (London: J. M. Dent, and Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1997) xli–lxxx.
Coote, Stephen, *Royal Survivor: The Life of Charles II* (New York: Palgrave – now Palgrave Macmillan, 2000)
'Declaration of Breda,' (1660) *English Historical Documents Vol. VIII 1660–1714*, ed. Andrew Browning (New York: Oxford University Press, 1953) 57–8.
Diamond, Elin, '*Gestus* and Signature in Aphra Behn's *The Rover*,' *ELH* 56 (1989): 519–41.
Dobson, Michael, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660–1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992).
Dolan, Jill, 'The Discourse of Feminisms: The Spectator and Representation,' *The Routledge Reader in Gender and Performance*, ed. Lizbeth Goodman (London: Routledge, 1998) 288–94.
Downes, John, *Roscius Anglicanus,* eds. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: The Society for Theatre Research, 1987).
Fraser, Antonia, *Royal Charles: Charles II and the Restoration* (New York: Delta Publishing, Co., Inc., 1979).
Highfill, Philip H., Jr., Kalman A. Burnim, and Edward A. Langhans, eds., *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660–1800*, 4 vols (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1973).
Howe, Elizabeth, *The First English Actresses: Women and Drama 1660–1700* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).
Hughes, Derek, 'Restoration and Settlement, 1660 and 1688,' *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theater*, ed. Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge University Press, 2000) 127–41.
Hume, Robert, D., *The Development of English Drama in the Late Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976).
Lacy, John, *Sauny the Scot* (1667), *Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare*, ed. Sandra Clark (London: J. M. Dent, and Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1997).
——., 'Satire,' (1677) *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714*, Vol. I: 1660–1678, ed. George deF. Lord (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963) 42–8.
Lancashire, Anne C., 'Lyly and Shakespeare on the Ropes,' *JEGP* 68 (1969): 237–44.
Langbaine, Gerard, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (Oxford, 1691).
Langhans, Edward, 'The Theatres,' *The London Theatre World, 1660–1800*, ed. Robert D. Hume (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1980) 35–65.
Latham, Robert and William Matthews, eds., 'Notes,' *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols., by Samuel Pepys (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983).
Levin, Richard, 'Grumio's "Rope-Tricks" and the Nurse's "Ropery,"' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 22 (1971): 82–86.

Lord, George deF., 'Notes,' *Poems on Affairs of State: Augustan Satirical Verse, 1660–1714*, Vol. I: 1660–1678 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1963) 425.
Love, Harold, 'Who Were the Restoration Audience?' *The Yearbook of English Studies: Literature and its Audience, I Special Number* 10 (1980): 21–44.
Maguire, Nancy Klein, *Regicide and Restoration: English Tragicomedy, 1660–1671* (Cambridge University Press, 1992).
Maidment, James, and W. H. Logan, 'Prefatory Memoir,' and 'Notes,' *The Dramatic Works of John Lacy, Comedian* (Edinburgh: William Paterson, and London: H. Sothern and Co., 1875 (Reprinted New York: Benjamin Blom, 1967) ix–xvii.
Marsden, Jean, 'Spectacle, Horror, and Pathos,' *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theater*, ed. Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge University Press, 2000) 174–90.
——., 'Rape, Voyeurism, and the Restoration Stage,' *Broken Boundaries: Women & Feminism in Restoration Drama*, ed. Katherine M. Quinsey (The University of Kentucky Press, 1996) 185–200.
——., 'Introduction,' *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*. ed. Jean I. Marsden (New York: St. Martin's Press – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1991) 1–10.
——., 'Rewritten Women: Shakespearean Heroines in the Restoration,' *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth*, ed. Jean I. Marsden (New York: St. Martin's Press – now Palgrave Macmillan, 1991) 43–56.
Masters, Brian, *The Mistresses of Charles II* (London: Blond & Briggs, 1979).
Maus, Katherine Eisaman, '"Playhouse Flesh and Blood": Sexual Ideology and the Restoration Actress," *ELH* 46 (1979): 595–617.
Miller, John, *After the Civil Wars: English Politics and Government in the Reign of Charles II* (Harlow, England: Longman, 2000).
——., *Charles II* (London: Weidenfled and Nicolson, 1988).
Morris, Brian, 'Notes,' *The Taming of the Shrew*, by William Shakespeare (London: Methuen & Co., 1981).
Munns, Jessica, 'Change, Skepticism, and Uncertainty,' *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theater*, ed. Deborah Payne Fisk (Cambridge University Press, 2000) 142–57.
Nicoll, Allardyce, *A History of English Drama 1660–1900, Volume 1: Restoration Drama 1660–1700* (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1952).
——., *A History of Restoration Drama 1660–1700*, 2nd edition (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1928).
Partridge, Eric, *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (London: Routledge, 1947).
Payne, Deborah C., 'Reified Object or Emergent Professional? Retheorizing the Restoration Actress,' *Cultural Readings of Restoration and Eighteenth-Century English Theater*, eds. J. Douglas Canfield and Deborah C. Payne (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1995) 13–38.
Pearlman, E., 'Pepys and Lady Castlemaine,' *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 7:2 (1983): 43–53.
Pedicord, Harry William, 'The Changing Audience,' *The London Theatre World, 1660–1800*, ed. Robert D. Hume (Carbondale and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, and London and Amsterdam: Feffer & Simon, Inc., 1980) 236–52.

Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, 11 vols. eds. Robert Latham and William Matthews (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1983).
Powell, Jocelyn, *Restoration Theatre Production* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1984).
Prynne, William, *Histrio-Mastix* (London, 1633).
Ritchie, Fiona, 'Shakespeare and the Eighteenth-Century Actress,' *Borrowers and Lenders: The Journal of Shakespeare and Appropriation* 2:2 (2006).
Scheil, Katherine West, *The Taste of the Town: Shakespearian Comedy and the Early Eighteenth-Century Theater* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, and London: Associated University Presses, 2003).
Seaward, Paul, *The Cavalier Parliament and the Reconstruction of the Old Regime, 1661–1667* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989).
Shakespeare, William, *The Taming of the Shrew*, *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1974) 106–42.
Shapiro, Michael, *Gender in Play on the Shakespearean Stage: Boy Heroines and Female Pages* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1994).
Spencer, Hazelton, *Shakespeare Improved: The Restoration Versions In Quarto and On The Stage* (New York: Frederick Ungar Publishing, Co., 1927).
Staves, Susan, *Players' Scepters: Fictions of Authority in the Restoration* (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1979).
Straub, Kristina, *Sexual Suspects: Eighteenth-Century Players and Sexual Ideology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992).
Turner, James Grantham, *Libertines and Radicals in Early Modern London: Sexuality, Politics, and Literary Culture, 1630–1685* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).
Weber, Harold, 'Charles II, George Pines, and Mr. Dorimant: The Politics of Sexual Power in Restoration England,' *Criticism* 32 (1990): 193–219.
Weimann, Robert, 'Bifold Authority in Shakespeare's Theatre,' *Shakespeare Quarterly* 39 (1988): 401–17.
Williams, Gordon, *A Glossary of Shakespeare's Sexual Language* (London: Athlone, 1997).

# 9

# ‘Darkenes was before light’: Hierarchy and Duality in *The Taming of A Shrew*

*Graham Holderness*

## I

One of the most substantive differences between Shakespeare’s *The Taming of the Shrew* and the anonymous *The Taming of A Shrew* lies in that most controversial and contested moment of the action, Kate’s final speech of submission. In *The Taming of the Shrew*, the speech is an essay on order, hierarchy and subjection reminiscent of the 1570 *Homilie Against Disobedience and Wylfull Rebellion*.[1] In *A Shrew* the speech has nothing to say about the state, the commonwealth, rulers and magistrates, the body politic. It is not political and contemporary, but visionary and theological:

> Theternall power that with his only breath,
> Shall cause this end and this beginning frame,
> Not in time, nor before time, but with time, confusd,
> For all the course of yeares, of ages, moneths,
> Of seasons temperate, of dayes and houres,
> Are tund and stopt, by measure of his hand,
> The first world was, a forme, without a forme,
> A heape confused a mixture all deformd,
> A gulf of gulfes, a body bodiles,
> Where all the elements were orderles,
> Before the great commander of the world,
> The King of Kings the glorious God of heaven,
> Who in six daies did frame his heavenly worke,
> And made all things to stand in perfet course.
> Then to his image did he make a man.
> Olde Adam and from his side a sleepe,

> A rib was taken, of which the Lord did make,
> The woe of man so termd by *Adam* then,
> Woman for that, by her came sinne to us,
> And for her sin was Adam doomd to die,
> As Sara to her husband, so should we,
> Obey them, love them, kepe, and norish them,
> If they by any means doo want our helpes,
> Laying our handes under theire feete to tread,
> If that by that we, might procure their ease … [2]

The marriage contract is situated within the two traditional accounts, written some 4–500 years apart, of the Creation of the world and of man from the early chapters of the Book of Genesis. In the first, later version (Gen.1.2–26, c. 500 BC) the *Elohim* make man and woman indiscriminately, in 'our' (plural) image, male and female, without instituting any hierarchy of gender. In the second, earlier version (Gen. 2.21–2, c. 900 BC) Eve is fashioned by Yahweh from Adam's side. Other sources or analogues that lie close to this speech include the marriage service from the *Book of Common Prayer*,[3] where we find the same sequence of ideas: the world created and ordered from 'naught', the creation of man and woman, the example of Sara who called her husband Abraham Lord. All this was routinely restated in the Elizabethan 'An Homilie of the State of Matrimonie', which further recommended the kind of subjection affirmed in Kate's closing speech:

> For this surely doth norishe concorde very much, when the wyfe is redye at hande at her husbandes commaundement, when she wyll apply her selfe to his will, when shee endeuoureth her selfe to seeke his contention, and to do him pleasure … [4]

But none of these contingent sources accounts for the 14 lines in Kate's speech that describe the chaos before Creation, which has no biblical or liturgical precedent. Indeed it is closer to Plato's *Timaeus*, where the divinity, 'finding the whole visible sphere not at rest, but moving in an irregular and disorderly fashion, out of disorder … brought order',[5] than it is to Genesis, and it even seems to echo the belief of pre-Socratic philosophy that Chaos was primary, as reflected in Hesiod's *Theogeny:* 'First of all there came Chaos'.[6]

There is no need however to search so far for the origin of these references, since close verbal parallels between Kate's final speech in *A Shrew* and lines from Du Bartas' *La Creation du Monde* (1578) irrefutably confirm the source.

> Ce premier monde etoit une forme sans forme
> Une pile confuse, une melange difforme,
> D'abimes un abime, un cors mal compasse,
> Un Chahos de Chahos, un tas mal entasse,
> Ou tous les Elemens selogeoint pele-mele.[7]

The wording in *A Shrew* is close to the French, but generally scholars have not wanted to credit the author/compiler of the play with anything so sophisticated as a knowledge of French. The assumption that an English translation supervened produces difficulty, since the best-known translation by Josuah Sylvester did not appear until 1605 (Sylvester, 1605).[8] Verbal parallels are far less striking between *A Shrew* and the anonymous translation published in 1596.[9] It has even been argued that the author of *A Shrew* must have had access to Sir Philip Sidney's possibly completed but lost translation of Du Bartas.[10]

Sylvester's translation is close enough to mark the similarities and differences:

> Th'immutable devine decree, which shall
> Cause the World's end, caus'd his originall:
> Neither in Time, not yet before the same,
> But in the instant when Time first became.
> I meane a time confused; for the course
> Of yeares, of monthes, of weekes, of dayes, of howers,
> Of Ages, Times and Seasons is confin'd
> By th'ordred Daunce unto the Starres assign'd.
> Before all Time, all Matter, Forme and Place;
> God all in all, and all in God it was

Divine power is the prime mover, creator and destroyer, alpha and omega, beginning and end. God orders and regulates, partly by the creation of Time, what is disorderly and irregular. Raw uncontrolled energy is 'confin'd' by a divine discipline, subdued to the decorum of the cosmic dance (Du Bartas' 'bal mesure des cors celestes', p. 2).

> God then, not onely framed Nature one
> But also set it limitation
> Of Forme and Time.
>
> (Sylvester, p. 13)

But lurking in the interstices of this orthodox discourse lie some dangerously heretical notions: that Chaos was primary, and existed before God; that at some point God came upon the scene, and began to control what therefore had pre-existed his power; that somewhere in the natural history of the universe, we might find some space or time not occupied by God.[11] Genesis states that before Creation the universe was 'without form, and void', empty and shapeless. In Du Bartas, the pre-Creation universe is all but empty, and took the paradoxical shape of a 'formless forme'.

> That first World (yet) was a most forme-lesse *Forme*,
> A confus'd Heape, a *Chaos* most diforme,
> A Gulph of Gulphes, a Body ill compact,
> An ugly medley, where all difference lackt:
> Where th'elements lay iumbled all together,
> Where hot and colde were warring each with either;
> The blunt with sharpe; the danke against the drie,
> The hard and soft, the base against the high;
> Bitter with sweet …
>
> (Sylvester, p. 10)

Du Bartas describes and defines Chaos through binary oppositions. Chaos is the opposite of everything orderly: shapeless, deformed, incomplete, fragmentary, a scene of unmanaged opposition between unreconciled forces, 'jointly jostling, in their rude disorder' (Sylvester, p. 12). The author of *A Shrew* incorporated most of this into his play, though he avoided both the controversial pagan term 'Chaos', and Du Bartas' defensive assertion that God was present in Chaos as much as in Creation ('Dieu tout en tout etoit, & tout etoit a Dieu', Du Bartas, p. 2). *A Shrew* has captured the spirit of Du Bartas' cosmic 'brawl' (Sylvester, p. 10), which is masterfully subdued by the supreme sovereignty of the omnipotent creator ('The Lord high-Marshall' p. 10) whose creative *afflatus* animates all things:

> Theternall power that with his only breath …
>
> (Holderness and Loughrey, p. 87)

> But this dull Heape of undigested stuffe,
> Had doubtlesse never come to shape and proofe,
> Had not th'Almighty with his quick'ning breath
> Blowne life and spirit into this Lump of death.
>
> (Sylvester, p. 11)

Both speeches of submission in *The Shrew* and *A Shrew* are spoken in response to a similar request or demand from Petruchio or Ferando:

PET. Katherine, I charge thee, tell these headstrong women
What duty they do owe their lords and husbands.[12]

FERAN. Now lovely *Kate* before there husbands here,
I prethe tell unto these headstrong women,
What dutie wives doo owe unto their husbands.
(Holderness and Loughrey, p. 87)

But the terms of submission are quite different. In *The Shrew* Katherina argues that resistance to legitimate authority is in itself wrong, but particularly so for women. Women are there to be looked after, cared for, by men, who endure pain and privation in the process. Men are entitled to expect, in exchange for this protective service, their legitimate right of obedience. An unruly woman is a rebel, and women should not seek the fulfilment of their own wills. They are the weaker sex, their bodies soft and yielding. Nature, the order of the commonwealth, the principles of natural authority, all require submission from women. The wide-ranging moral and political language of the speech – 'thy lord, thy king, thy governor' (5.2.139) – invokes the whole 'Elizabethan World Picture' as it used to be known, and the great 'Chain of Being' which hierarchically sequenced all animate and inanimate things into a well-ordered body politic that ideally reflected the divine order of the cosmos.[13]

In *A Shrew* Kate's speech states that God created the world out of chaos, and produced concord out of discord. He made the world perfect, with all things ordered as they should be. He created man, and then woman; but woman was the cause of sin, and thus the perfect order was broken. As heir to that originating guilt, women should be loyal to their husbands, as Sara was to the patriarch Abraham.

Both speeches are concerned with contrariety and the means by which it may be contained and controlled. But they differ significantly in their conclusions. The belief that the universe consisted of contraries, which was typical of ancient thought (especially Aristotelian), became in the early modern period a dominant philosophical paradigm: 'one of the great controlling patterns of thought and literature',[14] 'one of the primary intellectual modalities of the period',[15] 'one of the distinctive mental and cultural traits of the age'.[16] It was natural for early modern Europeans to think dualistically. But they also felt bound to think hierarchically, as in Christian metaphysics contraries (God/Devil, man/woman) could only be understood as

unequal and dissymmetrical, otherwise evil would be as powerful as good. Thus hierarchy is *The Shrew's* solution to the disorder of contraries.

*A Shrew* on the other hand draws a different conclusion. Hierarchy was a hugely influential model: but so too, as Stuart Clark observes, was 'complementarity' (Clark, p. 40). Opposites 'were said to require one another in order to form wholes'. So evil was a necessary contrary to good, though evil must always be seen as 'subordinated' to good, or as Louis Dumont put it, 'encompassed' by good.[17] Aristotle saw everything as a contrary or a product of contraries. But

> In the case of Christian metaphysics itself, the need was to give a dualistic account of the imperfections that marred the created world without extending this to first principles; to stress, that is, both the contrasting and correlative aspects of good and evil. (Clark, p. 45)

Thus the whole system 'combined principles of hierarchy and reciprocity', as Louis Adrian Montrose says of Elizabethan gender: 'distinguishing male and female as superior and inferior, and interrelating them as complementary'.[18]

What seems to me remarkable about this area of difference between the two *Shrews*, is the way in which the writer of *A Shrew* has chosen a language that invests as much, or more, energy and imaginative vigour in the evocation of *discord* as in the description of *concord*. The raw unregulated chaos of contrary forces is as prominent as the elegant ordering of the universe by divine power; the violent struggle of oppositions almost eclipses the vision of their ultimate reconciliation. As John Stinson said of the work of Anthony Burgess, here one 'feels the fact of Disorder and Chaos more often than that of Design.'[19] In *The Shrew* Katherina's speech also invokes images of disorder: seasonal incongruity; the 'fountain troubled', 'Muddy, ill-seeming, thick, bereft of beauty'; the 'foul contending' of rebellion against legitimate authority (5.2.143–4, 160). But there is nothing there to compare with the grandeur of that cosmic vision of a universe without 'measure', a chaos without order: 'a gulf of gulfs', 'where all the elements were orderles'.

The imagination that created *A Shrew* was stimulated by the possibility of chaos, of the discord underlying concord, of the perpetual struggle between unruly elements. The play constructs an inclusive universe in which God and the devil, light and darkness, concord and discord, peace and violence are all present in the comedic medium, 'jointly jostling, in their rude disorder' (Sylvester, p. 12). The commonwealth, the household, the marriage contract, are all presented as fundamental

spaces of this cosmic controversy. The play offers a perspective on marriage as a site of intersection where verbal and physical conflict, gross and violent sexual innuendo, and even demonic intervention can be fully integrated into human relationship, and there operate as a source of pleasure and delight. 'Nature' wrote Nicholas Caussin:

> is never so great and admirable as in contraries, and it seems she takes delight to derive the goodliest harmonies of the world from certain disagreeing discords.[20]

And St Augustine drew a parallel between metaphysical contrariety and literary composition: God chose to 'enrich the course of world history by the kind of antithesis which gives beauty to a poem':

> The opposition of such contraries gives an added beauty to speech; and in the same way there is beauty in the composition of the world's history arising from the antithesis of contraries – a kind of eloquence in events, instead of words.[21]

## II

*The Taming of A Shrew* directly addresses concord and discord in the form of a music lesson. This scene explores the complex relationship between what the play calls 'decorum' (Holderness and Loughrey, p. 69), the discipline of order and regulation, and the chaotic physical energies generated by the unruly woman and her equally unruly mate. This dialectic is embedded particularly in a comedy of the obscene, where the gross images of pornotopia issue liberally from the elegant languages of discipline and harmony. The music-lesson scene in *A Shrew* parallels the off-stage equivalent in *The Shrew* (2.1: the staged music lesson is Bianca's, 3.2). In *The Shrew* 2.1, Hortensio enters the stage from the lesson, '*with his head broke*', having been attacked by Katherina with the lute (2.1.142). Baptista understands that the purpose of the lesson was to 'break her to the lute', the first of the play's horse-taming metaphors. Katherina has however 'broken the lute' to him. The sexual connotations remain covert: even though Hortensio 'bows' her hand 'to teach her fingering', ends up with his head inserted into the body of the lute, and there is possibly some play around the word 'fret' (which must surely have been close to 'frot'), nothing emerges from this in the way of obscene innuendo, nothing but the unruly woman's rage at being regulated and controlled by the disciplines of instrumentation.

In *A Shrew* the scene is actually staged, and the sexual content is much more graphically extrapolated. Valeria the fake music master begins with Orpheus, and the power of music ('pleasant tuned strings') to move the inanimate and to tame what is wild. Katherine is both 'senceless', impervious to affect, and 'savage', unreclaimed: so perhaps music will work on her too.

> Then it may be that she whom naught can please
> With musicks sound in time may be surprisde … (p. 58)

In both chronological and metronomic 'time' the music may steal upon her resistance, and find her spontaneously surprised by joy. Kate's abrupt refusal – 'I take no delight in it' – is the cue for Valeria's first sexual innuendo:

> I would sweet mistresse that it laie in me
> To helpe you to that thing thats your delight. (p. 58)

His dormant desire could help her find her way to the root and source of her pleasure, the vagina, as subtly as Orpheus' music finds its way into the savage breast. Kate responds immediately to this new definition of 'fiddling' as foreplay, telling him to stick his head in his lute-case (as there's no way he's going to stick it in hers). Valeria continues with the language of obscene seduction:

> If that sweete mistresse were your harts content,
> You should command a greater thing than that,
> Although it were ten times to my disgrace. (p. 58)

If that's her inclination, Valeria says, he's happy for her to command the 'greater thing', his penis. The lute is of course often an image for the woman's body, but here it's doing the work of the penis. When Kate takes the lute and plays, she is assuming control of the phallic. Valeria's remonstrance seeks to regain authority for the instrumental regulator, the male teacher, the ego: 'That stop was false, play it againe' (p. 58). The man offers to correct the unruly, bring harmony to discord, form to raw matter, discipline to unregulated energy, order to chaos. But the scene is playing a constant ground bass of obscenity below the melody: Valeria is instructing Kate in how to handle his cock, and complaining about her technique. The response is violent:

> Then mend it thou, though filthy asse. (p. 58)

It's a poor workman who blames his tool. And there is surely more than a crude rhyme entailed in his counter-response:

> What, doo you bid me kisse your arse? (p. 58)

Kate's rejection of phallic authority raises the spectre of the *osculum infanum*, the anal kiss, which in its ritual performance, in Clark's words, 'dethroned reason from a sovereign position' (Clark, p. 92). Associated with humility and subjection, but also with the inversions of diabolism, it was notoriously the seal of witchcraft. An initiated witch had to kiss the devil's arse, as Robert M. Schuler observes[22] in his discussion of the parallel line from *The Shrew*: 'what, with my tongue in your tail?' (2.1.216). Schuler cites Sir David Lindsay's *A Satire of the Three Estates* (1540), where the divorce of a shoemaker and his wife takes the form of a demonic parody of a wedding, complete with a mutual anal kiss and a 'blessing' from the devil Belial (Schuler, p. 395). Naturally people were also aware of the pleasures of such perversion: a shrew, said Richard Braithwait, is 'a very Crab, if she affect any pleasures, they must be backward'.[23]

Kate then uses the man's weapons against Valeria, rhyming in earnest and wielding the phallic lute in a real threat of physical assault.

> How now jack sause, you're a jollie mate,
> You best be still least I crosse your pate,
> And make your musicke flie about youre eares,
> Ile make it and your foolish coxcomb meet.
> She offers to strike him with the lute. (p. 58)

Kate will make the sign of the cross over his head in a violent parody of baptism; the fragments of the lute will shatter round his head; the only music he hears will be the sound of the blow; and the phallic lute, making contact with the fool's head, will merge cock and cock's comb. Kate will use the instrument to release discord, to reverse the natural precedence of woman and man, and to establish an inverted dominion of misrule.

> VAL. Hold mistresse, souns wil you breake my lute?
> KATE. I on thy head, and if thou speake to me,
> There take it up and fiddle somewhere else,
> She throwes it downe.
> And see you come no more into this place,
> Least that I clap your fiddle on your face. (p. 59)

Go fiddle somewhere else, she is saying. 'This place' is her space, a room in her father's house, her spot on the stage; but also surely a personal space she is marking out, a domain of misrule, the arena presided over by her genetalia. If he enters it, she'll 'clap your fiddle' (i.e. that which he wants to fiddle with, her vagina) on his face. Valeria admits he will have to bow out of this terrifying lesson in favour of a greater instructor:

> The devill shal teach her first. (p. 59)

Like Orpheus' lover Eurydice, consigned to Hell when bitten by a poisonous serpent (and interpreted in the Middle Ages as a prototype of Eve) Kate's domain is infernal, a space of dark otherness she rules, with discord, wildness and sexual power. The shrew, we recall, was also associated with both poison and the underworld. Believing the shrew to be blind, Edward Topsell noted: 'For this cause the auncient Egyptians did worshippe it: for as they held opinion that darkenes was before light, so they deemed that the blinde creatures were better than the seeing.'[24]

## III

In *A Shrew* Kate is clearly identified as demonic as well as shrewish:

> As good be wedded to the divell himselfe,
> For such a skould as she did never live. (p. 49)
>
> thy mistresse is such a devil. (p. 63)

To take her on, then, is equivalent to combating the devil.

> We must devise a meanes and find some one
> That will attempt to wed this devilish skould. (p. 49)

The man in question is Ferando, 'a man of wealth sufficient' (p. 50), who 'never states that his only motive in wiving is financial';[25] not a fortune-hunter like *The Shrew*'s Petruchio, but 'for his person worth as good as she' (p. 50):

> A man I thinke will fit hir humor right,
> As blunt in speech as she is sharpe of toong,
> And he I think will match her everie waie … (p. 50)

Their powers of scolding and shrewishness are equal and opposite, 'blunt' against 'sharpe', but perfectly matched as contraries. 'Blunt' and 'sharp' appear in the catalogue of binary oppositions listed by Du Bartas (Sylvester, p. 10), and they remain in the play counterpoised contraries, with no conclusive implication that Ferando's bluntness is sufficient to take off Kate's edge:

ALFON. So mad a cupple did I never see.
EMEL. They're even as well matcht as I would wish.
PHILE. And yet I hardly thinke that he can tame her.
For when he has don she will do what she list.
AUREL. Her manhood then is good, I do beleeve.
POL. *Aurelius* or else I misse my marke,
Her toung will walke if she doth hold her handes … (pp. 65–6)

The assertion that Ferando will 'fit' Kate's humour is a statement of eligibility, meaning they will suit one another; but the word 'fit' has already been used by the Lord in its theatrical sense of casting (p. 45), so Ferando may also be counted on to *assume,* to take on, Kate's unruly and headstrong humour. Polidor hopes to 'compasse' his objective, to bring Kate and Ferando together into a charmed circle, to draw a boundary that brings them together into harmony, or at least into a provisionally stabilised discord. Ferando deploys exactly the same language of shrewishness, diabolism and equally matching powers:

> The divel himselfe dares scarce venter to woo her …
> If I can win her once to be my wife,
> And she and I must woo with skoulding sure,
> And I will hold her toot till she be wearie,
> Or else Ile make her yeeld to graunt me love. (p. 51)

Similitude seems to be as significant here as contrariety.[26] This sense of a mutual balance of contrary forces is confirmed when Kate and Ferando meet, since both have a voice in the altercation. Uniquely in this text Kate is given an 'Aside' to the audience in which she commits herself with Ferando to a common struggle:

> She turns aside and speakes.
> But yet I will consent and marrie him,
> For I methinks have lived too long a maid,
> And match him to, or else his manhoods good. (p. 53)

Kate correctly identifies Ferando as the 'bedlem man' of the 'Homilie of the state of Matrimonie':[27]

> Ile have my will in this as well as you,
> Though you in madding mood would leave your frends
> Despite of you Ile tarry with them still. (p. 65)

Ferando insists on her obedience with the arbitrary logic of the insane, but also designates obedience as the condition of mutuality:

> FERAN. I *Kate* so thou shalt but at some other time …
> This is my day, tomorrow thou shalt rule,
> And I will doo whatever thou commandes. (p. 65)

When Ferando insists on Kate mistaking the time ('I say tis but nine o clock in the morning' [p. 75]), he declares himself the sovereign power that determines the shape of order: even time itself is 'tund and stopt by measure of his hand'. She initially disputes this, but later accepts the strategy of inversion ('Ile say as you say it is the moone' [p. 78]). Nonetheless this is a 'Time confused': together they transform light into darkness, day into night. It is the man, not the woman, who initiates and directs this transformation. 'Why' asks Frances Dolan of the equivalent scene in *The Shrew*, 'does Petruchio set the terms, define reality?'[28] But if we focus mainly on the power-struggle between man and woman, and see them as separately trying to constitute a common reality, we miss the fact that here the world is being partially returned to that pre-Creation Chaos of Du Bartas' *Creation du Monde*, where time really was a 'time confused' (Sylvester, p. 2). Ferando's is a self-contradictory mode of perception that can paradoxically maintain contact with both orderly chronological time and the real, experienced time of shrewish turbulence. Ferando admits that he is endorsing a fiction ('I know it well thou knowest it is the sun'), so real time and Shrew-time lie 'crosse' one another, as incompatible but co-existent opposites. The acceptance of one or the other is presented as an arbitrary decision, far less important than the imperative of mutual agreement.

> Why thus must we two live,
> One minde, one heart, and one content for both … (p. 79)

I am arguing that *A Shrew* challenged the dominant ideology of its time by representing the world in terms of a Manichean dualism: chaos

and creation, darkness and light, God and the devil, male and female, dialectically counterpoised as balancing contraries. Opposition as privation was a commonplace: 'a wife is contrary to her husband';[29] woman is 'nothing else but a contrary unto man'.[30] Ferando in *A Shrew* sees man and woman as contraries, but contraries that can be reconciled in some utopian future: 'For we shall live like lammes and Lions sure' (p. 61), he says, echoing the common misquotation of Isaiah ('The wolf also shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid; and the calf and the young lion and the fatling together; and a little child shall lead them'. Isaiah 11:5–7). The grammar is ambiguous, but Ferando appears to indicate that the Lion becomes as tame as the lamb, once the weaker creature has entrusted itself to him, and lies 'within the Lions pawes' (p. 61).

Kate's sister Emelia, when accused of being a shrew, tells her husband 'That's better then a sheepe' (p. 88). Kate is definitely a shrew, and takes on some of the characteristics of a lamb, 'For she is very patient grone of late' (p. 66). But leonine and paschal qualities are clearly interchangeable between individuals and genders: Ferando is capable of gentleness and restraint, Kate of savagery and violence, and vice versa. Both sets of qualities belong in a complete marriage, just as both peace and violence co-exist in the universe. Unruliness, conflict, physical aggression, sexual licence, even patterns of inversion like the anal kiss of diabolism, become proper and legitimate activities within this turbulent comedic marriage. Leah Marcus argues that in *A Shrew* Kate's gesture of submission, placing her hand under Ferando's foot, is an 'excessive' 'flamboyantly masochistic' gesture.[31] The process of 'taming', the shaping of things to fit a pattern, is as necessary as any other discipline or decorum in a chaotic universe: 'to encompass variety in a favoured formal relation' (Clark, p. 50).

But taming does not eradicate wildness, any more than the clock can abolish chaos, or Creation dispel the abyss of abysses that yawns beyond and around it.

If the created universe rests on a secure foundation of masculine power, a rational hegemony from which flows all order and regularity, then shrew-taming can be read as the necessary subordination of dangerous unformed energy to a rule of civil concord. But if, by contrast, as in *The Taming of A Shrew*, the created world sits uneasily over the abyss, then reciprocity and mutuality become the means by which human happiness can be attained, between the dark forces of chaos and the inhibiting restrictions of enlightenment. Shrews cannot be tamed; darkness is the necessary correlative to light; harmony is impossible without disharmony; the Devil exists to validate God's goodness. 'Darkenes was before light'.

## Notes

1. Ronald B. Bond (ed.), *'Certain Sermons or Homilies' (1547) and 'A Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion' (1570): A Critical Edition (*Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), pp. 209–59.
2. Graham Holderness and Bryan Loughrey (eds.), *A Pleasant Conceited Historie, called The Taming of A Shrew* (Hemel Hempstead: Prentice-Hall, 1992), p. 87.
3. *The Boke of common praier, and adminsitracion of the Sacramentes, and other rites and Ceremonies in the Churche of Englande* (London: Richard Grafton, 1552), fol. 116v.
4. *The Seconde Tome of Homilies, of such matters as were promised and intituled in the former part of Homylyes* (London: Richard Iugge and Iohn Cawood, 1563), fol. 256r–256v.
5. Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato,* vol. 3, trans. Benjamin Jowett, eds. R.M. Hare and D.A. Russell (London: Sphere Books, 1970), p. 235.
6. Hesiod, *The Works and Days, Theogeny, the Shield of Herakles*, trans. Richmond Lattimore (University of Michigan Press, 1959, 1991), p. 130.
7. Guillaume Du Bartas, *La Sepmaine, ou Creation du Monde* (Paris: Chez Jean Feurier, 1578), p. 7.
8. Josuah Sylvester (trans.), *Bartas his Devine Weekes and Workes Translated* (London: Humfrey Lownes, 1605), pp. 2–3.
9. Anonymous, *The First Day of the Worldes Creation* (London: I. Iackeson, for Gregorie Seaton, 1596).
10. See George Coffin Taylor, 'The Strange Case of du Bartas in *The Taming of A Shrew*', *Philological Quarterly*, 20 (1941), p. 374; Peter Alexander, 'A Case of Three Sisters', *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 July 1965, p. 588; Stephen Roy Miller (ed.), *The Taming of A Shrew: the 1594 Quarto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 147–50.
11. Urban Tigner Holmes, John Coriden Lyons and Robert White Linker (eds.), *The Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur du Bartas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935); and Richard Hillman '*La Creation du Monde* et *The Taming of the Shrew*: Du Bartas comme Intertexte', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 15 (1991), pp. 249–58.
12. Brian Morris (ed.), *The Taming of the Shrew* (London: Methuen, 1981), 5.2.131–2.
13. See 'An Exhortacion concernyng Good ordre and obedience to Rulers and Magistrates', in the 1547 book of homilies: Bond, p. 161.
14. Earl R. Wasserman, *The Subtler Language: Critical Readings of Neoclassic and Romantic Poems* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1959), p. 53.
15. Robert Grudin, *Mighty Opposites: Shakespeare and Renaissance Contrariety* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969), pp. 16–17.
16. Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), p. 35.
17. Louis Dumont, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 66 (1980), p. 224.
18. Louis Adrian Montrose, 'The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text', *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*, edited by Patricia Parker and David Quint (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), p. 308.

19. John Stinson, 'The Manichee World of Anthony Burgess', in *Anthony Burgess: Modern Critical Views*, edited by Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987), p. 55.
20. Nicholas Caussin, *The Holy Court*, translated by T.H. (London: William Bentley, 1634), p. 55.
21. St Augustine, *Concerning the City of God, against the Pagans*, translated by Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin, 1972), p. 449.
22. Robert M. Schuler, 'Bewitching *The Shrew', Texas Studies in Literature and Language,* 46.4 (2004), p. 395.
23. Richard Braithwait, *Essays upon the Five Senses* (London, 1620), p. 139.
24. Edward Topsell, 'Of the Mouse called the Shrew, or the erd Shrew', *The History of Four-footed Beastes* (London: William Iaggard, 1607), p. 535.
25. Leah Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe and Milton* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 109.
26. Laurie Shannon, *Sovereign Amity: figures of friendship in Shakespearean contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
27. 'Homilie of the state of Matrimonie', in *The Seconde Tome of Homilies, of such matters as were promised and intituled in the former part of Homylyes* (London: Richard Iugge and Iohn Cawood, 1563), sig. 260r.
28. Frances E. Dolan (ed.), *'The Taming of the Shrew': Texts and Contexts* (New York: St. Martin's Press–now Palgrave Macmillan, 1996), p. 31.
29. Henry Smith, *A preparative to mariage. The summe whereof was spoken at a contract and inlarged after* (London: T. Orwin for T. Man, 1591), p. 82.
30. Joseph Swetnam, Thomas tel-Troth, *The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Vnconstant Women* (London: George Purflowe for Thomas Archer, 1615), p. 33.
31. Leah Marcus, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe and Milton* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 117.

## Works cited

Alexander, Peter, 'A Case of Three Sisters', *Times Literary Supplement*, 8 July 1965.

Anonymous, *The Boke of common praier, and adminsitracion of the Sacramentes, and other rites and Ceremonies in the Churche of Englande* (London: Richard Grafton, 1552).

Anonymous, *Certaine Sermons appoynted by the Quenes Maiesty, to be declared and read, by al Persons, Vicars and Curates, everi Sunday and holi day, in their Churches* (London, 1563).

Anonymous, *The Seconde Tome of Homilies, of such matters as were promised and intituled in the former part of Homylyes* (London: Richard Iugge and Iohn Cawood, 1563).

Anonymous, *The First Day of the Worldes Creation* (London: I. Iackeson, for Gregorie Seaton, 1596).

Augustine, St, *Concerning the City of God, against the Pagans*, trans. Henry Bettenson (London: Penguin, 1972).

Bond, Ronald B. (ed.), *'Certain Sermons or Homilies' (1547) and 'A Homily against Disobedience and Wilful Rebellion' (1570): A Critical Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

Braithwait, Richard, *Essays upon the Five Senses* (London, 1620).

Clark, Stuart, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997).
Caussin, Nicholas, *The Holy Court*, translated by T.H. (London: William Bentley. 1634).
Dolan, Frances E. (ed.),'*The Taming of the Shrew': Texts and Contexts* (New York: St. Martin's Press–now Palgrave Macmillan, 1996).
Du Bartas, Guillaume, *La Sepmaine, ou Creation du Monde* (Paris: Chez Jean Feurier. 1578).
Dumont, Louis, *Proceedings of the British Academy* 66 (1980) 207–41.
Grudin, Robert, *Mighty Opposites: Shakespeare and Renaissance Contrariety* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1969).
Hesiod, *The Works and Days, Theogeny, the Shield of Herakles*, translated by Richmond Lattimore (University of Michigan Press, 1959, 1991).
Hillman, Richard, '*La Creation du Monde* et *The Taming of the Shrew*: Du Bartas comme Intertexte', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 15 (1991) 249–58.
Holderness, Graham and Bryan Loughrey (eds.), *A Pleasant Conceited Historie, called The Taming of A Shrew* (Hemel Hempstead: Prentice-Hall, 1992).
Holmes, Urban Tigner, John Coriden Lyons and Robert White Linker (eds.), *The Works of Guillaume de Saluste Sieur du Bartas* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935).
Marcus, Leah, *Unediting the Renaissance: Shakespeare, Marlowe and Milton* (London: Routledge, 1996).
Miller, Stephen Roy (ed.), *The Taming of A Shrew: the 1594 Quarto* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).
Montrose, Louis Adrian, 'The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text', in *Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts*, eds. Patricia Parker and David Quint (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986) 303–40.
Morris, Brian (ed.), *The Taming of the Shrew* (London: Methuen, 1981).
Plato, *The Dialogues of Plato, vol. 3,* trans. Benjamin Jowett, eds. R.M. Hare and D.A. Russell (London: Sphere Books, 1970).
Schuler, Robert M., 'Bewitching *The Shrew', Texas Studies in Literature and Language,* 46.4 (2004) 387–431.
Shannon, Laurie, *Sovereign Amity: figures of friendship in Shakespearean contexts* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002).
Smith, Henry, *A preparative to mariage. The summe whereof was spoken at a contract and inlarged after* (London: T. Orwin for T. Man, 1591).
Stinson, John, 'The Manichee World of Anthony Burgess', in *Anthony Burgess: Modern Critical Views*, edited by Harold Bloom (New York: Chelsea House Publishers, 1987).
[Swetnam, Joseph], Thomas tel-Troth, *The Araignment of Lewd, Idle, Froward and Vnconstant Women* (London: George Purflowe for Thomas Archer, 1615).
Sylvester, Josuah (trans.), *Bartas his Devine Weekes and Workes Translated* (London: Humfrey Lownes, 1605).
Taylor, George Coffin, 'The Strange Case of du Bartas in *The Taming of A Shrew*', *Philological Quarterly*, 20 (1941) 325–33.
Topsell, Edward, 'Of the Mouse called the Shrew, or the erd Shrew', *The History of Four-footed Beastes* (London: William Iaggard, 1607).
Wasserman, Earl R., *The Subtler Language: Critical Readings of Neoclassic and Romantic Poems* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1959).

# 10

# The Gendered Stomach in *The Taming of the Shrew*

*Jan Purnis*

In the horror film called *The Killer Shrews* (1959) mentioned by Leah Marcus in her essay appearing in this collection, the film's scientists use shrews in studies of population control, before, that is, the shrews become killer shrews. Shrews – and their stomachs – have also been the subject of considerable interest to real-life scientists studying what shrews eat, how female mammals respond to food-deprivation, and the mechanisms of vomiting (shrews are frequently used in studies of motion sickness).[1] The stomachs of the women described in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as "shrews," though, have not received any extensive critical attention; despite the starvation that is so often a central feature of "shrew" taming, the tongue has tended to be the body part most frequently discussed.[2] Focusing on Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*, but reading the play in the context of the anonymous *The Taming of A Shrew* and Lacy's *Sauny the Scot*, I argue that the stomach (in both its literal and figurative significations) is a central site through which hierarchies of power, particularly in the realm of gender, are established and reproduced. Michael Harrawood has recently analyzed Shakespeare's use of the word *stomach* in the *Henry VI* plays, but while he specifically addresses class and competitive relations among men, I address marital relations, relations which in the play and in early modern thought have political, economic, and religious implications. I concentrate on the stomachs of Katherina and Petruchio.

## I

As Holly Crocker explains in her contribution to this collection, in medieval literature the term *shrew* was applied to both unruly men and women as well as to personifications of the sins of Pride and Envy and to the devil

himself. The disciplining of shrewish women thus has parallels with the disciplining of other threats to the social order. At the time of *The Shrew*'s composition, *shrew* was frequently used specifically to describe women who were "given to railing or scolding or other perverse or malignant behaviour" (n2. def. 3a), and the association between "shrews" and the devil continued in the demonization of women who challenged domestic and public order. "Shrews" were also known as "scolds," highlighting their verbal transgressiveness, which was for obvious reasons most often associated with the tongue. Lynda Boose has argued that attempts to control the disruptive behaviour of "scolds" included the use of, or threatened use of, "the strange instrument known as the 'scolds' bridle' or 'brank'" (144), and in her chapter here, Sandra Clarke points to several ballads in which husbands or physicians seeking a "remedy" for shrewishness make the tongue the target of their violence or blood-letting treatments.

Shrewish behaviour – including angry railing – was also, though, connected in important ways to the stomach. Linking behaviour to physiology, "shrews" were understood to have an excess of choler, the humour most often associated with the stomach. In Shakespeare's day, *stomach* could refer not only to the body's receptacle for food, but also to anger or ill-will, pride or stubbornness, and courage or bravery (*OED*), all of which were characteristics of choler. The qualities of choler – heat and dryness – were stereotypically masculine qualities since women were believed to have naturally colder temperatures and stomachs than men and to be more phlegmatic, or cold and moist.[3] In defending women, Owen Fellltham affirms a physiological grounding in male and female behaviour, but questions the validity of double-standards. He writes:

> 'Tis certain, they [women] are by constitution colder than the boiling man: so by this, more temperate: 'tis heat that transports man to immoderation and fury: 'tis that, which hurries him to a savage and libidinous violence. Women are naturally the more modest: and modesty is the seat and dwelling place of virtue. Whence proceed the most abhorred villainies, but from a masculine and unblushing impudence? What a deal of sweetness do we find in a mild disposition? When a woman grows bold and daring, we dislike her, and say, "she is too like a man": yet in our selves, we magnify what we condemn in her. Is not this injustice? (289)

In the section "Of Meekness" in *The Ladies Calling*, Richard Allestree urges that since women by nature have "less of fire and consequently of

choler" in their "compositions," their "heats of that kind" are therefore "adventitious and preternatural" (1.2.43). Female challenges to patriarchal gender norms as exemplified by so-called shrewishness or refusal to be submissive might then be said to be reflected in, and explained by, what was represented as being "too like a man" physiologically. In other words, not only do "shrews" refuse to conform to prescribed gender roles in their outward behaviour but also in their inward behaviour; socially they do not conform to a model of feminine meekness nor do they do so physiologically by having a colder temperature and thus "weaker" digestion since heat was crucial to the digestive process. Ambroise Paré's medical explanation for young women who are healthy but do not menstruate (and therefore on a physiological level do not behave as women "ought") provides additional corroboration for this interpretation. He speculates that such women "must necessarily be hot and dry, or rather of a manly heat and drynesse, that they may so disperse and dissipate by transpiration, as men doe, the excrements that are gathered [during digestion], but verily all such are barren" (24.LI.947). The "manly heat and drynesse" in these female bodies means that they further resist patriarchal norms by not reproducing.

While present-day literary scholars are less interested in the stomachs of shrews than their scientific counterparts, early modern authors frequently draw explicit attention to "shrew" stomachs. Allestree asserts that since God "determined subjection to be the womens lot," then to oppose subjection is to oppose God, something he thinks few of the "timorous Sex" would "dare" if it were not for the fact that "false punctilioes of honor [ . . . ] represent Meeknes and Submission as a silly sheepish quality unfit for women of breeding and spirit: whilst an imperious obstinacy passes for nobleness and greatness of mind" (1.2.40–1). Insisting that a "great spirit" does not "consist" in "spurning at duty, or seeking to pull themselves from that Sphere where the divine Wisdom hath placed them," he adds that "stubbornness is the mark only of a great stomac, not of a great mind" (1.2.41). Allestree's criticism of "false punctilioes of honor" draws attention to the existence of positive interpretations of female shrewishness, which Bayman and Southecombe explore in their study of pamphlet literature included in this collection. Importantly, "Meeknes and Submission" are only deemed "a silly sheepish quality" for certain women: reflecting class ideology, "spirit" and "greatness of mind" are associated with "breeding" and "nobleness." Allestree, however, dismisses any admiration for female spiritedness, defining such behaviour as "stubbornness," which he links to the stomach and contrasts with the mind. In George Chapman's *Two Wise*

*Men and All the Rest Fools*, Rustico similarly links shrewish behaviour to the stomach, claiming that it is not possible to tame a "shrew" by violence because "the more you strive to break their stomach, the more it grows" (3.2.45). Although stressing that violence will not tame a "shrew," Rustico nonetheless makes "break"ing a "shrew's" "stomach" the central objective of the taming process.

Before turning to Shakespeare's play, my final example of early modern conceptions of "shrew" stomachs comes from William Burton's version of Erasmus's "A Dialogue Between and a Good Woman and a Shrew." When the "good" woman, Eulalia, explains how Paul preached the need for women to submit themselves to their husbands, the "shrew," Xantippe, remarks that he also instructed men to love their wives as Christ loved the Church, going on to say, "Shall I call him husband that taketh me for his servant?" To this, Eulalia observes, "Oh that word servant sticketh sore in your stomac"(H3).[4] The expression "to stick in one's stomach" was used "of something that makes a lasting (especially painful) impression on the mind" ("stomach" def. 6c) and is an example of the way in which digestion, the process of assimilating what is foreign into the self, frequently serves as a metaphor for other forms of incorporation, like thought. Digestion is also, I suggest, an apt metaphor for the processes by which ideology is internalized. It is specifically the word *servant* that sticks in the stomach of the "shrew" in this version of the dialogue, emphasizing that in addition to being choleric, rather than phlegmatic, "shrews" are women who have not "properly" digested and assimilated the gender ideology that makes women inferior to men and binds wives to serve their husbands (the gender hierarchy instituted, in the Bible, as a punishment of Eve's disobedient ingestion). The stomachs of "shrews" figuratively resist internalizing gender hierarchy – female servitude remains undigested – just as they literally resist internalizing it physiologically.

The stomach of Shakespeare's "shrew" shares many of the characteristics associated with "shrews" generally. As the title of the play suggests, however, *The Taming of the Shrew* dramatizes the transformation of a "shrew" into an obedient wife, and the stomach is important both in effecting and expressing Katherina's digestion and assimilation of gender hierarchy. When they finally arrive at his home after leaving their wedding banquet without eating and after having numerous difficulties along the road, Petruchio says to his new wife, "Come Kate, sit down, I know you have a stomach" (4.1.158). The word *stomach* in this line is regularly glossed by editors as having the double sense of "appetite" and "temper," and Petruchio's use of the word demonstrates his understanding of

the perceived connection between the behaviour of "shrews" and their stomachs. Like other "shrews" – and like Petruchio – Katherina is described as being choleric and thus physiologically hot; she is literally hot-tempered. Although he later compares himself and his bride-to-be to "two raging fires" (2.1.132), in the wooing scene Petruchio pretends that Katherina is nothing like what she has been made out to be, saying, "She is not hot, but temperate as the morn" (2.1.294), indicating that she has in fact been described as "hot" by others, a fact which is corroborated when Curtis later asks Grumio if their new mistress is "so hot a shrew as she's reported?" (3.2.21).

Petruchio does not use physical violence to "break" his shrewish wife's figurative "stomach" – he does not beat her – but instead directly targets her literal stomach; while sleep-deprivation is a part of Petruchio's taming strategy, food-deprivation plays a more central role in the text and in the performance of Katherina's taming. In his "Thus have I politicly begun my reign" soliloquy (4.1.188–98), Petruchio introduces the analogy between husbands and sovereigns, wives and subjects, as well as comparing the taming of a disobedient wife to the taming of a falcon, a process involving withholding food: "My falcon now is sharp and passing empty, / And till she stoop, she must not be full-gorg'd" (4.1.190–1). In order to make his wife "stoop," Petruchio starves her, for as Martin Parker puts it in a poem responding to the 1630s famine in Germany, hunger "makes tame things wild" but it also "makes wild things tame" (qtd. in Cunningham 226). Petruchio's speech foregrounds the importance of control over food to the establishment and maintenance of relations of power in the larger socio-political sphere.

Part of Petruchio's "politic" technique is to starve Katherina while making it appear as if it is only through solicitation for her well-being that she is denied food. In removing her from the wedding banquet, he acts as if he is rescuing her from the onset of thieves, and once at his estate, he uses the discourse of Galenic physiology to "kill a wife with kindness" (4.1.208). Of the meal prepared by his servants, he says:

> 'Twas burnt and dried away,
> And I expressly am forbid to touch it;
> For it engenders choler, planteth anger,
> And better 'twere that both of us did fast
> Since of ourselves, ourselves are choleric,
> Than feed it with such overroasted flesh.
> (4.1.170–5)

Petruchio uses the language of humoral theory to justify withholding food from Katherina by claiming that since it is burned it would increase their choler. Although choleric people were advised to avoid overeating, spicy foods, mustard, and burned or dry foods (Draper 51), there is no reason to believe that the food placed before bride and groom is "overroasted" or "dried away." Grumio, picking up on his master's methods and taking the opportunity to "triumph thus upon my [Katherina's] misery" (4.3.34), continues to deploy the same excuse for withholding food from Katherina when she begs him for something to eat, tantalizing her with names of dishes that he then goes on to say would be too choleric for her, including "neat's foot" and beef with mustard (4.3.17–30).[5] This household situation differs from what Wendy Wall describes as the usual state of affairs. According to Wall, "[s]ince each food was thought to contain properties that affected the balance of humors in the body, the housewife manipulated diet as part of medical care" (3), and "[w]hile the husband was sovereign over the household, [ … ] he found himself in the uncomfortable position of submitting to his wife's and servant's medical ministrations" (7). Petruchio's assumption of control over home remedies counters this tradition of female control in the domestic sphere but resembles male domination of the field of medicine in society generally.

Another of the strategies that Petruchio employs for taming his wife is to deny her the clothing she wishes to wear, but even this is connected to his larger strategy of food deprivation. In the haberdasher and tailor scene (4.3), Katherina is not only subjected to the dismissal of the fine clothes she had thought to wear to her sister's wedding, but when she is desperately famished, the faults found with the clothes she is unable to have are figured in terms of food. The cap is "moulded on a porringer" (4.3.63), or porridge bowl; it is "a velvet dish" (4.3.65), "a custard-coffin," and "a silken pie" (4.3.82). A sleeve is "carv'd like an apple-tart" (4.3.89). This teasing by constantly referring to delicious foodstuffs in front of someone who is extremely hungry is meant to be comic, yet foregrounds Katherina's powerlessness, a powerlessness similar to that of the conquered, caged, and teased Bajazeth, whose starvation becomes "a goodly show" for the guests at Tamburlaine's banquet, who are specifically consuming luxurious "cates" (4.4.56, 106). Tamburlaine asks Bajazeth if he has any "stomach," punning, as Petruchio does, on the word's double meaning of "appetite" and "temper" (4.4.10). This textual interplay strengthens the parallel between "shrew" taming and political power.[6]

Describing the cap and gown in terms of edibles blends literal and figurative consumption and extends the domain over which a husband has power to include the consumption of goods.[7] It also links food and fashion,

much as Michael Schoenfeldt does when he argues that "[i]n early modern England, the individual consumer was pressured by Galenic physiology, classical ethics, and Protestant theology to conceive all acts of ingestion and excretion as very literal acts of self-fashioning" (243). Schoenfeldt's insight is an important one, but the starvation that features as one of the taming tactics in "shrew" plays draws attention to an underlying corollary of the argument: if control over diet is such an important factor in self-fashioning and in self-discipline, then it must also be an equally important factor in the fashioning and disciplining of others. Katherina is unable to fashion either her external self (through clothing choices) or her internal self (through dietary choices); agency is denied her.

Petruchio's fashioning of Katherina from a "shrew" into an obedient wife is not only largely brought about through control over her stomach, but her stomach also provides important evidence that her taming has been successful; it is what Petruchio calls "more sign of her obedience / Her new-built virtue and obedience" (5.2.117–18). At the end of the speech on the "duty" women "owe their lords and husbands" that Petruchio instructs her to give (5.2.131), Katherina promotes the ideological construction of women as inferior to men because they have bodies that are weaker, softer, and smoother (5.2.165–6), and adds to this that women are not physically suited for labour and are thus dependent on their husbands for their "maintenance" (5.2.148).[8] Katherina then proceeds to deduce that because women are externally weak, they are logically meant to be internally weak as well, and applies this ideology to the internal organs: "our soft conditions, and our hearts, / Should well agree with our external parts" (5.2.167–8). A mind that is "big" or a heart that is "great" will lead women to engage in losing battles with men, who are bigger, greater, and stronger (5.2.170, 171).

Having repeatedly emphasized female weakness and the uselessness of resistance – including calling disobedient women "forward and unable worms" (5.2.169) – Katherina concludes her speech by saying to her sister, the widow, and by extension womankind:

> Then vail your stomachs, for it is no boot,
> And place your hands below your husband's foot;
> In token of which duty, if he please,
> My hand is ready, may it do him ease.
> (5.2.176–9)

While there are several body parts mentioned here, each meaningful in its own way, Katherina's finale makes additionally clear that the stomach

plays an absolutely central role in the battle of the sexes that is waged so overtly in this and other "shrew" plays and tales. The consistent tendency of editors to gloss "vail your stomachs" as "lower your pride" does not do justice to the multiple valences at work in the word *stomach*'s appearance at this crucial moment in the play.

"Vail" does mean "to lower" (v.2), and the connection between a lowered stomach and wifely obedience has a parallel in *The Taming of A Shrew*; when Ferando offers Kate meat on his dagger and then takes it away because she has not thanked him, he later adds, "I know your stomach is not yet come down, / Therefore no marvel thou canst not eate" (9.42–3), and when Kate decides to agree with him about whether it is the sun or the moon in the sky, he exclaims, "I am glad, Kate your stomach is come down" (12.13). "Shrew" taming is in many ways, then, about bringing down stomachs that are up; stomachs that are up are not just stomachs that are elevated within the body but an "up" stomach is one that is understood to be transgressing hierarchical boundaries of authority, seeking to rise above its socially constructed placement in the larger order of things.[9] By vailing her stomach, Katherina indicates on an internal level (especially since *stomach* could also mean "the inward seat" of "emotion" or "secret thoughts" [def. 6a]) that she has accepted her position below that of her husband: the word *servant*, and the servitude it implies, is not sticking in this "shrew's" stomach but has been digested.

"Vail your stomachs" is more than a figurative expression, though; reading it as "lower your pride" or even as lowering the stomach within the body or of lowering its hot temperature overlooks Boose's important point that Katherina accompanies her words with a literal lowering of her stomach to the ground before her husband.[10] By prostrating herself, she "rearranges the sexual space onstage" and "reconfigures the iconography of heterosexual relationship not merely for herself but for all of those 'froward and unable worms' inscribed within her interpellating discourse" (131–2). Interpreting Katherina's prostration in the context of the verbatim "serve, love and obey" of a bride's wedding vows included earlier in the speech, Boose claims that it is in keeping with "the ceremony that women were required to perform in most pre-Reformation marriage services throughout Europe. [ … ] Kate's prostration before her husband and the placing of her hand beneath his foot follow the ceremonial directions that accompany the Sarum (Salisbury) Manual, the York Manual, the Scottish Rathen Manual, and the French Martene (*Ordo IV*) for the response the bride was to produce when she received the wedding ring and her husband's all-important vow of endowment" (133).

But there is another "referential context" (Boose 133) for Katherina's prostration. The majority of the *OED* definitions and quotations related to *vail* demonstrate that it was a verb used in the early modern period primarily to connote not only respect but surrender and submission. Prostration is an age-old gesture of military conquest, and I wish to suggest that the physical gesture may well lie behind the expression of proud, stubborn stomachs being brought "down." Early modern visual depictions of prostration in this sense of conquest include such illustrations as the one opening book seven of the second volume of John Foxe's popular *Acts and Monuments*, which depicts the Pope lying prostrate under the feet of a seated Henry VIII, or the statue displayed in Amsterdam of the Duke of Alva standing on two prostrated enemies (Cunningham pl. 3.27, pg. 159).[11] In a letter describing English military activity in Ireland, Oliver Cromwell's description of the English treatment of Irish prisoners bears some resemblance to the dramatization of starvation in *The Shrew* and *A Shrew*. Cromwell writes:

> The next day the other two towers were summoned, in one of which was about six or seven score, but they refused to yield themselves; and we knowing that hunger must compel them, set only good guards to secure them from running away, untill their stomachs were come down. [ … ] When they submitted, their officers were knock'd on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers kill'd, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes. Dublin, Sept. 17, 1649. (qtd. in Stock 211)

Both the goal of bringing rebellious stomachs "down" and the strategy for doing so resemble Petruchio's and Ferando's. For the real-life Irish captives, the options upon submission are violence, death, or indentured servitude in the colonies.

A literary example contemporary with Shakespeare's play and more similar in terms of gender appears in Marlowe's *The Massacre at Paris*, which has as its context the French Wars of Religion. Intending to attack Paris, King Henry III says to Henry of Navarre and other supporters:

> Then here we'll lie before Lutetia's walls,
> Girting this strumpet city with our siege
> Till, surfeiting with our afflicting arms,
> She cast her hateful stomach to the earth.
> (xxiii.13–16)

Feminizing Paris (Lutetia is its ancient Roman name) and making it into a "strumpet," Henry's depiction of the city is not all that different from traditional depictions of shrewish women. The similarity in methods of taming are evident in the targeting of the stomach in both the marital and the military endeavours. The goal of the military siege as outlined here is to make the city "cast her hateful stomach to the earth." "Casting her stomach" to the earth implies, as does "vail your stomachs," lowering the body into a prostrate position to indicate surrender and submission. "To cast your stomach," however, could also mean "to vomit," which works with the idea of "surfeiting" on arms and demonstrates the absolute control the victor has over the body of the conquered.[12] Aside from the puns here, though, the actual stomachs of those in Paris and in other cities under siege during the Wars of Religion were subjected to the very opposite of "surfeit": in these sieges, "the defenders of a town were subjected to the torture of famine as a military strategy" (Cunningham 231).

The military connotation of "vail your stomachs" is in keeping with the military language contained within Katherina's speech and elsewhere in the play. A shrewish wife is "a foul contending rebel" and a "graceless traitor" (5.2.159, 160); the "field is won" (4.5.23) and a wife owes "tribute" (5.2.152) and "payment" (5.2.154) to her husband; women shamefully "offer war where they should kneel for peace" (5.2.162); and the other "froward wives" become "prisoners" to Katherina's "womanly persuasion" (5.2.120). Katherina in a sense throws down her stomach as a symbol of her surrender to her "lord," "king," "governor," and "sovereign," whom she also describes as her "life" and "keeper," both terms that allude to the power of life and death a conqueror was understood to have over a war captive (5.2.138, 147, 146).[13]

An additional context for Katherina's food deprivation and submission is a religious one. In the early modern period, famine was still frequently explained as an act of divine discipline for disobedience, an explanation which conveniently blamed the hungry for their hunger and distracted attention from underlying socio-political factors. The rhetoric in Arthur Golding's translation of Calvin's March 26, 1556 sermon on Deuteronomy 28 is similar to that found in "shrew" literature. Those who will not "yeeld" themselves to God are described, like shrewish women, as "froward" and "stubborn" (996) and are urged to "bridle" their affections (999) (rather than "take the bridle in their teeth" as their enemies do [995]). Calvin explains that God undertakes such severe measures as famine to make those disobedient to him "stoope" (995), and he encourages his listeners to acknowledge that they "deserve to be so tamed by him"

(995) and to "submit" to be "governed" by God and "fall downe" before His judgement seat (1000).

Although less explicit in *The Shrew*, both *A Shrew* and *Sauny the Scot* make specific references to famine conditions and to the lengths to which a person will go to survive, connecting these "shrews" to the tradition of what Margaret Kelleher calls "the feminization of famine." In *Sauny*, Margaret explains of her enforced hunger, "I cou'd have eaten my Shooe-Soules, if I might have had 'em Fry'd" (4.3.64–6).[14] During times of food scarcity it was not uncommon for people to prepare and eat the leather from their shoes and belts. In *A Shrew*, when Sander is teasing Kate by offering her meat that he then says he is unable to give her for various reasons, Kate says, "I tell thee villain, I'll tear the flesh off thy face and eat it and thou prates to me thus" (8.21–2). While this allusion to transgressive eating mirrors Kate's transgressive behaviour (and sounds like Ferando's comparison of her to Thracian flesh-eating horses [6.44]), it also alludes to the grim possibility of cannibalism as the last resort in times of food deprivation. In addition, both of these plays make reference to Eve, strengthening biblical parallels and adding further religious sanction to the discipline of female bodies for transgression of male authority: in *A Shrew*, Kate includes in her final speech direct mention of Eve as "woo of man," and in *Sauny*, Margaret tells her sister, "Had I served him [Petruchio] as bad as Eve did Adam, he could not have used me worse" (5.1.3–4).[15]

Finally, when used with a bonnet or hat, *vail* meant "to doff or take off," but again, primarily in the sense of removing one's hat or bonnet specifically as a sign of respect or "to manifest submission; to acknowledge oneself overcome or surpassed; to yield, give way" (def. 2). In this context, then, Petruchio's instructions to Katherina to "throw" her cap "under-foot" because it does not suit her take on additional significance beyond demonstrating that he has as much control over her attire and state of dress or un-dress as he does over what she eats (5.2.121–2). The gesture of removing her cap from her head and throwing it "under-foot" is one of vertical descent from the highest body part to the lowest. It acts as a prequel to when Katherina acknowledges that a husband is his wife's hierarchical superior by comparing him to her "head" and by throwing her stomach to the ground, placing her hands "below" her husband's "foot" as a "token" of her "duty" to him and as an acknowledgement of her position at the bottom of the hierarchy of body parts. Katherina's description of women as "froward and unable worms" also prepares the audience for her visual perpetuation of gender hierarchy by placing herself at foot level. Not only are worms

soft-bodied and weak and essentially composed almost entirely of a mouth and one large stomach, making them symbols of consumption (rather than production), but they also crawl on their bellies in a kind of permanent prostration, risking being crushed underfoot, just as the serpent in Genesis is cursed to do as a punishment for its role in human transgression of divine authority.[16]

## II

Katherina's stomach is not the only stomach through which gender relations are articulated in *The Shrew*. When informed early in the play that Petruchio intends to woo and wed "curst Katherine," Gremio responds by saying, "O sir, such a life, with such a wife were strange; / But if you have a stomach, to't a' God's name" (1.2.193–4). While in Katherina's final speech *stomach* can be interpreted as "pride," "stubbornness," or "peevishness," Gremio appears to use it here to mean "manly courage," which he implies is a necessity for undertaking marriage to a "wild-cat" like Katherina (1.2.196): thinking Tranio (as Lucentio) means to compete with Petruchio for Katherina's hand, Gremio tells him to "leave that labor to great Hercules" (1.2.255). As evidence that he has "a stomach" in this sense, Petruchio boasts that "a woman's tongue" is nothing compared to the roaring of lions, raging of angry boars, neighing of steeds, and pitched battles he claims to have heard (1.2.199–210). His stomach is hot and choleric and therefore able to take on the hot and choleric stomach of a "shrew." Reflecting gender ideology, Katherina's choler is depicted in negative terms while Petruchio's is depicted in positive terms; although his behaviour at his wedding earns him temporary social disapproval, his ultimate success in taming his wife's "stomach" – not his own – is rewarded.[17]

*Stomach* could also mean "appetite" for food, as in Petruchio's "Come Kate, sit down. I know you have a stomach," but also "desire" or "inclination" more generally. It is used in this figurative sense in relation to marriage in, for example, *Much Ado About Nothing*. Benedick initially resists marriage because of a "queasy stomach" (2.1.83), but when he hears that Beatrice is in love with him, he changes his attitude, saying, "doth not the appetite alter? A man loves the meat in his youth that he cannot endure in his age" (2.3.238–40). This connection between marriage and the stomach is part of a long and widespread tradition. In his study of cannibalism and literature, Claude Rawson explains that "[o]ne of the commonest cannibal metaphors is that which associates eating with sexual activity, and vice-versa." "Lévi-Strauss," he continues, "says

that it is found throughout the world. He notes that in Yoruba 'to eat' and 'to marry' are expressed by the same word meaning 'to acquire,' and reminds us that the French 'consommer' may apply both to marriage and to meals" (227). In the early modern period, a groom stood to "acquire" much more than a bride.

By positing men as eaters and women as food, the "cannibal metaphor" can make the power dynamic in gender and marital relations explicit. One of the most vivid examples of Shakespeare's metaphorical use of the stomach for this purpose appears in *Othello* when Emilia tells Desdemona, upset by her husband's changed behaviour, that

> 'Tis not a year or two shows us a man:
> They are all but stomachs, and we all but food;
> They eat us hungerly, and when they are full,
> They belch us.
>
> (3.4.103–6)

Through synecdoche, Emilia transforms men not into heads, as Katherina does in her speech on obedience, but entirely into stomachs, digestive organs able to exercise power over the food they ingest. Expanding on the treatment of women by men, Emilia envisions men not just consuming women but belching up what is surplus. Aside from its obvious meaning, *belch* could also mean "to vomit" (def. 4). Either way, the image becomes a powerful one of taking what is wanted and of throwing away what is not wanted, of transforming women not just into food for nourishment but also into superfluous waste, waste increasingly regarded with loathing in a society developing greater standards of politeness.

In arranged marriages, in which economic considerations play a key role, gender relations and economic relations intersect in important ways. By using *stomach* to describe Petruchio's willingness to marry a "shrew," Shakespeare draws attention to the consumption that is a fundamental aspect of arranged marriages whereby grooms enlarge their estates through the "incorporation" of wealth and / or land from dowries, a consumption and incorporation resembling other forms of appropriation, including appropriation of labour or of the commons through enclosure.[18] It is fitting that in *The Shrew* the word *stomach* is specifically applied to Petruchio's nuptial plans, for he is the bachelor for whom wealth is an unabashed motivation in his wooing.[19] It is worth noting that in early modern physiology, a man, because of the heat

and strength of his stomach and digestive system, was believed better able to "convert what meat sowever he eateth unto the nourishment & substance of his body" than a woman (Paré 24.L.947). Not only does Petruchio gain a significant amount of wealth through his marriage to Katherina, but transforming her from a "shrew" into an obedient wife (the proverbial "sheep"), from a wild animal of no market value to a domesticated, marketable, and edible one, earns him additional sums in the wager scene.[20]

The particularly strong economic aspect and investment potential of marriage to a "shrew" is made explicit in Humphrey Crouch's seventeenth-century "England's Jests Refin'd And Improv'd." One of Crouch's jests tells how

> Two Persons [ … ] meeting on the Road, one ask'd the other how he did, he told him, He was very well, and was Married since he saw him: the other reply'd, That was well indeed: not so well neither, said he, for I have Married a Shrew. That's ill, said the other. Not so ill neither, said he, for I had 2000 Pounds with her. That's well again, said his Friend. Not so well neither, for I laid it out in Sheep, and they died of the Rot. That was ill indeed, said the other. Not so ill neither, said he, for I sold the Skins for more money than the Sheep cost. That was well indeed, quoth his Friend. Not so well neither, said he, for I laid out my money in a House and it was burned. That's very ill, said the other. Not so ill neither, said he, *for my Wife was burned in it.* (Jest 95, 48–9, original emphasis)

Crouch's misogynistic "jest" demonstrates not only the appropriative power of husbands in marriage but also the way in which women could be used as scapegoats for anxieties arising from new economic conditions, including greater speculation and profit-seeking.[21]

The appetitive nature of a man's relationship to his wife in economically motivated marriages is emphasized in *The Shrew* in the number of times Katherina is represented as an edible. Although "sweet" is a term of respect not necessarily gender specific, in *The Shrew* it is predominantly ascribed to women. Petruchio repeatedly employs "sweet" when addressing Katherina and calls her his "honey love" (4.3.52) and "sweeting" (4.3.36), a kind of apple as well as a term of endearment (n.1). She is also described as being "as brown in hue as hazel nuts and sweeter than the kernels" (2.1.255). Most importantly, in the first encounter between Petruchio and Katherina, Petruchio puns on her name, calling her "my super-dainty Kate, / For dainties are all Kates"

(2.1.188–9). In her insightful reading of Petruchio's pun in the context of nascent capitalism, Natasha Korda stresses that "cates" were not only "delicacies" but goods that were specifically "purchased" rather than "produced at home," thus "commodities" meant for exchange (277). Baptista and Tranio make this point explicit in their conversation after the hasty engagement of Petruchio and Katherina:

> BAPTISTA Faith, gentlemen, now I play a merchant's part,
> And venture madly on a desperate mart.
> TRANIO 'Twas a commodity lay fretting by you;
> 'Twill bring you gain, or perish on the seas.
> (2.1.326–9)[22]

The appetite for economic gain motivating both Petruchio and Baptista contrasts with their apparent lack of appetite for real food. "Nothing but sit and sit, and eat and eat!" (5.2.12) is Petruchio's reaction to the wedding banquet, as if dining is the last thing he wants to be doing. Similarly, when Baptista arrives to negotiate Bianca's marriage settlement and is told by Tranio (as Lucentio) that the only meal he will be able to provide him with at such a late hour is a "thin and slender pittance," Baptista replies, "It likes me well" (4.4.61–2). Their indifference to food also contrasts, of course, with Katherina's preoccupation with eating; with Grumio's comments about the uncertainty of getting "a good dinner" (1.2.217); and with references to beggars, including the sexton's "thin and hungerly" beard that seemed to Petruchio to be asking for "sops" during the wedding ceremony (3.2.175–6). Shakespeare's juxtaposition of literal and figurative hunger in *The Shrew* closely resembles his description of Fortinbras's military ambitions against Denmark. Fortinbras, Horatio surmises, "[h]ath in the skirts of Norway here and there / Shark'd up a list of lawless resolutes / For food and diet to some enterprise / That hath a stomach in't," which is to recover the lands lost by his father (1.1.97–100). Both Petruchio and Fortinbras are choleric, "hot" men with stomachs for incorporation, but their metaphorical appetites for appropriation contrast with the real hunger of those who serve their enterprises.

Of the depiction of the siege of Samaria in 2 Kings 6, which includes the story of two women reduced to eating their children, Gina Hens-Piazza writes that the "hunger for food that would motivate citizens to cannibalize coincides with sovereigns' voracious appetites for power and dominion" (86). The connection between power and food was a topic of considerable interest in the early modern period, especially during food shortages. As Mark Thornton Burnett traces, "perceptions of dearth"

began to "lose their Old Testament fervor and acquire a keener sense of the power of human interventions" (25), leading to "widespread ruminations upon the mysteries of economic causes and effects" (30). Shakespeare "ruminates" on the connection between the "voracious appetites" of the powerful and the "hunger for food" of the powerless in a number of plays, including *The Shrew*, where the relationship between Petruchio and Katherina resembles other relations of power, including those of sovereign and subject, master and servant, conqueror and conquered. By linking Katherina's unruly behaviour, including her scolding, to her stomach, Petruchio justifies withholding food as a disciplinary measure, pointing to the way in which control over food was used to ensure submissiveness and obedience more generally. When explaining his strategy to the audience, Petruchio also makes it clear that to govern "politicly" is to make food control seem an act of attentiveness. In addition, by concentrating attention on Katherina's stomach and appetite, making them appear threatening to the social order, attention is distracted away from his own stomach's inequitable consumption of resources.[23] While Katherina figuratively digests and assimilates gender ideology through her starved stomach, perpetuating gender hierarchy by surrendering her stomach and prostrating herself before her husband, Petruchio, on the other hand, assimilates her dowry and his bonus. The stomach thus plays an important role in establishing and reproducing, but also challenging and critiquing, hierarchies of power.

## Notes

I am extremely grateful to Alexander Leggatt for comments on this paper in its earliest form; to Mary Nyquist for insight and advice on several different versions; and to the Palgrave Macmillan readers and the participants at the "'Shrews' on the Renaissance Stage" conference (May, 2006) for their suggestions.

When quoting directly from early modern texts, I have retained original spelling but have silently altered the long *s*. Quotations from Shakespeare follow *The Riverside Shakespeare*, ed. G. Blakemore Evans et al. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1974).

1. The keywords *shrew* and *stomach* in *Scholars Portal* bring up a list of numerous scientific articles on the topic.
2. For an overview of scholarship on the tongue/female speech and *The Shrew*, see pages 9–11 of Dana Aspinall's introduction to his collection of critical essays on the play.
3. Gail Kern Paster explores the gendering of body temperature in detail in her chapter, "Love Will Have Heat: Shakespeare's Maidens and the Caloric Economy," in *Humoring the Body*. See especially pages 129–34 for her discussion of choler in *The Shrew*.

4. A marginal note indicates that this comment by Eulalia is in a section of Burton's text that is not found in Erasmus (H3).
5. It is worth noting that the foods Grumio offers Katherina but then withholds would in England have been considered appropriate foods for a choleric stomach. Elyot writes: "Wherefore of men, which use moch labor or exercise, also of them, which have very cholericke stomackes here in Englande, grosse meates may be eaten in a great quantitie; and in a cholericke stomacke biefe is better digested than a chykens legge, forasmoche as in a hotte stomacke fyne meates be shortly aduste and corrupted" (qtd. in Schoenfeldt 251–2). In Italy, however, things might have been different. As Robert Appelbaum suggests in his first chapter: "'As for gross meats that are dry and hard as cow's Beef and such like,' Grataroli [an Italian] writes in his advice to educated eaters, 'I utterly disallow: because beside many other harms that it bringeth by reason of the hardness of it, and difficulty to be digested, this namely is one, that it inferreth harm to the reasonable part of man which is the mind'" (3).
6. Further evidence of the importance of food in the taming process appears in the disagreement between husband and wife over arrival time at Baptista's house. Petruchio insists they will arrive at "dinner-time," but Katherina, still crossing him, assures him dinner time will have passed and they will not arrive until "supper-time"(4.3.188–90). The distinction is likely a point of real concern for Katherina because supper was a less substantial meal.
7. In her study of *The Shrew* in the context of the economics of emergent capitalism, Korda argues that Petruchio's taming strategy is "aimed not at his wife's productive capacity – he never asks Kate to brew, bake, wash, card, or spin – but at her consumption. He seeks to educate Kate in her new role as a consumer of household cates" (279).
8. Korda reads this argument in light of the changing class-based role of housewives in the period.
9. The connection between transgression and stomachs that are "up" was not confined to shrewish women in the early modern period. In his study of the *Henry VI* plays, Michael Harrawood discusses the falconing scene in *Part Two*, in which the King says to Gloucester and Winchester, who have been exchanging insults, "The winds grow high; so do your stomachs, lords" (2.1.58). Harrawood writes: "Here, ostensibly, the King means that the continued quarreling is a breach of decorum and is ruining the sport. The reference to his lords' high stomachs refers also to a set of passions that forgets and overcomes decorum itself. As when Richard II says of Bolingbroke and Mowbray, 'High-stomach'd are they both and full of ire' (*Richard II* 1.1.18), the King here is hoping to check his lords' impertinent self-assertion, their implacable shared will to confrontation, their non-stop mutual verbal abuse, and their apparent eagerness to fling themselves into mortal combat [ … ]" (82–3). Quarrelling lords, like shrewish wives, are not behaving as they ought to according to the rules of social etiquette, which encourage self-restraint and decorum.
10. In his discussion of "high-stomached lords," Harrawood points out that the verticality in the notion of "high" stomachs is paralleled in the rhetoric of early modern medical texts where the digestive organs "jockey for position" within the body just as, he suggests, nobles do at court; by some, the stomach was believed capable of rising above its normal position in the body to receive food (83–4).

11. I am greatly indebted to Mary Nyquist's unpublished essay, "Prostration and Nation," for the importance of prostration in military conquest and for the reference to the Henry VIII illustration.
12. In his editorial notes, Ribner points out this line's double sense of lowering one's "proud resistance" and vomiting, but not its sense of prostration.
13. For more on war slavery doctrine and issues of sovereignty, see Mary Nyquist's "Hobbes, Slavery, and Despotical Rule." Nyquist's argument that Hobbes "makes slave-mastery the prototypical form of sovereignty" (10) is worth keeping in mind given Shakespeare's conflation of wife-as-captive with wife-as-subject in Katherina's final speech. In contrast to Shakespeare, however, Nyquist underlines that for theoretical reasons "Hobbes's wives enjoy a privileged position, being spared the threat of patriarchal force, including the sentence of death, to which subjects of absolute power are vulnerable" (21).
14. When in John Lacy's *Sauny the Scot* Petruchio disingenuously explains to Sir Lyonell that the reason Margaret has mistaken him for a young woman is that despite his attempt to "perswade" her otherwise, "she wou'd come out Fasting, which makes her Fancy a little extravagant" (4.3.59–60), Sauny remarks, "The Dee'I O' My Saul, but you are a false Trundle Taile Tike. The Dee'I a bit hee'd lat her eat these three days, Sir" (4.3.61–3). Margaret then says, "Curse upon your Excuse, and the Cause of it; I cou'd have eaten my Shooe-Soules, if I might have had 'em Fry'd" (4.3.64–6). Here Margaret is acting both the wild and tame versions of the shrew. Within her 'tamed' character she appears to agree with Petruchio's claim that she's chosen to fast by saying she "could" have eaten her shoe-soles, if only they'd been cooked properly. At the same time she curses Petruchio's fictional "excuse" and corroborates Sauny's truthful statement: she really was hungry enough from being deprived of food to have eaten (cooked) shoe leather.
15. Fletcher's *The Woman's Prize,* too, is full of religious allusion, including Petruchio's reminder that Maria is a descendent of Eve: "The blessing of her grandam Eve light on her, / Nothing but thin fig leaves to hide her knavery" (3.5.83–4).
16. For the symbolic connection between prostration and things that creep, like worms and serpents, I am indebted to Nyquist's "Prostration and Nation."
17. As Paster argues, "Petruchio finds a way to make his own choler socially productive by directing it against an even less socialized, even more disruptive object than himself. In this respect, *Taming of the Shrew* is a clear demonstration of the asymmetries of humorality and gender ideology working in tandem, because the choleric man could be tasked with taming the choleric woman, not the reverse" (130).
18. Enclosure, for example, operates much like a containing stomach, and early modern writers often make use of the "cannibal metaphor" to illustrate and critique the power structure underlying relations between rich and poor. Philip Stubbes, for instance, asserts that enclosures are "the causes why rich men eat vp poore men, as beasts doo eat grasse" (qtd. in Siemon 21).
19. Of the Bianca plot, Randall Martin writes: "The Bianca plot re-enacts the Induction's association between appetitive and materialistic desires, but in a realistic context that openly satirizes those popular notions of love that venerate 'young modest girls' while treating them as choice comestibles" (11).

20. At the end of *A Shrew*, Polidor accuses his new wife of being a "shrew" because she did not obey his summons. She responds with "That's better than a sheep" (14.159). Sheep are much tastier than shrews, and "a shoulder of mutton" is specifically requested as a stage property by the actors performing for the lord and his "lady" (1.83).
21. Shannon Miller's "Consuming Mothers/Consuming Merchants: The Carnivalesque Economy of Jacobean City Comedy," for example, provides a reading of the way "certain playwrights invoked images of the female body and strategies for controlling it as a mechanism for understanding, and assuaging anxiety about, a transitional economy" (75). See also Karen Newman's "City Talk: Women and Commodification in Jonson's *Epicoene*."
22. Korda's reading of "fretting" stems from its link to "fressen," which in German means to eat, gnaw, or decay: "In describing Kate as a 'fretting commodity,' as a commodity that not only consumes but consumes itself, Tranio emphasizes the tension between her [Kate's] position as a cate, or object of exchange, between men and her role as a consumer of cates" (285).
23. Maggie Kilgour notes that to "accuse a minority that resists assimilation into the body politic of that body's own desire for total incorporation is a recurring tactic" (5).

## Works cited

Allestree, Richard. *The Ladies Calling*. Oxford, MDCLXXIII. *EEBO*.

Anon. *The Taming of A Shrew: The 1594 Quarto*. Ed. Stephen Roy Miller. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Appelbaum, Robert. *Aguecheek's Beef, Belch's Hiccup, and Other Gastronomic Interjections: Literature, Culture, and Food Among the Early Moderns*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.

Aspinall, Dana. "The Play and the Critics." Introduction. *The Taming of the Shrew: Critical Essays*. Ed. Dana E. Aspinall. New York: Routledge, 2002. 3–38.

"Belch." *OED Online*.

Boose, Lynda E. "Scolding Brides and Bridling Scolds: Taming the Woman's Unruly Member." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 42.2 (1991): 179–213. Rpt. in *The Taming of the Shrew: Critical Essays*. Ed. Diana E. Aspinall. New York: Routledge, 2002. 130–67.

Burnett, Mark Thornton. "Fill Gut and Pinch Belly: Writing Famine in the English Renaissance." *Explorations in Renaissance Culture* 16 (1995): 21–44.

Burton, William, trans. "A very excellent Dialogue betweene a good Woman and a Shrew, shewing how a Woman may win her Husbands loue, though he be neuer so froward." By Desiderius Erasmus. *Seven Dialogues Both Pithie and Profitable*. London: Nicholas Ling, 1606. H2–K2. *EEBO*.

Calvin, John. "On Thursday the xxvj. of March, 1556: The CLXI. Sermon which is vpon the eight and twentieth Chapter." *The Sermons of M. Iohn Calvin Vpon the Fifth Booke of Moses called Deuteronomie*. Trans. Arthur Golding. London: Henry Middleton for George Bishop, 1583. 994–1000. *EEBO*.

Chapman, George. *Two Wise Men and All the Rest Fooles: or A Comicall Morall, Censuring the Follies of this Age*. 1619. *EEBO*.

Crouch, Humphrey. *England's Jests Refin'd and Improu'd. Being a Choice Collection of the Merriest Jests, Smartest Repartees, Wittiest Sayings, and most Notable Bulls, yet Extant*. London: John Harris, 1693. *EEBO*.
Cunningham, Andrew and Ole Peter Grell. *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine and Death in Reformation Europe*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
Draper, John W. *The Humors & Shakespeare's Characters*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1945.
Felltham, Owen. "Of Woman" from *Resolves*. *The Broadview Anthology of Seventeenth-Century Verse & Prose*. Vol. 2. Ed. Alan Rudrum, Joseph Black, and Holly Faith Nelson. Peterborough, Ontario: Broadview, 2001. 289–90.
Fletcher, John. *The Woman's Prize: or, The Tamer Tam'd*. *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*. Volume IV. Ed. Fredson Bowers. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979. 1–148.
Foxe, John. *The Second Volume of the Ecclesiasticall Historie, conteyning the ACTS AND MONVMENTS of Martyrs*. London: Peter Short, 1597. *EEBO*.
Harrawood, Michael. "High-Stomached Lords: Imagination, Force and the Body in Shakespeare's *Henry VI* Plays." *Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 7.1 (2007): 78–95. *Project Muse*.
Hens-Piazza, Gina. *Nameless, Blameless, and Without Shame: Two Cannibal Mothers Before a King*. Interfaces. Collegeville, Minnesota: Liturgical Press, 2003.
Kelleher, Margaret. *The Feminization of Famine: Expressions of the Inexpressible?* Cork: Cork University Press, 1997.
Kilgour, Maggie. *From Communion to Cannibalism: An Anatomy of Metaphors of Incorporation*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990.
Korda, Natasha. "Household Kates: Domesticating Commodities in *The Taming of the Shrew*." *Shakespeare Quarterly* 47.2 (1996): 109–31. Rpt. in *The Taming of the Shrew: Critical Essays*. Ed. Dana E. Aspinall. New York: Routledge, 2002. 277–304.
Lacy, John. *Sauny the Scot*. *Shakespeare Made Fit: Restoration Adaptations of Shakespeare*. Ed. Sandra Clark. London: J.M. Dent; Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle, 1997. 3–78.
Marlowe, Christopher. *The Massacre at Paris*. *The Complete Plays of Christopher Marlowe*. Ed. Irving Ribner. New York: Odyssey, 1963. 243–82.
——. *Tamburlaine: Part One*. 49–111.
Martin, Randall. "Kates for the Table and Kates for the Mind: A Social Metaphor in *The Taming of the Shrew*." *English Studies in Canada* 17.1 (1991): 11–20.
Miller, Shannon. "Consuming Mothers/Consuming Merchants: The Carnivalesque Economy of Jacobean City Comedy." *Modern Language Studies* 26.2/3: 73–95.
Newman, Karen. "City Talk: Women and Commodification in Jondon's *Epicoene*." *ELH* 56.3 (1989): 503–18.
Nyquist, Mary. "Hobbes, Slavery, and Despotical Rule." *Representations* 106 (2009): 1–33.
——. "Prostration and Nation." Unpublished essay, 2009.
Paré, Ambroise. *The Collected Works of Ambroise Paré*. Trans. Thomas Johnson (1634). New York: Milford House, 1968.
Paster, Gail Kern. *Humoring the Body: Emotions and the Shakespearean Stage*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004.
Rawson, Claude. "Cannibalism and Fiction." Genre 11.2 (1978): 227–313.

Schoenfeldt, Michael. "Fables of the Belly in Early Modern England." *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe*. Ed. David Hillman and Carla Mazzio. New York: Routledge, 1997. 243–61.
"Shrew." *OED Online*.
Siemon, James R. "Landlord Not King: Agrarian Change and Interarticulation." *Enclosure Acts: Sexuality, Property, and Culture in Early Modern England*. Ed. Richard Burt and John Michael Archer. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1994. 17–33.
Stock, Leo. Ed. *Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments Respecting North America*. Volume I 1542–1688. Washington: Carnegie Institution, 1924.
"Stomach." *OED Online*.
"Sweeting." *OED Online*.
"Vail." *OED Online*.
Wall, Wendy. *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002.

# 11

# *The Tamer Tamed*, or None Shall Have Prizes: "Equality" in Shakespeare's England

*David Wootton*

Since the 2003 Royal Shakespeare Company production of *The Tamer Tamed* (in conjunction with *The Taming of the Shrew*) there has been a growing consensus that Fletcher's play is a "pro-woman" or "feminist" text, and this consensus is consolidated in Celia R. Daileader's and Gary Taylor's edition (2006).[1] As such, the text becomes one of the most striking early-modern feminist texts, and an important case-study for any consideration of the limits of the Jacobean mind.

I will argue here that this feminist reading of *The Tamer Tamed* is simplistic and largely wrong, for I will show that the play is open to a patriarchalist reading, and that this reading is the one that most of the play's audience would have taken away. My argument falls into five parts. First, I review the evidence for reading the play as a claim that there ought to be equality between the sexes. Second, I make an entirely new suggestion of a likely source for the play, Carolus Paschalius's *False complaints. Or the censure of an vnthankfull mind* (1605; Latin original 1601), and show that reading Paschalius puts *The Tamer Tamed* in a new light.[2] Third, I look at the meaning of a key word, "equality", in the language of Shakespeare's England, and demonstrate that the word, in the context of social relations, does not consistently mean what we might think it means (or what the Oxford English Dictionary tells us it means), and that contemporaries were well aware that the ambiguity of the word was likely to cause confusion. Fourth, I acknowledge that some contemporaries did consider the notion that husbands and wives might be equal, although this was an idea that no one endorsed unconditionally and unambiguously. These two sections of my argument are based on a systematic survey of uses of the word "equality" and related words in Shakespeare's England. Fortunately, out of more than 6,000 occurrences of the word that I have examined, only a few,

in a limited number of texts, are relevant to my immediate concern.[3] Finally, I briefly compare my reading of Fletcher's shrew play with two of the other readings presented in this volume.

***

In *The Tamer Tamed* Maria, newly married, rebels against her husband, the wife-tamer Petruccio, whose first wife, Shakespeare's Katherine, has died. Maria is joined in her rebellion by her sister Livia and others. Their watchwords are "freedom" (2.1.44) and "liberty" (2.1.77). Petruccio, sarcastically, summarizes their demands as "liberty and clothes." (2.5.134). Yet the play contains only one speech in favour of *equality*: it is Maria's in Act 3, scene 3, when Petruccio has asked for her obedience:

> That bare word
> Shall cost you many a pound more, build upon't.
> Tell me of due obedience! What's a husband?
> What are we married for? To carry sumpters?
> Are we not one piece with you, and as worthy
> Our own intentions as you yours? ...
> Take two small drops of water, equal weighed:
> Tell me which is the heaviest, and which ought
> First to descend in duty.

What to make of this speech is not easy to discover. In the last act Maria vows obedience: "I have tamed ye/And now am vowed your servant" (5.4.45), and Petruccio celebrates that "I have my colt again and now she carries" (5.4.88). Is it Maria or Petruccio who has been tamed? Or have they both learnt to respect the principle of equality? The epilogue, perhaps spoken by Maria (as it was in the RSC performance), and perhaps a later addition, declares that the play has intended "To teach both sexes due equality." Just what, then, is "due equality"? The very phrase implies that there are forms of equality that are undue, but they are never specified.

The feminist reading of *The Tamer Tamed* depends on skating over Maria's newfound obedience, and emphasising her taming of Petruccio and the eventual recognition of the principle of equality. This, I will argue, is not the most likely interpretation of a text which is admittedly ambiguous, and surely deliberately so.

***

In 1605 there appeared a book by Carolus Paschalius entitled *False complaints. Or the censure of an vnthankfull mind*, with a dedication to Prince

Henry.[4] Chapter 22 is an account of female ingratitude: I give the full text, with modernized spelling and punctuation, in an appendix. There Paschalius adopts the persona of an angry woman, who protests against women's confinement within the world of the household and of domestic duties, and their exclusion from any form of public recognition. What she argues for is equality, protesting that "there is no equality betwixt us [women] and them [men], no communion of dignity and authority, but that which is trifling and in name only." This is a straightforwardly feminist text, but the voice, it must be stressed, is that of a fictional woman.

In the next chapter, which is almost three times as long, Paschalius seeks to reconcile women to their subordination to men. They must put aside all "preposterous ambition" and accept the yoke of subjection. He has no time for women (he may even have had Elizabeth I in mind) who

> put themselves in armour, commanding their troops of soldiers, challenging the enemy; which have such foreheads that they dare make long orations to the people, to give laws; and, to conclude, handle all public and civil duties; this sex ought to be acquainted with none of these actions; these motions, nature hath denied unto them. If any Woman over-impudently affect these, over-violently be carried to this course, she is no more a Woman, but an untamed creature, which treadeth under foot all Womanish ornaments.

Women should be silent, "masked and hooded", and should content themselves with the education of children. He has no patience with those who aspire to be the equals of their husbands, "For when thou ceasest to obey, thou beginnest to be his equal; if equal, to be his superior, if his superior, surely to be his worse, because thou wilt be wise otherwise then GOD hath appointed."

Yet at the same time, and somewhat inconsistently, Paschalius acknowledges that some women are called by providence to have a role in state affairs. And, though women should be subordinate to men, they should at the same time comfort themselves with the thought:

> that thou art *a man*, than whom (in that he is the second from god) there is no creature upon earth more high, more excellent; this very name (*man*) ought to have taken away all emulation; seeing to man there can be none with himself. Neither art thou only the sister of man, but man's twin, or rather (if thou wilt so have it) *another man*; not less in dignity than that first, but only in the order of birth later, in sex distinguished from him, but proceeding from the same high

> power, wrought by the same hand of that great workman, made of the same beginning, both linked to one another, in that, neither goeth contrary ways, neither aiming at himself, but both (nature being their guide) linked to his mate, both agree in this nearness, or rather unity, in wishes, intent, in love, that this Common wealth of mankind may not be rent in factions, but in many kinds, preserving an unity; and that, that Image of God may remain one and the same, *not in one man but* (which is more excellent) *in all*. [Italics mine]

And his conclusion is "that no sex is either better or worse than [the] other, but modestly and lovingly to agree betwixt themselves; nor that woman is not the second, but another ornament of humanity: both must strive in this, which may be more worthy of reverence, which love one another better."

Paschalius's two chapters on the complaints of women are important for three reasons. First, this is the only book that a Jacobean could read in which a woman (admittedly a fictional woman) is allowed to complain about male domination and claim a right to equality, a right to have exactly the same aspirations as a man, a right to be untamed. The anonymous woman's voice in chapter twenty-two becomes the voice of Maria in *The Tamer Tamed*. Second, although Paschalius's second chapter lacks the vigor and intelligence of the first (or so at least it must seem to a modern reader), Paschalius's resolution of the question of the status of women is the same complex and contradictory one that we find at the end of *The Tamer Tamed*. On the one hand, women are to be subordinate to men; on the other hand there is to be a due equality between them, an equality of love and mutual assistance. Finally (and it is this that, I think, clinches the argument in favour of regarding Paschalius as the source of *The Tamer Tamed*), Paschalius, and Paschalius alone, provides us with an explanation for the play's alternative title of *The Woman's Prize*. As Daileader and Taylor say, the second title is a paradox, for "there was no social institution in which women could win a prize."[5] But they quote no example of anyone remarking on this fact, and no explanation of why Fletcher would have wanted to draw it to our attention. Now, with the text of Paschalius in front of us, we can see that the subtitle is an implicit acknowledgment of one of Fletcher's key sources, for although the word "prize" is not in Paschalius's text, the complaint that there are no prizes for women is absolutely central to it. The point is made at length:

> "We are forbidden the knowledge and profession of liberal arts; we are commanded to abstain from public offices; we cannot attain to

> the honour due to wars, nor those valiant acts; because forsooth in these things, there is most virtue which they say is derived from hence, in that it belongs unto men.
>
> "Is it not plain that we are excluded from all hope of honour, and from all those things which are greatest and most to be desired …
>
> "And it is no marvel, if we be admitted into no society of name and honour with men.
>
> "The praise of whole countries belongs unto men only – triumphs, victories, all honours: they are men's … "

Of course Fletcher is writing a reply to *The Taming of the Shrew*; it is also very likely that, as Daileader and Taylor argue, he is aware of Jonson's *The Silent Woman*. But Shakespeare is chauvinistic and Jonson is misogynistic. The assumption of Daileader and Taylor is that the feminism of *The Tamer Tamed* is unique to Fletcher's play; but we can now see that he may well have had a source from which he copied it. Recognizing Paschalius as a likely source for *The Tamer Tamed* brings the play back within the conventional discourse of Jacobean England.

However both in Paschalius and in Fletcher something peculiar happens. Both authors claim to give voice to feminism only in order to contain it and to restore due subordination. Yet in both cases they seem to express the feminist case with too much vigour, and to concede too much to it in their resolution. In a famous essay, "Invisible Bullets", Stephen Greenblatt claimed that in Shakespeare subversive voices are always successfully contained.[6] Paschalius and Fletcher, I suspect, thought they had voiced women's complaints in order the better to confine them within their traditional roles. To a modern reader, however, they seem to have confessed their sympathy (whether conscious or unconscious) with the woman's viewpoint. Is Paschalius a feminist author? Surely not. Claiming that Fletcher is depends on our identifying a point at which he parts company with Paschalius.

***

We come now to the question which must be central to any interpretation of *The Tamer Tamed:* what does the word "equality" mean? The answer to this question might appear so obvious that there is little point in asking it. And it is certainly true that authors of the period were able to define equality in a way which seems perfectly straightforward and familiar. This (in a text on music):

> *Proportions* are some of equality, some of inequality. That of equality is the relation of two equal quantities. For that is equal, which is

> neither greater, nor less than his equal. That of inequality, is the disposition of two unequal quantities. For that is called inequal [*sic*], which being in relation with another is either greater or lesser than it.[7]

This is the definition Maria has in mind when she speaks of "two small drops of water, equal weighed." Working with what we would think of as a straightforward understanding of the word "equality", and holding patriarchal assumptions about the relationship between husbands and wives, most commentators assumed that the word "equality" had no place in a discussion of marriage. Thus Pierre Charron, in his *Of Wisdome* (1608; French original 1601) acknowledged the standard language of superiority and inferiority:

> The distinction of superiority and inferiority consisteth in this, that the husband hath power over the wife, and the wife is subject to the husband. This agreeth with all laws and policies; but yet more or less according to the diversity of them. In all things the wife, though she be far more noble and more rich, yet is subject to the husband. This superiority and inferiority is natural, founded upon the strength and sufficiency of the one, the weakness and insufficiency of the other. The Divines ground it upon other reasons drawn from the Bible … [8]

and he goes on to explain that woman was created after man, and that woman fell before man.

But Charron only concedes this distinction, both in nature and in theology, between men and women after he has implied that the relationship between husband and wife is far too complex to be captured in this simple polarised terminology, however conventional it might be:

> we know that in marriage there are two things essential unto it, and seem contraries, though indeed they be not: that is to say, an equality sociable, and such as is between peers; and an inequality, that is to say, superiority and inferiority. The equality consisteth in an entire and perfect communication and community of all things, souls, wills, bodies, goods, the fundamental law of Marriage, which in some places is extended even to life and death, in such sort, that the husband being dead, the wife must incontinently follow … This equality doth likewise consist in that power which they have in common over their family, whereby the wife is called the

> companion of her husband, the mistress of the house and family, as the husband the master and lord: And their joint authority over their family is compared to an *Aristocracy*.[9]

Here Charron uses the words "equality" and "inequality" in a way that seems entirely familiar to us. In other contexts, however, the language of equality was freely used when discussing hierarchical social relationships in a way that seems to us deeply puzzling, and that even contemporaries found problematic. In order to understand this crucial usage we need to go back to a straightforward exposition of orthodox opinion, the commentary on Aristotle's *Politics* by Louis Le Roy, or Regius (1598; French original, 1568). Le Roy expounds Aristotle on justice as follows (I have introduced paragraph breaks to help the reader):

> Aristotle in the fifth book of his Moral Philosophy, the fourth and fifth chapters, requireth the form of Arithmetical equality in justice that pertaineth to the communicating and exchanging of things; wherein the equalness of things and not of persons is necessary: and where one thing must be given for another, as price for merchandise, and recompense for damage, without any respect of persons … Therefore this Arithmetical equality is required in contracts, as well voluntary as constrained, to the end, that the communicating of things, may last for ever in the societies of men. It is also used in Communalities of people, in the bestowing and distributing of Offices, where everyone will be as high a master as another, for the keeping of equality amongst them.
>
> [On the other hand] In the fifth book of his Ethics he applieth the Geometrical mediety to the degrees of vocations, and of men, that there may be equality, not of things, but of proportions; and that the degrees may be kept. As, although the Divine, the Lawyer, the Captain, the Senator, and the Treasurer do differ, yet for all that they ought to have necessary correspondence, and to be made equal, not in their vocation, but by semblance and likeness of proportions, in such sort, that every one shall exercise his Office without letting [i.e. obstructing] the others … Then every one keepeth his place, and exerciseth his Office, without encroachment and hindrance one of another, to the end that the public concord be not troubled. This order causeth equality amongst such as be unlike and dissemblant. Plato in the sixth book of his Laws sayeth: "The old saying is true and very well used, that equality breedeth friendship."

> But for as much as the equality that can work this, is scarcely known, it troubleth us. For whereas there be two equalities, called by all one and the selfsame name, but in effect almost contrary in many things, every City and every Lawgiver may use the one by lots in the distributing of honours, to wit, the equality in number, weight, and measure. But it is not easy for all men to know the true and good equality, for it is the judgment of God, and happeneth seldom amongst men. But as far as it happeneth to Cities and to particular persons, it causeth all welfare, it giveth more to men of great calling, and less to them that are of low degree, ordering all things according to their nature.[10]

This distinction between arithmetical and geometrical equality, between commutative and distributive justice, may be usefully clarified by considering two series of numbers: 3, 9, 15, 21, 27 is a series in arithmetical proportion or (the words "proportion" and "equality" are used almost interchangeably) equality: each number is larger than the one before by the addition of 6. 3, 9, 27, 81, 243 is a series in geometrical equality: each number is larger than the one before as a result of multiplication by 3.[11]

Thus in Le Roy's view the word "equality" can be used in two "almost contrary" senses, but the "true and good equality" is the hierarchical ranking that keeps each citizen in his place. Not everyone agreed. Jean Bodin (1606; French original 1576), opposed Aristotle on the question of justice, arguing that Aristotle's two categories should be replaced by a single category, harmonical justice (according to Bodin represented by the series 3, 4, 6, 8, 12), in which both difference of things and of people are taken into account. Bodin thought that the use of "equality" in the context of geometrical proportion was misleading:

> except a man would say, that things semblable are also equal; which were nothing else, but improperly to speak: so as Solon did, who to gain the hearts both of the nobility, and of the people of Athens, promised to make them laws equal for all sorts of men: wherein the nobility and better sort of the people thought him to have meant the Geometrical equality; and the common people, the Arithmetical; and so to have been all equal: Which was the cause that both the one and the other by common consent made choice of him for their lawmaker.[12]

The nobility and the better sort of people were of course misled, as Solon established democracy, a form of arithmetical equality; but for

Bodin arithmetical equality was also an "unequal equality".[13] Other authors, however, followed Aristotle's and Le Roy's lead, and assumed that the word "equality" was quite properly used in the context of unequal distribution. Thus one says straightforwardly: "this distributive part of justice is called equality," and another "For *justice is nothing else among men, but an equal distribution to all, as they deserve good or evil"* – in other words, an unequal distribution.[14] This usage, which seems so strange to us, was facilitated by the fact that the word "equal" was often used to mean "fair" or "impartial," translating the Latin *aequus* (OED, "equal", sense 5).

For those who followed this lead "due equality" would mean precisely the same as what we would term "due inequality". The only occasion on which I have found the exact phrase "due equality" is in an economics treatise, which insists that devaluing the currency will not help deal with a shortage of food: "this cannot properly be taken as a remedy against the dearth of things, for it doth keep a due equality in the price of all things, and maketh not any alteration."[15] In other words, devaluation will not alter relative prices, which will remain as unequal (or duly equal) as they were before.

My guess is that when Fletcher (or his later reviser) uses the phrase "due equality" he is referring to the Aristotelian concept of geometrical equality, or distributive justice, and so he means "due inequality." This way of talking would have been so familiar to the educated in his audience, and the ideological pressure to interpret the epilogue's discussion of the relationship between husbands and wives in terms of superiority and inferiority so great, that, knowing full well that there were contrasting senses in which the word equality could be used, they would, I feel sure, have interpreted "due equality" to mean that husbands and wives should have distinct roles and a relationship of superiority and inferiority.

It should be said that even such a conservative use of the word "equality" in the context of marriage would have radical implications. Distributive justice was not a concept normally applied to the relationship between husbands and wives because all the rewards went to husbands (there were no women's prizes), and all the punishments were imposed on wives. To suggest that there might be distributive justice between the two would be to imply that their relationship was like that between a lawyer and a merchant, not like that between a master and a servant. It would be to establish a common measure between the two, even if that measure was used to show how unequal they should be. It would be to imply that women might, in some limited and restricted sense, have rights.

***

However, as both Le Roy and Bodin acknowledge, the word "equality" had become fundamentally ambiguous, and some members of Fletcher's audience (like the common people as they listened to Solon) would have felt entitled to assume it meant what we would think of as equality. In this final section, then, I want to look at cases where, as in Charron, the word "equality" was used in the context of marriage. First we might consider Plutarch who (in the 1603 translation of *The Morals*), like Charron, wants simultaneously both equality between husband and wife and due subordination:

> But a man who hath taken to wife a rich and beautiful woman, ought not to make her either poor, or foul and ill-favoured [in order to prove his superiority]; but rather by his discretion, good government and wisdom, and by making semblance that he is ravished with no admiration of anything that she hath, to bear himself equal unto her and in no wise subject, giving by his good demeanour and carriage a counterpoise to the balance for to hold her firm, or a weight rather to make her incline and bend that way which is good for them both.[16]

Here "equality" (which only has to be invoked because the husband and wife are not, as all authorities insisted they should be, equally matched in wealth and social status) slides almost imperceptibly into due subordination – we see it happening as the balance stops measuring two equal weights and slowly tilts, raising the husband above the wife.

Another author compared husband and wife to Siamese twins, joined facing each other, developing the Biblical metaphor of "one flesh":

> By going backward always of the one,
> Is meant the yielding wedlock doth require:
> And that one ought not ever rule alone,
> But some time cross himself in his desire.
> Yea from our likings we must backward go,
> And though we would not; say it should be so.[17]

Here the husband makes concessions to his wife; but if we ask which of them is always going backward then, as in ballroom dancing, it is surely her and not him.

Another way of representing this paradoxical intermingling of equality with inequality was to stress that this was what one must expect to find between lovers, for "as it is the nature of Love to join together, so doth it also bring equality with it, so far forth as the nature of those things

that are conjoined will bear: insomuch that the highest stoop down to the lowest, to lift them up unto themselves, and they that are equal associate themselves together."[18] The example given is God's love for mankind, where to suggest equality in the modern sense would be blasphemous.

Others, however, went further – though not very much further – than this. One insisted that Adam and Eve were "equal," using equal in contrast to inferior:

> For when God had placed man in the garden of Eden, which is the garden of pleasure, he did indeed provide all things therein which might pleasure him, his wife who was equal to him, to accompany him, all other creatures far inferior unto him, the earth to tread on, and to yield him increase, the trees that did stand about him, the rivers that did run besides him, gold to trample on, pearls to look on, the beasts to name them, the herbs which he did feed on, and the flowers which he did smell to, all these served for his delight and joy.[19]

So clearly the audience, or some members of the audience, could have chosen to interpret Fletcher as advocating a marriage founded on equality. As one collector of commonplaces put it:

> Women are equal every way to men,
> And both alike have their infirmities.[20]

Although he proceeded to supply the normal chauvinistic commonplaces as well.

Another was convinced that equality in marriage could only have an unhappy ending:

> *Credus* affirms, his wife and he are one,
> They are both form'd of equal flesh & bone:
> And being one, their natures cannot vary,
> *Credo* is circumspect, his wife as wary.
> But he cornuted is, pray who did that,
> If's wife, then *Credo* did consent – that's flat.[21]

The idea of equality in Shakespeare's England and the application of the idea of equality to marriage were both complex and ambiguous. If I had to characterize Fletcher's position I would guess that he agreed with Charron: he thought that marriage required equality, from one point of view, and

subordination, from another. Although I think the use of the word "equality" in the epilogue deliberately plays on its ambiguity (an ambiguity that has now disappeared), I doubt that it was straightforwardly intended to recommend a geometrical equality between husband and wife, for the simple reason that examples of geometrical equality are standardly examples of comparisons between independent adult male citizens. On this reading, masters and servants, husbands and wives, are not, in the language of Jean Bodin, properly "semblable", and there is still a tinge of inappropriate egalitarianism in Maria's claim to be her husband's servant – the condition of a vowed servant is, after all, a temporary and conditional one, while marriage, unlike service, is until death us do part. But whatever Fletcher (if he was the author of the epilogue) may have thought of geometrical equality in marriage, we can be absolutely sure that he did not intend to suggest that husbands and wives should think of themselves as absolute equals: the word "due" is there to bar such an interpretation.

Is Fletcher a patriarchalist? No: less so than Paschalius. Is he a feminist? Again no, although like Paschalius he gives voice to the discontents of women. The reading of *The Tamer Tamed* that has become established since the RSC production of 2003 misses the complexity, both of the text (which presumes that wives should obey their husbands) and of the language of equality in Shakespeare's England (where "equal" can mean unequal). Fletcher may well have thought that discontented women in his audience would want to interpret his play as a dramatization of their aspirations. But, while allowing a relatively egalitarian reading of his text, he had simultaneously to assert male supremacy. The language of equality was perfectly adapted to his task – but that language, because it has changed radically over time, is now guaranteed to confuse a modern reader.

***

I started this essay by saying that in recent years there has been a growing consensus that *The Tamer Tamed* is a feminist text, and I proceeded to address the question of whether the play should be regarded as advocating equality, and to explore the question of just what equality meant in Jacobean England. I have tried to show that it was perfectly possible to *imagine* an egalitarian feminism in Jacobean England, but almost impossible to *advocate* it. And this is exactly what we see in *The Tamer Tamed*: a case for equality is made, only to be undercut. The real lesson of the play is that there is something unstable about the very idea of equality, and this instability is embedded in the very language with which equality is discussed in this period.

There is a neat example of this instability in Massinger's *The Bondman*, a play written in 1623, a little later than the other texts I have been discussing. There Timoleon is offered, by popular vote, the supreme magistracy of Syracuse, and at first seems about to refuse. He believes, he says, in an "equal freedom" and in natural rights that are common to all.[22] But it soon becomes apparent that he agrees that the virtuous should command over the rest, and is ready to assume absolute power – arithmetical equality is momentarily invoked, but then geometrical equality is substituted for it. As soon as Timoleon becomes sovereign he confiscates all the wealth in the country. At the end of the play, slaves are rendered once again obedient to their masters. Massinger can imagine an equal freedom, but what he intends to advocate is not equality but aristocracy.

The instability of the idea of equality does not mean, as Bayman and Southcombe show so convincingly earlier in this book, that Jacobean audiences were trapped in an unquestioning partiarchalism. As they say, "In the pamphlet literature the reader experiences the testing of patriarchy, and the development of a series of inflections within that discourse." So too Massinger in *The Bondman* tests absolutist accounts of political authority. But, just as the pamphlet literature never quite escapes from a patriarchalist framework, even if it twists it this way and that (and there is obviously a good deal of gender bending in a play like *The Roaring Girl*), so too Massinger reinstates absolutism in Timoleon's rule, at the very moment that he is demonstrating its shortcomings. Similarly, Massinger toys with the idea that women should be part of the republic, and should play a role in politics, only to retreat from it.[23] "The important point," say Bayman and Southcombe, "is not simply that different views of shrews were available, but that they were available simultaneously." This certainly is an important point, and not one that I wish in any way to dispute; but it is equally important that it was almost impossible to escape entirely from patriarchalism, just as it was almost impossible to escape entirely from absolutism.

The instability of the idea of equality in Shakespeare's England is not primarily linguistic. This was a hierarchical society that preferred to rethink even equality in hierarchical terms. And its culture was grounded, as Graham Holderness shows so clearly in Chapter 9, in patterns of thought that involved complementarity and reciprocity – patterns of thought incompatible with any steady emphasis on equality as we understand the term. So the linguisitic instability merely reflects these social and cultural norms, norms that made inversion far easier to understand and to practice than levelling. Which is why *The Tamer Tamed*

is, as Bayman and Southcombe recognize, a play about inversion not (except fleetingly and momentarily) equality. And inversion certainly makes a feminist point, even if it doesn't amount to feminism.

I think the main thrust of this argument is correct; but I also know that it can be pressed too far. Within a few years the hierarchical society, the culture of complementarity, and the scholastic discourse which had flourished within them were all to be inflected until they broke. When Thomas Hobbes writes about equality the concept has become stable and unambiguous – indeed Hobbism is founded in a radical egalitarianism. Already in 1623, Massinger's *Bondman* contains a slave revolt. Pisander, the leader (and of course a gentleman in disguise) says this:

> Equall nature fashion'd vs
> All in one molde: The Beare serues not the Beare,
> Nor the Wolfe, the Wolfe; 'twas ods of strength in tyrants,
> That pluck'd the first linke from the Golden chayne
> With which that thing of things bound in the world.
> Why then, since we are taught, by their examples,
> To loue our Libertie, if not Command,
> Should the strong serue the weake, the faire deform'd ones?
> Or such as know the cause of thinges, pay tribute
> To ignorant fooles? All's but the outward glosse
> And politicke forme, that does distinguish vs.[24]

"Equal nature made us all of one mould" became a saying.[25] If we want to say (as I do) that egalitarianism was more or less impossible in 1600, but already possible in 1640, then we need to acknowledge that all it required to become intellectually viable was the sort of political crisis envisaged in *The Bondman*.[26] And, as Wollstonecraft saw so clearly, every argument used for egalitarianism in a political context could be reapplied in the context of gender relations.

## Appendix

*False complaints. Or the Censure of an vnthankfull mind, the labour of Carolus Pascalius translated into English by W.C. A work very learned and fit for all Estates in this age of unnecessary discontentments, showing how all complain, but all without cause.*

Chapter 22 (pp. 139–44): *Here I do teach that women are not less unthankful than those, whom I have remembered.*

In this cause, and in this kind, a woman is next unto a child. Few do contain their hopes, few their speeches, in the bounds of womanly modesty and the shamefastness of their sex; whilst they complain that they are unworthily used; whilst they are unmeasurably angry at their sex as being weak and unequal to their great minds. In one word, whilst they (from minds not to be comforted) complain that they are women, they accuse openly and greatly God, that did thus make them. There is scarce any, who have not these and the like thoughts in them:

"Oh, woe is me, why was I not borne a man, who have a mind not unfit for anything. Must I be tied to this sex which is a bondslave to idleness, and sloth? What do I (wretch that I am) follow virtue, to whom nature hath given no generous spirits? And which, lest they should show themselves, they must against my will be choked and suppressed? Why, fool that I am, do I aspire to any honour, to any renown, or a reward of virtue, to whom all the passages of virtue are shut up? O vain instinct, O noble spirits, engrafted in me idly, which are confined in that short room of this obeying sex, whereof I am grieved, ashamed, and repent.

"There is great inequality in a mind that is not weak, and a condition so much to be repented of: Thus have we a perpetual conflict with ourselves, and a cruel torment wherewith we are afflicted. If I may say it, to what end have we so much acuteness, sharpness, understanding and quickness granted to us? To what purpose have we such a nimble wit, such a swift mind? But that these things may be a torment to us, by whose means we understand those things which we are kept from? Is it not that we may be unprofitably angry at other men's ignorance and sloth, that we seriously may grieve to see dull and slothful heads possess those rooms that belong unto us? For what profit is it to know that which it is in vain to know? To be able to use that which we must not touch? To strive to go thither, from whence we are kept back? We are forbidden the knowledge and profession of liberal arts; we are commanded to abstain from public offices; we cannot attain to the honour due to wars, nor those valiant acts; because forsooth in these things, there is most virtue which they say is derived from hence, in that it belongs unto men.

"Is it not plain that we are excluded from all hope of honour, and from all those things which are greatest and most to be desired? Which things being taken from us; what is there left us for which our condition may seem (I do not say to be wished for) but to be tolerable? We are set to trifles, wherewith in the meantime we are delighted as children with fair speeches and flattery; with which we are laden, whilst we are robbed of true praise, and that which is most to be lamented, we are partners in

those things wherein men gain their most praise, and yet they ascribe it only to themselves: where we have anything to do, there is nothing of any moment.

"And it is no marvel, if we be admitted into no society of name and honour with men.

"The praise of whole countries belongs unto men only – triumphs, victories, all honours: they are men's; and we (as all other things) are but the additions of those praises that are given to men. But this indignity (mark their craft) they mitigate with the lenity of words, whilst they call us wives, fellows, and their companions in all things; when indeed (if a man esteem it rightly) there is no equality betwixt us and them, no communion of dignity and authority, but that which is trifling and in name only. Whereas indeed we are reckoned up amongst other ordinary household-stuff, little better then bondslaves, and yet for the burden and labour, we have more then the greater part. And as we are kept from all good things, so we bear almost alone all the burden of their ill. If men have begun anything that they cannot go through, we must finish it. If they offend abroad, we must smart for it at home: the sorrow of their mad pleasures lights upon us; men, they have the pleasures, the delights; but we have the sorrow, we have the tears; men, they have the reward of their labours, we only have the necessity of it. Our frugality must maintain their riot, our obedience must increase their licentiousness, our modesty their fearfulness: whilst every one of them pleaseth himself, and taketh delight in whatsoever pleaseth him, we (in the meantime) sit like lambs, cripples within our doors, not idle, but commanded to take care of the house, and set unto those businesses, wherein there is nothing but plain bondage. This is that which increaseth our grief: for in the house, what tedious servitude are we tied unto?

"First of all, the education of our children is referred unto us, which is some ease of the intolerable labours of childbirth; in this, our husbands do notably abuse our affections, for because we are mothers, they say this burden belongs to the mother only, which indeed were fit equally to be borne of both. And as we are daughters, we are immediately as an unprofitable burden put out of our father's house, and sent to live with strangers; thus we go from the government of our parents into the hands of our husbands, new Lords, whose dispositions (how cross so ever) we must suffer even against our wills; and without any hope of a more tolerable condition. If we be widows, then are we subject to wrongs, and laid open without defense to all injuries, and reproaches, forsaken of all, yea, oftentimes of those, of whom it is little fit we should."

"I grant, there are some things granted unto us as great favours, which indeed may be reckoned amongst those scoffs, and derisions that are used towards us; that is our cleanliness, and ornaments, and all those furnitures which they call the woman's world; thus are we decked like painted birds, only to please others. And as children have toys given to please them, so are we thus painted only to content our husbands. May not any man see these scoffings? Is it not enough that we are contemned, but we must be thus made a scorn and derision? We are forbidden to meddle with anything; we are kept from public offices, we are never suffered to come abroad, but as some solemn pomp which is carried to be seen; we are forbidden to obtain those commendations which are true praises, we are shut up in our houses as perpetual prisoners, we are by the name of wives subject to other pleasures, brought under an unjust government. Thus do they abuse our simplicity. In one word, if you respect either beauty, or wit, we must confess we are placed high enough, but from thence we are cast down, to that low estate, that we have lost all that is excellent."

## Notes

1. For the three recent editions see: John Fletcher (2003), *The Tamer Tamed* [introduced by Gordon McMullan] (London: Nick Hern Books) – the RSC playtext; David Bevington, Lars Engle, Katharine Eisaman Maus, Eric Rasmussen ed. (2002), *English Renaissance Drama* (New York: Norton); John Fletcher (2006), *The Tamer Tamed*, ed. Celia R. Daileader and Gary Taylor (Manchester: Manchester University Press). My own immediate response to the RSC production was no different: see David Wootton (2002), "Never Knowingly Naked", a review of Laura Gowing (2002), *Common Bodies* (New Haven: Yale University Press) in *The London Review of Books*, 15 April 2004.
2. On Paschalius, also known as Charles Paschal, Carlo Pasquale, and (in *STC*) Carlo Paschal, see Arnaldo Momigliano (1947), "The First Political Commentary on Tacitus", *Journal of Roman Studies* 37, 91–101.
3. The last two sections are based on a systematic search of Early English Books On Line for "equality" and "equality"-related words for the period 1593 (the likely date of *The Taming of the Shrew*) to 1610 (the likely date of *The Tamer Tamed*). This search scanned roughly 20 per cent of the books published in this period (those that exist in full text format) and found hits in 705 texts, or more than 60 per cent of those searched (and more than 12 per cent of all texts published). It represents a (non-random) sample of the occurrence of the word in the period relevant to the composition of the play. The sample is non-random because it is biased towards important texts and first editions, and against insignificant texts and reprints. The words searched were equal OR equals OR equall OR equalls OR equality OR equalitie OR inequality OR inequalitie OR equallity OR equallitie OR

inequallity OR inequallitie, with "check variants" enabled. I also searched for the same words with "ae" instead of "e". I did not systematically search for "unequal" or "equally".

4. Carolus Paschalius (1605), *False Complaints. Or the censure of an unthankfull mind* (London: Humfrey Lownes). The texts I discuss are on pp. 139–58.
5. Fletcher (2006), p. 43.
6. First published as Stephen Greenblatt (1981), "Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and Its Subversion," in Walter Benn Michaels, ed., *Glyph: Textual Studies #8* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press), pp. 40–61.
7. Andreas Ornithoparcus (1609), *Micrologus, or Introduction Containing the Art of Singing* (London: Thomas Adams), p. 59.
8. Pierre Charron (1608), *Of Wisdome* (London: Edward Blount and William Aspley), p. 180.
9. Ibid, pp. 179–80.
10. Aristotle (1598), *Aristotle's Politiques, or Discourses of Government*, ed. Louis Le Roy (London: Adam Islip), p. 251.
11. The phrase "geometrical equality" does not occur in the OED; for "geometrical proportion" see "geometrical" sense Ib.
12. Jean Bodin (1606), *The six bookes of a common-weale* (London: G. Bishop), p. 757.
13. Ibid, p. 780.
14. Barnabe Barnes (1606), *Foure bookes of offices* (London: George Bishop, T. Adams, and C. Burbie), p. 147; John Norden (1597), *The Mirror of Honor* (London: Thomas Man), p. 19.
15. Gerard Malynes (1603), *England's View* (London: Richard Field), p. 101.
16. Plutarch (1603), *The Philosophie, commonlie called, The Morals* (London: Arnold Hatfield), p. 1137.
17. [Thomas Watson] (1594), *An Ould Facioned Love* (London: William Mattes), p. 31.
18. Pierre de la Primaudaye (1594), *The Second Part of the French Academie* (London: G. Bishop), pp. 290–1.
19. Thomas Playfere (1595), *A Most Excellent and Heavenly Sermon* (London: Andrew Wise), sig. A5v-A6r. The great William Perkins, in a posthumous work (1609) on household economy, distinguishes between an equal marriage and an unequal marriage: "And Christ where he mentioneth the Case of Adultery, Matth. 19. speaketh of an equal marriage, whereas *Paul* speaks of an unequal." The context is a discussion of whether divorce is legitimate if one party is a true believer, the other a heretic, and by an "equal marriage" Perkins means, I think, a marriage between true believers: William Perkins (1609), *Household Oeconomie* (London: Felix Kyngston), p. 104.
20. John Bodenham (1600), *Bel-vedere, or The Garden of the Muses* (London: Hugh Astley), p. 104.
21. Roger Sharpe (1610), *More Fooles Yet* (London: Thomas Castleton), sig. D1v.
22. Philip Massinger (1624), *The Bond-Man* (London: John Harison and Edward Blackmore), sig. B4v (Act I, scene III). I owe this reference to Kimberley Hackett.
23. Massinger (1624), sig. C1v.
24. Massinger (1624), sig. E4r (Act II scene III). Pisander's argument is that of Étienne de la Boétie's *Discourse of Voluntary Servitude*: see Estienne de la Boétie

(2001), *De la servitude volontaire, ou, Contr'un*, ed. Malcolm Smith (Geneva: Droz).

25. James Shirley (1648), *Wits Labyrinth* (London: M. Simmons), p. 6; see also Thomas Nabbes (1638), *Totenham Court* (London: Charles Greene), p. 5 (scene III) – a play about social equality in marriage.
26. For my previous reflections on this subject see David Wootton, "The Levellers", in *Democracy: the Unfinished Journey*, ed. J. Dunn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 71–89.

## Works cited

Aristotle (1598), *Aristotle's Politiques, or Discourses of Government*, ed. Louis Le Roy (London: Adam Islip)

Barnes, Barnabe (1606), *Foure bookes of offices* (London: George Bishop, T. Adams, and C. Burbie)

Bevington, David; Lars Engle; Katharine Eisaman Maus; Eric Rasmussen ed. (2002), *English Renaissance Drama* (New York: Norton)

Bodenham, John (1600), *Bel-vedere, or The Garden of the Muses* (London: Hugh Astley)

Bodin, Jean (1606), *The six bookes of a common-weale* (London: G. Bishop)

Charron, Pierre (1608), *Of Wisdome* (London: Edward Blount and William Aspley)

Fletcher, John (2003), *The Tamer Tamed* [introduced by Gordon McMullan] (London: Nick Hern Books)

—— (2006), *The Tamer Tamed*, ed. Celia R. Daileader and Gary Taylor (Manchester: Manchester University Press)

Greenblatt, Stephen (1981), "Invisible Bullets: Renaissance Authority and Its Subversion," in Walter Benn Michaels, ed., *Glyph: Textual Studies #8* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press), pp. 40–61

La Boétie, Estienne de (2001), *De la servitude volontaire, ou, Contr'un*, ed. Malcolm Smith (Geneva: Droz)

Malynes, Gerard (1603), *England's View* (London: Richard Field)

Massinger, Philip (1624), *The Bond-Man* (London: John Harison and Edward Blackmore)

Momigliano, Arnaldo (1947), "The First Political Commentary on Tacitus", *Journal of Roman Studies* 37, 91–101

Norden, John (1597), *The Mirror of Honor* (London: Thomas Man)

Nabbes, Thomas (1638), *Totenham Court* (London: Charles Greene)

Ornithoparcus, Andreas (1609), *Micrologus, or Introduction Containing the Art of Singing* (London: Thomas Adams)

Paschalius, Carolus (1605), *False Complaints. Or the censure of an unthankfull mind* (London: Humfrey Lownes)

Perkins, William (1609), *Household Oeconomie* (London: Felix Kyngston)

Playfere, Thomas (1595), *A Most Excellent and Heavenly Sermon* (London: Andrew Wise)

Primaudaye, Pierre de la (1594), *The Second Part of the French Academie* (London: G. Bishop)

Plutarch (1603), *The Philosophie, commonlie called, The Morals* (London: Arnold Hatfield)
Sharpe, Roger (1610), *More Fooles Yet* (London: Thomas Castleton)
Shirley, James (1648), *Wits Labyrinth* (London: M. Simmons)
[Watson, Thomas] (1594), *An Ould Facioned Love* (London: William Mattes)
Wootton, David, "The Levellers", in *Democracy: the Unfinished Journey*, ed. J. Dunn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 71–89
——, "Never Knowingly Naked", in *The London Review of Books*, 15 April 2004

# Afterword: 'Thus have I politicly ended my reign'

*Ann Thompson*

It would seem that to edit a play gives one some kind of long-term investment in it. I edited *The Taming of the Shrew* as long ago as 1984, though Cambridge University Press allowed me to update my edition in 2003.[1] The update was fairly minimal: I added a brief section to the Introduction covering 'Recent textual, critical and stage interpretations' and I added new items to the Reading List, but it was not possible to make more substantial changes to the Introduction, text or commentary. I am grateful to the editors of this volume of essays for the opportunity to look, yet again, at the current state of *Shrew* studies and to reflect on the debates engendered by this deeply problematic play.

It is particularly useful to have here the longer perspective provided by Holly Crocker's essay on shrews in mediaeval sources, and the complementary work done by Anna Bayman and George Southcombe on later prose pamphlets. Sandra Clark's discussion of jest books adds a grim context to the play's combination of humour and violence, a combination even more evident in John Lacey's *Sauny the Scot*, which gets an unusual and convincing political reading in Charles Conaway's essay. Shakespeare's text itself is re-examined, particularly by Leah Marcus, Margaret Maurer and Barry Gaines, who espouse 'unediting' approaches to do away with what they see as editorial distortions. It will indeed be exciting to see if the forthcoming Arden edition by Barbara Hodgdon achieves the new perspective on the play predicted here. Jan Purnis contributes an original close reading of the play's concern with the stomach and digestion metaphors – and adds another jest about a dead wife. Richard Madelaine's essay makes some very interesting points by reading the play in the context of the Elizabethan practice of the training of theatrical apprentices.

Perhaps not surprisingly, contributors to this collection continue to mull over the relationship between the text of *The Taming of the*

*Shrew* published in the First Folio in 1623 and the anonymous play, *The Taming of a Shrew,* published in 1594. Of course the whole question of the so-called 'bad' quartos has been reconsidered by scholars and editors in recent years and *A Shrew* was always a special case, given that so very few of its lines are actually parallel to those of *The Shrew*. Graham Holderness focuses here on the lines from Du Bartas' *Creation of the World* incorporated into Kate's final speech in *A Shrew* and argues that the play 'challenged the dominant ideology of its time by representing the world in terms of a Manichean dualism'. I was fascinated to read the essay here by H. J. Helmers in which he demonstrates that the two *Shrew* plays 'had a joined afterlife' at least on the Dutch stage, at a time in the mid-seventeenth century when the English theatres were closed. Despite recurring arguments in favour of *A Shrew*, no modern company has, however, taken the risk of staging it. The Royal Shakespeare Company's decision to perform John Fletcher's 'sequel', *The Woman's Prize, or The Tamer Tamed*, in repertory with Shakespeare's *Shrew* in 2003 and the publication of recent editions of Fletcher's play has encouraged discussion of it as another parallel text: as with *A Shrew* the inevitable focus is on the extent to which this play can be seen as more or less misogynistic than Shakespeare's: David Wootton argues here that recent readings of *The Tamer Tamed* as feminist are optimistic and misguided.

The pairing of the Shakespeare and Fletcher plays on stage represented a kind of answer to the embarrassment apparently felt by modern theatre companies and their audiences when confronted by the shrew-taming story. In the same year, Shakespeare's Globe in London found a different solution by presenting an all-female production. Unlike their all-male productions such as *Antony and Cleopatra* (1999), *Twelfth Night* (2002) or *Richard II* (2003), all of which encouraged the audience to overlook or genuinely forget the gender issue, the all-female *Shrew* made it the central focus, with Janet McTeer as a brash Petruchio who began by urinating against one of the stage pillars and later carried the diminutive Kathryn Hunter (who played Kate) over one shoulder. (Hunter's nervousness at the sight and touch of Petruchio's large shaggy dog 'Troilus' in 4.1 was one of the funniest pieces of physical theatre I have seen. She managed to alienate the audience by kicking the dog (an uncredited actor in a dog-costume) when Petruchio wasn't looking.) McTeer and the other women playing male roles performed them as a deliberate and enjoyable parody of a macho or 'laddish' performance which was received with great enthusiasm by a party of teenage schoolboys the afternoon I saw it. It was also the only time I have ever actually enjoyed a performance of this play but, while it may have been

refreshing for audiences, the production apparently had its difficulties for performers. It was slated to be directed by a man, Barry Kyle, but the cast found his approach unacceptable and he stepped down in the midst of rehearsals to be replaced by a woman. He was philosophical about this at the time, remarking, in a deliberate misquotation from the play, 'Thus have I politicly ended my reign'. The programme contained a discreet acknowledgement: 'This production was conceived and cast by Barry Kyle and staged by Phyllida Lloyd'.

Another feature of recent stagings of *The Taming of the Shrew*, as I noted in my updated Introduction, is that class conflict has become a central issue, shifting the focus to the framing story and the sub-plot. (A similar shift seems to be happening in critical studies, judging by this collection.) This obviously happened in spin-offs of the *Sauny the Scot* variety in the past, but it has recently been the case that the frame has virtually upstaged the main plot. Bill Alexander's 1992 production for the Royal Shakespeare Company offered a radical rewriting of the Induction which became a deliberate attempt by 'Lady Sarah Ormsby' and 'Lord Simon Llewellyn' to humiliate the working-class Sly. The aristocrats (referred to in reviews as 'hooray Henrys and Henriettas', 'yuppies' or 'Sloanes') remained on stage throughout and were occasionally cast in minor roles such as Petruchio's servants in 4.1; they performed reluctantly and badly, while the 'actors' enjoyed ordering them about. Tranio was presented as a determined social climber and a serious rival to Lucentio for the hand of Bianca.[2] It is interesting that in their essay in this collection, Margaret Maurer and Barry Gaines make a similar point about Tranio as 'the supposed gentleman' in the course of their argument to reinstate 'the silent woman', Bianca. Stephen Unwin's production of the play for the English Touring Theatre went still further, setting it in 'a TV sit-com lower middle-class world of Dagenham accents and rock music between the scenes'.[3] A focus on the servants can make the best of one of my favourite passages in the play, the exchange between Grumio and Curtis at the beginning of 4.1 where Grumio says what news Curtis would have heard, 'hadst thou not crossed me', and goes on to list all the adventures on the road from Padua including 'many things of worthy memory which now shall die in oblivion, and thou return unexperienced to thy grave'. The Introduction to Elizabeth Schafer's edition of *The Taming of the Shrew* in the Cambridge University Press 'Shakespeare in Production' series contains a relevant section on Sly as a 'working-class hero', tracing the changes from patronisingly comic performances to ones in which his class identity becomes almost heroic.[4] I suggested in 2003 that these productions might be 'postfeminist' in their refusal

to see the gender conflict as central, but perhaps they were, yet again, evincing embarrassment about it.

The latest production of the play at the time I am writing, that directed by Conall Morrison for the Royal Shakespeare Company in Stratford-upon-Avon in 2008, also updates the Induction, presenting it as taking place during a rowdy stag party at a seedy modern location suggesting a lap-dancing club. I notice, incidentally, that several reviewers refer to the Sly scenes as 'the prologue', and it may be that Leah Marcus is correct to question this traditional division of the play, though editors (and publishers) are reluctant to introduce a new scene-numbering system throughout the play that would cause frustration and inconvenience to readers trying to find passages quoted in the existing history of criticism and commentary. As in Michael Bogdanov's famous Royal Shakespeare Company production in 1978, the same actor (Jonathan Pryce then, Stephen Boxer now) played Sly and Petruchio and the overall purpose of the production seemed to be to play up the brutality of the main plot and to present it as an unattractive fantasy of male domination. Michelle Gomez as Kate, like Paola Dionisotti in 1978, delivered her final speech like a robot or a victim of brainwashing. Gender conflict was back, and the overwhelmingly male reviewers (eight out of ten of those whose reviews are collected in the *Theatre Record* [5] are men) were, as usual, anxious to distance themselves from a play they described as 'unacceptable', 'cruel, 'hateful' and 'ugly'. The question that came to my mind was 'If they (the RSC, not the reviewers) hate the play so much, why do they put it on?' The answer, a troubling one, is presumably that it remains a huge crowd-pleaser even when it is not presented as rollicking good fun of the *Kiss Me Kate* variety. Even the hand-wringing reviewers seem to agree that a relentlessly unpleasant production of this play makes for a more entertaining evening in the theatre than the 2008 season's opener, a production of *The Merchant of Venice* that they refer to as being 'flat' and 'dismal'.

So where do we go from here? Graham Holderness, in his preface to this volume, hopes that it will 'recuperate Shakespeare's play and its associates for new kinds of historically and politically-informed readings' and that it will 'have given new life to *The Taming of the Shrew*, relocated it in a different historical and cultural context, highlighted the potential interest of the other shrew-dramas and contributed a little to a necessary restoration of "the twofold position of power and knowing"'. In this 'knowledge versus power' dichotomy, he is evoking Paul Yachnin's 1996[6] distinction between 'power' and 'knowing' readings. It seems to me however that the perverse fascination of the play has always been

the tension between the two, and the way that it offers an audience or a reader both at once. From as far back as *The Taming of a Shrew*, we can see both a 'softening' and a 'brutalising' tendency at one and the same time. Kate in this version is given an aside in the wooing scene:

> *She turnes aside and speakes*
> But yet I will consent and marrie him
> For I methinkes have livde too long a maid
> And match him too, or else his manhoods good.
> (scene v, 40–42)

Thus it is made clear that she sees a positive advantage in marriage, and even suggests she will relish the mutual competition. But the play also has the stage direction, '*Enter Ferando [Petruchio] with a peece of meate upon his daggers point*' in the equivalent of 4.3, where the author draws on Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (Part 1, 4.4) to emphasise the savagery of his starving her and offering to feed her like an animal. Garrick similarly gives his heroine an explanatory aside in the wooing scene and adds lines at the end for Petruchio to make his own submission speech, but he seems to have been the first actor to introduce a whip in the wedding scene.

As Graham Holderness says in his Preface, Shakespeare's play has inspired 'innumerable' adaptations on stage and on screen, and I think we should acknowledge that a major reason for this is that it seems to represent the acceptable face of sadomasochism. Reviewers of the most recent production write about Kate's response to 'the thrill of Petruchio's rough wooing' and claim to find the way that she is 'reduced to the state of a cowed and grovelling animal, begging for food and kindness, almost too painful to watch'. The production itself offers the spectacle of a man torturing a woman which is given respectability by the name of Shakespeare and, further, seems to claim some kind of moral high ground by ensuring that the whole thing is relentlessly unfunny. In today's world, as I am informed by one of my PhD students, Jennifer Horn, who wrote her thesis on twentieth-century adaptations of the play, a web search for *The Taming of the Shrew* quickly takes you to the topic of 'spanking' and associated pornography. Mid-twentieth-century film adaptations of the play, from Ernst Lubitsch's *Bluebeard's Eighth Wife* in 1938 through George Sidney's *Kiss Me Kate* in 1953 to Andrew V. McLaglen's *McLintock!* in 1963 all used shots of the hero spanking the heroine as publicity stills and posters. It is a depressing record.

Not that it would be advisable or even possible to prevent the play from being performed or studied. It does serve the purpose of causing

audiences and readers to reflect on an aspect of human nature which, while deplorable, is very much still with us. Back in 1984 I suggested that we could no longer treat it as a straightforward comedy but should redefine it as a 'problem play', and the recent history of performance and criticism indicates that this is what has in fact happened.

## Notes

1. Ann Thompson (ed.), *The Taming of the Shrew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984 and 2003).
2. See Peter Holland's review of this production in *Shakespeare Survey 46* (1993): 175–7.
3. See Robert Smallwood's review of this production in *Shakespeare Survey 52* (1999): 229–30.
4. Elizabeth Schafer (ed.), *The Taming of the Shrew* (Cambridge, 'Shakespeare in Production': Cambridge University Press (2002) 60–3.
5. Vol. XXVII, issue 09 (21 April–4 May 2008): 509–11.
6. 'Personations: *The Taming of the Shrew* and the Limits of Theoretical Criticism', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 2.1 (1996): n.p.

## Works cited

Holland, Peter, *Shakespeare Survey 46* (1993): 175–7.
Schafer, Elizabeth (ed.), *The Taming of the Shrew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (2002) 60–3.
Smallwood, Robert, *Shakespeare Survey 52* (1999): 229–30.
*Theatre Record*, Vol. XXVII, issue 09 (21 April–4 May 2008): 509–11.
Thompson, Ann (ed.), *The Taming of the Shrew* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984 and 2003).
Yachnin, Paul, 'Personations: *The Taming of the Shrew* and the Limits of Theoretical Criticism', *Early Modern Literary Studies* 2.1 (1996): n.p.

# Index