EMBEDDED FORMS AND THE PROGRESSIVE WONDERS OF *THE WINTER'S TALE*

by

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Abstract

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by

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Written in an age of theatrical experimentation, *The Winter's Tale* stands out even amid the lively playhouse practices of its day for its allusions to multiple genres, ranging from the overt theatrical genres of tragedy and comedy, to contemporaneous subgenres such as pastoral tragicomedy and masque, to non-theatrical entertainments such as bearbaiting, broadside ballads, and statue-viewing. While prior critics have treated the play's numerous generic allusions in isolation, this dissertation reads *The Winter's Tale* as a progression of embedded forms meant to condition a sequence of affective and increasingly interactive audience responses, thus preparing Shakespeare's audience for the redemptive, participatory wonders of the final act. My three chapters trace Shakespeare's evocation of tragic tropes and rigid pageantry in the first half of the play; his nods to raucous, contemporaneous forms such as bearbaiting and pastoral tragicomedy in Acts III and IV; and the fading, nostalgia-inducing miracle plays and "old tales" he uses to frame the wonders of Act V. I argue that, through this progression, Shakespeare rejects the tyrannical, controlling visions of Leontes in favor of the participatory marvels of Act V, dismissing rigid, patriarchal forms such as Leontes' show trial while ultimately elevating

generative, interactive, feminine forms such as Marian miracle plays and old wives' tales. Reading *The Winter's Tale* as a late career ars poetica designed to test and reinvigorate the theatrical faith of Shakespeare's audience, my dissertation explores the sprawling yet rigorous poetic logic behind the play's generic mixing.

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INTRODUCTION

Inexplicable jealousy, a Bohemian seacoast, a marauding bear, a statue that suddenly comes to life: *The Winter's Tale* challenges its audience to fill in outrageous gaps in space, time, and general plausibility, as the tormented visions of Leontes are ultimately redeemed by what Ekbert Faas usefully terms "the imaginative participation of the audience" (69). This dissertation contextualizes such imaginative participation in a play that, perhaps more than any other, revolves around the shaping fantasies of both its characters and its spectators. While prior critics have treated the play's numerous generic allusions in isolation, I read *The Winter's Tale* as a progression of embedded forms meant to condition a sequence of affective and increasingly interactive audience responses. In doing so, I draw on Robert Henke's assertion that "theatrical genres are intimately related to their historically changing theaters and audiences, and so involve specific practices directed to those audiences," practices that Henke characterizes as "audience-based dramaturgical strategies" (*Pastoral Transformations* 18). This dissertation focuses on the sequence of audience-based dramaturgical strategies Shakespeare employs in *The Winter's Tale*, reading his generic allusions not in isolation, but as a part of an increasingly interactive,

sequential progression that prepares audiences for the redemptive, participatory wonders of the final act.

Affirming my reading of the play as reliant on an intentional sequencing of embedded forms meant to inspire an increasingly participatory brand of audience investment is Leontes' transformation from the tragically rigid director of the opening acts to a reinvigorated theatrical spectator in Act V. *The Winter's Tale* begins with Leontes' misinterpretation of his wife's rhetorical performance and closes with his theatrical receptivity restored. Shakespeare's use of embedded forms contributes to both Leontes' renewed ability to witness art and the simultaneous restoration of his audience's theatrical faith.

The comparatively slight critical history of *The Winter's Tale* makes much of isolating and rejecting the play's disunities, particularly its temporal and geographical sweep and mixing of genres and tone. Rather than reading Shakespeare's nods to multiple, seemingly incompatible genres, subgenres, and entertainments as problematic, my dissertation reframes these disunities, arguing that Shakespeare's embedding of incompatible generic templates purposely unsettles and then conditions his audience, thwarting our expectations and making us increasingly aware of the play's design. In doing so, my project extends the recent insights of historical formalist approaches by focusing on how Elizabethan audiences would have perceived Shakespeare's nods to multiple theatrical and ceremonial forms.

The term "forms" is fittingly open-ended, and requires some definition. My argument here is that *The Winter's Tale* embeds a series of generic allusions – sometimes through particular referents, such as the use of an oracle to evoke classical tragedy, and sometimes through presenting miniature theatrical events, such as the staged debate of Act IV. In exploring these allusions, I treat the established theatrical genres of tragedy and comedy, as well as the

emerging form of tragicomedy. I also treat a variety of theatrical subgenres, including masque and miracle plays, as well as prose subgenres, such as romance. What makes both *The Winter's Tale* and this dissertation unusual, though, is the inclusion of non-theatrical genres, which I have collected here under the useful if not entirely fulfilling category of "entertainments." Such entertainments include Leontes' show trial, the elided rituals and courtly pageantry of Acts I through III, the staged debate in IV.iv, and the statue-viewing in Paulina's gallery, as well as Shakespeare's allusions to ballads, bearbaiting, and the telling of old tales by the fireside. Though not overtly theatrical in nature, such entertainments were performed for spectators and designed to elicit particular modes of audience response – responses I believe *The Winter's Tale* orchestrates.

I argue here that the heterogeneous nature of *The Winter's Tale*, a play that delights in the mixing of theatrical genres, subgenres, and non-theatrical entertainments, requires Shakespeare's audience to think about theatrical conventions and their own role in the making of meaning, placing spectators in an increasingly active position. This argument extends Jeremy Lopez's work on the self-consciousness of early modern audiences, who were charged with responding to both the stated genre and the generic anomalies of the plays they witnessed. In *Theatrical Convention and Audience Response in Early Modern Drama*, Lopez describes the nature of such plays and audiences, explaining how "the phenomenon of experiencing an Elizabethan or Jacobean play as generically coherent involves another kind of self-consciousness as well: the audience is constantly put in the position of having to react to events that do not fit with the generic demands it expects to govern the play" (5). Lopez describes the delight that early modern playwrights and audiences took in generic mixing, arguing that, during the dynamic, prolific Elizabethan and Jacobean periods, "the fundamental theatrical sensibility remains constant: this

is the drive to make an audience comfortable, even smug in its mastery of dramatic signals and information, and then causally to go to the most extreme lengths to shock it out of its complacency; it is the equal willingness to embrace, to insist upon the importance of, and to utterly discard, the incongruous" (133). Written in an age of theatrical experimentation, *The Winter's Tale* stands out even amid the lively playhouse practices of its day for its allusions to large theatrical genres, targeted subgenres, and non-theatrical entertainments - everything short of the kitchen sink.

Within this dynamic context, I argue that Shakespeare embeds a progression of formal templates, each meant to condition his audience to accept and embrace an increasingly participatory mode of response. In doing so, I draw on Alastair Fowler's *Kinds of Literature: An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes*, particularly Fowler's insistence on the "communicative value" of genre (20), and his conviction that the presence of early generic markers establishes "an appropriate mental 'set' that allows the work's generic codes to be read" whether or not the reader is actively conscious of such codes (88). Turning to *The Winter's Tale*, I trace the play's evocation of tragic tropes and rigid pageantry in Acts I and II, its nods to raucous, contemporaneous forms such as bearbaiting and pastoral tragicomedy in Acts III and IV, and the fading, nostalgia-inducing miracle plays and "old tales" that frame the wonders of Act V. My argument is that, for both Shakespeare's characters and his audience, the only way to make sense of the play's wild shifts of fortune is to become actively involved in theatrical performance.

Shakespeare's embedding of seemingly incompatible generic referents in *The Winter's Tale* has perplexed generations of directors and critics. Rejected by Neoclassical scholarship

during the Restoration and early 18th centuries, *The Winter's Tale* was rarely embraced in its entirety, but rather mined for usable fragments, for instance Covent Garden's popular 1754 production of "The Sheep-Shearing; Or Florizel and Perdita." This process has continued academically, with twenty- and twenty-first century critics targeting the play's oddities. A superb example of this focused approach to one of the play's generic components is Louise Clubb's 1972 essay "The Tragicomic Bear," which explores the generic implications of Shakespeare's most memorable stage direction: "Exit, pursued by a bear." My dissertation draws heavily on such genre-oriented criticism, yet the breadth of my project allows me to articulate and account for the play as a unified progression reliant on the use of a range of embedded genres and spectacles, a theory that prior, more restricted approaches have not considered.

The fruitful critical interest in the play's overt theatricality, which emerged in the nineteen sixties and seventies, is foundational to my dissertation. My reading of *The Winter's Tale* as unified by its meta-theatrical concern with the effects of genre on its audience draws heavily on the work of Lionel Abel, James Calderwood, and Anne Righter, as well as the later scholarship of Pauline Kiernan. I am particularly reliant on Abel's coining of the term metatheater (59) and Calderwood's later application of this notion to Shakespeare. In *Shakespearean Metadrama*, Calderwood nods to Righter's work before noting how the uses of "dramatic art itself" are Shakespeare's central concern: "Not just the 'idea of the play,' as in Anne Righter's fine book of that title, but dramatic art itself – its materials, its media of language and theater, its generic forms and conventions, its relationship to truth and the social order – is a dominant Shakespearean theme, perhaps his most abiding subject" (5). Calderwood refers to the "transient appearances of such terms as act, play the part, counterfeit, shadow, stage, cast, plot, quality, scene, and pageant, each of which momentarily sets the world in the focus of art" (5). In

my own work, I explore how *The Winter's Tale's* use of meta-theatrical terms such as "play," as well as its heavy reliance on embedded genres, subgenres, and entertainments, creates a greater self-consciousness of theatrical techniques, making Shakespeare's audience willingly active collaborators in the theatrical experience.

In exploring the eclectic embedded forms on view in this wildly varied play, I nevertheless draw on some foundational genre theory, and on more recent applications of such theories to *The Winter's Tale* itself. Both Alastair Fowler's *Kinds of Literature* and Hans Jauss' *Towards an Aesthetic of Reception* have argued for a more inclusive notion of genre, one capable of accounting for the heterogeneity of *The Winter's Tale*, a play that, to borrow Jauss' phrase, constantly shifts its audience's "horizon of expectations" (79). Early critics of *The Winter's Tale* focused on the play's mixing of established genres. The Victorian critic Thomas Price's description of the play as an evocative diptych, rather than a pastiche, marked a revived understanding of the play as rooted in Elizabethan explorations of tragicomedy and romance (Hunt, *Critical Essays* 12). More recently, Robert Henke characterized *The Winter's Tale* as "tripartite," with a "tragical-pastoral-comical arrangement" (*Pastoral Transformations* 150). My own work draws on and goes beyond such genre-oriented criticism by exploring Shakespeare's allusions to both theatrical genres and non-theatrical entertainments. I argue that, due to the eclectic nature of the performances embedded within it, *The Winter's Tale* defies standard theatrical categorization and instead requires scholars to consider the effects of its mixture of embedded forms, an act Jauss describes as "methodologically productive" (81). I look here at how *The Winter's Tale* simultaneously caters to audience expectations and progressively expands them.

My interest in the relationship between generic mixing and the play's meta-theatrical concern with the uses of art makes heavy use of prior critical work on the staged debate between Perdita and Polixenes. In the mid-sixties, Northrop Frye, Edward W. Tayler, and Howard Felperin each targeted Perdita's rejection of gillyvors as "nature's bastards" (IV.iv.97) and Polixenes' evocation of "an art / Which does mend nature" (IV.iv.112-113) as the central articulation of the play's concerns. My work will make use of a fourth proponent of this reading by extending Philip Edwards's attention to grafting in his 1968 book *Shakespeare and the Confines of Art*. Edwards explains how "Perdita's refusal to accept the 'art of grafting' takes us further into the concept of the play. For the play itself is a story of grafting; of reinvigorating the old stock by the freshness of unsullied youth and love" (149). I apply Edwards's notion of grafting to Shakespeare's use of genre, noting how the pastoralism of Act IV allows Shakespeare to graft comedy onto tragedy, creating, in Polixenes' words, "an art / Which does mend nature" (IV.iv.95-96), or, in generic terms, a pastiche of comic and tragic templates whose deliberate "piedness" (IV.iv.87) helps lead Shakespeare's audience from despair to redemption. In moving the action of his play from tragic Sicilia to pastoral Bohemia, Shakespeare requires that his spectators embrace a genre that is at once deeply affiliated with nature and highly artificial, once again using his audience's experience of genre to underscore his own meditation on the uses of art.

The current critical interest in early modern audience reception, theatrical faith, and the role of audience imagination further informs my exploration of Shakespeare's heavy-handed manipulation of his spectators. Jeremy Lopez's claim that "Elizabethan and Jacobean drama was extremely self-conscious" and "demanded an equal self-consciousness from its audience as well" (2) is foundational to my dissertation. I also draw on Jennifer A. Low and Nova Myhill's

assertion that "imagined audiences shape dramas at the inception of the composition process as surely as plays ask their audiences to modify their behavior and interpretive practices" (1). In considering the effects of multiple embedded forms on audiences of this late play, I imagine an interactive relationship between Shakespeare and his audience.

In light of targeted considerations of wonder in *The Winter's Tale*, I argue that Shakespeare's careful orchestration of audience response culminates in their acceptance of the redemptive, miraculous resurrection of Act V. Andrew Gurr's "The Bear, the Statue, and Hysteria in *The Winter's Tale*" asks readers to consider both the bear and statue scenes within a "context of sophisticated teasing" (422), while James Knapp's "Visual and Ethical Truth in *The Winter's Tale*" contrasts the audience's acceptance of Hermione's theatrical resurrection with Leontes' initial misreading of the relationship between Hermione and Polixenes, introducing the notion of mistaken reception while reminding us once again of Paulina's famous instruction to the reformed Leontes: "It is required / You do awake your faith" (V.iii.94-5). Though neither text provides the unified treatment of the play my dissertation will attempt, both suggest the benefits of viewing *The Winter's Tale* as a meditation on the uses and limits of audience receptivity, an approach that recent scholarly interest in wonder, magic, and the late romances, particularly the work of Simon Palfrey and Peter Platt, affirms. My own work will combine these approaches, looking at the myriad ways Shakespeare conditions his audience, and in many cases his own characters, to accept his increasingly outlandish theatrical conceits.

This dissertation imagines the effects Shakespeare's uses of embedded forms must have had on the play's audiences, a practice that the notebooks of Simon Forman, which contain the single extant audience account of *The Winter's Tale* as it was performed in 1611, raise provocative questions about. In his notes on a May 15th, 1611 performance of *The Winter's Tale*,

Forman famously makes no mention of the bear or statue scenes, focusing instead on Autolycus' antics and the use of an oracle. In *Early Responses to Renaissance Drama*, Charles Whitney speculates that Forman, a physician and astrologer, "was drawn to plays featuring specialties of his own, prognostication, magic, and medicine" (149), and, later, that Forman was not receptive to the play's "wonder and pathos" (159). David M. Bergeron has even conjectured that Forman saw a version of the play that did not yet contain the statue scene (Hunt, *Critical Essays* 160). Whatever the reason, Forman's notebooks provide subsequent critics with a cautionary tale. Here, I examine textual and generic structures I believe Shakespeare embedded within *The Winter's Tale* to elicit a particular progression of audience responses; however, as Simon Forman's account so fabulously illustrates, we cannot know what each individual audience member thought while leaving the Globe, Blackfriars, or Whitehall, just as we cannot know Shakespeare's original intentions.

Nevertheless, I argue here that *The Winter's Tale* guides its audience towards the increasingly interactive, generative, and flexible forms embedded in the play's later acts. This privileging of flexibility and the very multiplicity of the play itself encourages varied responses. Indeed, through his treatment of Leontes, Shakespeare condemns rigid, proscriptive approaches to reception. It is my belief that *The Winter's Tale* allows for more open-ended and varied responses, be they Simon Forman's or my own, even as it adroitly and subtly orchestrates the affective experience of its audience.

My project differs from what has come before in its attention to *The Winter's Tale* as a systematic progression of embedded forms, both theatrical and non-theatrical, a progression mirrored by the organization of my dissertation. In the remaining sections of this introduction, I consider the heightened audience receptivity of the Jacobean period, as well as the play's

tragicomic precedents. My first chapter, “Into Tragedy,” traces the play’s descent from the courtly exchanges of Act I to the despair of III.ii, with particular attention to the generic forms Shakespeare rejects in the tragic first half of the play. I begin with an exploration of the uses and failures of courtly speech, then read the ensuing show trial as Leontes’ tragic privileging of a static, patriarchal entertainment that threatens both his family and kingdom. I close by exploring how Hermione’s lines in Acts II and III anticipate the matrilineal connection that redeems the tragic first half of the play. In this way, I trace how the opening half of *The Winter’s Tale* establishes a conflict between rigid, patriarchal entertainments, such as the show trial Leontes presides over, and the more fluid, feminine forms that pave the way for Hermione’s resurrection. Finally, I read the intentionally destabilizing anachronisms that conclude III.ii as attempts to disrupt the audience’s complacency and prepare them for the interactive oddities of Bohemia.

My second chapter, “Towards Comedy,” considers Shakespeare’s use of predominantly contemporaneous embedded genres to introduce, frame and ultimately transition away from Bohemia. I start by reading the bear as a nod to the fashionable, contrapuntal forms of bearbaiting and masque. I then argue that this double-sided generic referent informs the audience’s acceptance of Bohemia’s raucous possibilities while also smuggling a bit of Bohemian wildness into the courtly theaters the King’s Men had recently gained access to. Next, I read Shakespeare’s use of pastoral tragicomedy in the sheepshearing scene, and in particular his emphasis on mixing, grafting, disguised royals, and meta-theatrical language, as techniques intended to train his audience to accept new and outlandish possibilities. I then read the ballad peddler Autolycus as a self-conscious personification of Robert Greene’s roguery, and as a representation of the Bohemian skullduggery and early modern advent of print culture that Shakespeare ultimately rejects in favor of the live, theatrical wonders of Act V’s statue scene.

This second chapter explores the effects of the festive, often self-conscious generic referents Shakespeare embeds in Bohemia.

In my third and final chapter, "Marvels," I consider the strong female presence at the close of *The Winter's Tale*, and postulate that it is through his embedding of increasingly feminine and hybrid forms that Shakespeare creates a more receptive audience. I begin by reading Shakespeare's embedding of winter's tales and Medieval mystery plays, as well as his use of Marian imagery, as a means of conjuring his audience's nostalgia, wonder, and longing for the lost mother figure Hermione. Finally, I frame the miraculous statue scene as an antidote to the brutally predetermined show trial of III. Here, I read V.i as a theatrical performance that privileges receptivity and "warm life" (V.iii.35), one directed by the rightfully empowered Paulina and witnessed by both a humbled, newly-receptive King and by an audience that has been transformed by Shakespeare's systematic embedding of increasingly participatory forms. My focus in this final chapter is on Shakespeare's simultaneous renewal of both Leontes' and his audience's theatrical faith. I consider Shakespeare's use of dramaturgical strategies to revive a very specific audience, Leontes, whose reformed spectatorship constitutes one of the truest if least celebrated miracles of Act V, and models the brand of spectatorship expected by the play's audience as a whole.

Dissertations devoted to single texts are few and far between, but I believe the range, complexity, and intentional sequencing of *The Winter's Tale* requires the suspended attention of a monograph. While traditional dissertations often explore how multiple texts demonstrate and develop a single idea, my own work explores how a single play evokes and makes use of multiple genres. By placing *The Winter's Tale* within the context of Shakespeare's later life and work, as well as the emerging Jacobean fascination with meta-theater, genre experimentation,

romance, and pastoral tragicomedy, I hope to explore the sprawling yet rigorous poetic logic that informs Shakespeare's presentation of a redemption as longed for and improbable as the generic mixing that creates it.

JACOBEAN AUDIENCE RECEPTIVITY AND THE "TRAGICAL-COMICAL-HISTORICAL-PASTORAL" THEATRICAL LANDSCAPE

When Polonius praises an arriving theater troupe as "The best actors in the world, either for tragedy, comedy, history, pastoral, pastoral-comical, historical-pastoral, tragical-historical, tragical-comical-historical-pastoral, scene individable, or poem unlimited" (*Hamlet* II.ii.391-394), he could also have been describing the vibrant, genre-bending theatrical landscape that *The Winter's Tale* emerged from. The early seventeenth century was a time of dynamic theatrical experimentation with hybrid genres and meta-theater, and an era in which playwrights could count on and compose for unusually sophisticated, receptive audiences. In accounting for the extreme variety of embedded forms in *The Winter's Tale*, I consider genre-bending precedents, including romances by Sidney, Spenser, and Robert Greene, English experiments with the emerging form of pastoral tragicomedy, and newly available theatrical venues, all of which may have inspired Shakespeare's most generically ambitious play.

The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries were a time of prolific genre experimentation and vigorous debate about the uses of art. In Italy, Patrizi's 1586 *Della Poetica* explored the uses of the marvelous (Weinberg 785), and a decades-long argument between the Italian theorists Guarini and Denores over the politics of adaptation and fixity of artistic forms raged (Weinberg 1103), as both theorists attempted to justify the moral aims of art, distinguish

between good and bad art, apply Aristotle's *Poetics* to their own artists, and discern the proper relationship between "the work of art and nature" (Weinberg 802). Closer to home, Sir Philip Sidney defended poesy, Euphues personified the era's fascination with rhetoric, and English playwrights displayed what Stephen Greenblatt has characterized as "an increased self-consciousness about the fashioning of human identity as a manipulable, artful process" (*Renaissance Self-Fashioning* 2).

Within an environment so concerned with the uses of art, complicated forms flourished. Rosalie Colie's *The Resources of Kind: Genre-Theory in the Renaissance* makes much of small forms, such as emblem books and Shakespeare's sonnets, as well as the proliferation of mixed forms, such as Montaigne's essays, picaresque historiography, and poetic histories. Madeleine Doran's *Endeavors of Art: A Study of Form in Elizabethan Drama* further characterizes the sixteenth century's interest in multiplicity and ornamentation, evoking a time in which sermons lasted for hours, plots were doubled and even tripled, staged debates drew crowds, dramatists rediscovered the heightened theatrical effects of Euripides, and playwrights wrestled with the resulting "problem of achieving unity out of variety" (20). This wordy, elaborate, wide-ranging spirit infused the work of many contemporaneous dramatists; Stephen Greenblatt even suggests that the restlessness of Marlowe's Tamburlaine mirrors "the acquisitive energies of English…theatrical companies" (194). The dramatic spirit of the era was so exciting, so experimental, that it often proved difficult to control. Turning her attention to the proliferation of mixed forms, Doran aptly notes the absence of a "full-length critical treatment of the drama" in England at the time (108), and the "persistence of episodic structure" (295). Source material, not the author's knack for cutting, was, according to Doran, the "chief determinant" of a play's organization (296). Luckily, as Jeremy Lopez argues, "Elizabethan and Jacobean audiences

enjoyed the theatre for its variety – the variety of events portrayed on stage, the variety of characters played day to day or even scene to scene by single actors, the variety of emotions it provoked, and the variety it provided in the routine of daily life" (33). Brazen in its flouting of the theatrical unities, the expansive, hodge-podge *Winter's Tale* epitomizes the variegated tastes of its era.

The play's meta-theatricality is in fact quite characteristic of its time. In 1605, during a much anticipated performance of Ben Jonson's *Alchemist* at Blackfriars, Face dons Hieronimo's cloak and hat in an effort to seduce the wealthy Spanish widow (V.ii), while a subsequent play features Lady Politick Would-Be's offer to read Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* to Volpone (III.ii). The Blackfriars performance of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* famously opened with Citizen George and his wife Nell rising up out of the audience and suggesting both the play's sub-plot and title. A few scenes later, Rafe addresses his grocer army with a fantastically garbled version of several Shakespearean orations, Mark Antony's among them: "Gentlemen, countrymen, friends, and my fellow-soldiers, I have brought you this day from the shops of security and the counters of content" (V.ii). Here Beaumont and Fletcher accurately represent their era's obsession with extra-textual allusions in their parody of everything from individual speeches to whole genres. Rafe's eventual death with a fake arrow through the head serves a wholly comic reimagining of the tragic death scene so common to the Elizabethan stage, one not unlike Flute's Thisbe in *Midsummer Night's Dream*. As Suzanne Gossett's introduction to the Arden edition of *Pericles* states, "It is clear from Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* that by late 1607 romantic tastes were already so widespread that they invited parody" (79). Early modern playwrights and audiences were constantly engaged with each other's props, speeches, and tropes.

Composed in an era of heightened audience receptivity, *The Winter's Tale* may also have been written with multiple audiences and theatrical venues in mind. Henke argues that the mounting of *The Winter's Tale* at both the Globe and the smaller, indoor Blackfriars theater must have informed the complexity of the play's composition. Citing the "pathetic responses to the narrated and enacted recognitions in *The Winter's Tale,*" Henke concludes that, "whereas Shakespeare could not have ignored the fact that the plays would also be performed at the Globe and at court, it may very well be that the new performance venue encouraged this kind of nuancing of affective response" (333). Performed at the outdoor Globe, the courtly Whitehall, and at Blackfriars, *The Winter's Tale* was composed at the moment when Shakespeare had the broadest spectrum of theaters and theatrical audiences available to him.

Given this dynamic context, it is not surprising that Shakespeare takes the constant visual and verbal allusions that characterized its period to new heights with *The Winter's Tale*, capitalizing on his audience's sensitivity to genre, as well as their receptivity to the heterogeneous nature of early modern performance. In *Imagining Shakespeare,* Stephen Orgel notes the early modern interest in anachronism, particularly their practice of juxtaposing contemporary and setting-specific costumes, a mixture aimed at cementing "both the authenticity and the relevance of the performance" (19). Orgel argues that Renaissance drama was characterized by "mixed genres" (20), noting that even straight tragedies were themselves mongrels as they contained "comic or satiric *intermezzi* between the acts, and in England, some sort of jig at the end" (21). Critics have written extensively on the vibrant clamor of Shakespeare's London – on the bustling intersections of so many stratified worlds, highbrow and lowbrow, masculine and feminine, urban and rural, Catholic and Protestant, religious, secular, political, legal, mercantile, sinful, and sacred. Such theatrical and civic mixing animates *The*

Winter's Tale, a play named for one of the multiple entertainments it alludes to, and one that capitalizes on the Elizabethan obsession with genre experimentation and hybrid forms.

The most relevant of these forms is, of course, tragicomedy. Though *The Winter's Tale* alludes to theatrical genres ranging from ancient Greek tragedy to masque, it is perhaps most famous as a continuation of an ongoing early modern conversation about tragicomedy. Touching down on three generic precedents, Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*, Fletcher's *The Faithful Shepherdess,* and Shakespeare and Wilkins' own *Pericles*, I speculate about the factors that may have drawn Shakespeare to this hybrid genre, and look at the ways *The Winter's Tale* departs from and redefines English uses of this form. Placing *The Winter's Tale* within the context of Italian and English experiments with tragicomedy reveals its extreme heterogeneity, dependence on an increasingly interactive audience, and interest in the cultivation of wonder – qualities that I believe extend and surpass contemporaneous English experiments with this mongrel genre.

Characterized by a spirit of mixing, an interest in the marvelous, a theoretical interest in moderation, and a tendency towards melodrama in practice, the Italian tragicomedy was best represented, and certainly most fully theorized, by Guarini, the author of *Il Pastor Fido* and numerous essays, some anonymous, written in support of the emerging hybrid genre of tragicomedy and circulated during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. Within his *Compendium of Tragicomic Poetry*, Guarini outlines the "end of tragicomedy," noting that the goal of the form "is to imitate with the resources of the stage and action that is feigned and in which are mingled all the tragic and comic parts that can coexist in verisimilitude and decorum, properly arranging in a single dramatic form, with the end of purging with pleasure the sadness of the hearers." Through the careful, redemptive "mingling of both tragic and comic events" (524), Guarini aimed to elevate comedy while avoiding the abjection of tragedy. The goal was a

wondrous hybrid, a form that opened with alternately tragic and comic scenes, all the while presenting "one knot, one unraveling" (Doran 207) of plot. Guarini's theoretical text describes how the tragicomic dramatist must create an intricate web, weaving varied plotlines together until "the story is more firmly knotted and in consequence is made more beautiful and more delightful" (*Compendium* 528). Though his play's love triangles and feigned deaths lead to melodrama on the stage, Guarini's generic goals for tragicomedy – to purge melancholy and refresh the spirit (524) through the dramatist's cultivation of the "proper mixture" (517) of feelings in his audience – nevertheless laid the foundation for the English version of tragicomedy, a form that seems to have imported the same gaps between moderate theory and melodramatic practice.

Several factors may have lured Shakespeare into the writing of tragicomedies, among them the imported genre's potential to elicit new forms of affective participation, some high profile English failures with the genre, and the theatrical possibilities afforded by venues Shakespeare had recently gained access to. Citing the "metageneric" nature of tragicomedy as theorized by Guarini (*Pastoral Transformations* 141), Henke argues that Shakespeare and his contemporaries were attracted to Guarini's "more variegated, audience-based notion of dramatic genre" (23). Perhaps because of their bold experimentation with new forms of audience response, English attempts at tragicomedy were numerous enough to include some high profile flops, particularly *The Faithful Shepherdess*, Fletcher's 1609 reworking of Guarini's *Pastor Fido* (which I will treat at further length in chapter two). The newly available, privatized, indoor theatrical space of the Blackfriars theater proved a fertile testing ground for subsequent English experiments with tragicomedy as playwrights including Shakespeare struggled to read and please new, more rarefied audiences (53). Whether inspired by the affective possibilities of this newly

imported form, the intimate nature of Blackfriars, or simply the spirit of competition, Shakespeare soon achieved popular success with not one but two tragicomedies, *Pericles*, co-authored with George Wilkins, and *The Winter's Tale*.

By the time of Shakespeare and Wilkins' popular success with *Pericles*, English tragicomedy was ripe for redefinition. Though it premiered at the Globe during an inauspicious time, likely amid the "plague closures" of 1608 (Gossett 2), appearing in the first quarto in 1609 (1), *Pericles* attracted swarming crowds (2). In her introduction to the Arden edition, Suzanne Gossett notes that the play "reflects and responds to what was popular and current on local stages" (76), for instance the growing interest in brothel scenes (79), as well as the ways that Shakespeare's inclusion of "the sword dance or matachina, 'the music of the spheres' and the appearance of Diana link *Pericles* to the increasingly elaborate Jacobean court masques" (81). Gossett also notes the popular use of choruses, including 1607 King's Men's staging of Barnabe Barnes *The Devil's Charter* and the collectively authored *The Travails of the Three English Brothers* (76), both of which prepared the way for Gower. *Pericles* proved a popular, populist tragicomedy.

Pericles also anticipated many of the themes and conventions of *The Winter's Tale,* among them its scope, interest in resurrecting old tales, emphasis on wonder and recovery from loss, and incorporation of references to popular entertainments. *Pericles*, like *The Winter's Tale*, is a restless play, one that moves between Antioch, Pentapolis, and Mytilene all the while glancing back at old forms. Gower's opening line – "To sing a song that old was sung" (Prologue.1) – establishes Shakespeare's interest in old tales, and his very presence as a narrator glances forward at Shakespeare's personification of Time in his subsequent romance. The deepest link between the two plays, however, is the emphasis on time's role in familial recovery.

In Gossett's words, "For Shakespeare the most important formal element of romance seems to have been that its shape permitted a fantasy of recovery from loss. In each of his four romances a child assumed dead is miraculously recovered; in *Pericles* and *The Winter's Tale* a wife is recovered as well" (109). Like critics before her, Gossett speculates about the biographical resonance of the miraculous returns of Marina, Thaisa, and Perdita, noting that Susannah Shakespeare delivered a daughter in late February of 1608 (61), right around the time Shakespeare was composing the plays that lavished such attention on vexed fathers and their beloved daughters. At the very least, while Guarini and Fletcher concerned themselves with the juxtaposition of tragic and comic scenes, Shakespeare's tragicomedies emphasize movement – a progression through frames, genres, and settings. Like its popular antecedent *Pericles*, *The Winter's Tale* aims not to be alternately funny and sad, but to move the audience through sadness and towards redemption. The animating force of Shakespearean tragicomedy is the push towards familial recovery and the attendant feelings of wonder such redemption inspires.

Composed on the successful heels of *Pericles*, *The Winter's Tale* redefined English tragicomedy in part by reviving the sixteenth century Italian interest in a poetics of wonder, and combining this interest with populist English miracle plays. In *Reason Diminished: Shakespeare and the Marvelous,* Peter Platt characterizes Shakespeare's later plays as "experiments towards joining visual and moral wonder" (128), noting how Gower's Act IV speeches rely on "the power of the audience to knit together tale and spectacle" (132). This interest in the power of theater to conjure the marvelous anticipates *The Winter's Tale* while also reviving the theoretical Italian focus on the creation of wonder best articulated in Patrizi's 1586 treatise *Della Poetica*. The miraculous final reunions in *The Winter's Tale* seem to glance both forwards and backwards, challenging audiences to participate in an outlandish contemporary spectacle while

also nodding back at their Medieval English antecedent: the miracle play. Like many present-day scholars of Shakespearean tragicomedy, Mimi Still Dixon argues for tragicomedy as the logical, secular replacement of Medieval religious drama. Characterizing the genre as the inheritor of the mystery tradition in her essay "Tragicomic Recognitions: Medieval Miracles and Shakespearean Romance," Dixon suggests that "to approach Shakespeare through the miracle rather than through later tragicomedy or Elizabethan or modern romance is to recover and clarify certain aspects of structure and meaning in his late plays" (Maguire and Klein 61). She further notes how "the usual criticism about the improbability of the tragicomic plot is, of course, altogether undercut by the Christian context, where miracles are true" (63). This connection between Shakespearean tragicomedy, the theoretical Italian interest in a poetics of wonder, and Medieval miracle plays is critical to my argument, particularly in chapter three, where I consider how Shakespeare frames Hermione's resurrection with generic allusions to the resurrections staged by Medieval miracle plays.

In *Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play*, Anne Righter describes the Elizabethan spectator's increasing nostalgia for Medieval morality plays, as well as an increased willingness to participate in the making of theatrical meaning, two trends that affirm my reading of *The Winter's Tale*. Righter describes an audience ready to break with the unities: "In the hybrid plays written between 1550 and the time of *The Spanish Tragedy* (c.1589), the romanticism inherent in the English temper began to assert itself. Accustomed for centuries to a drama of cosmic proportions, to the representation of all time and all space upon the bare boards of the pageant cars, Elizabethans refused to content themselves with imitations of the shallow, neatly delineated stage of Seneca and Plautus" (57). Subsequent generic experiments, *Pericles* and *The Winter's Tale* among them, echo this new, restless sweep. Gone is the nearly claustrophobic concentration

on a single tragic hero; instead, *The Winter's Tale* invites its audience to identify with two generations of characters across wide gaps in time and space.

Inspired by Italian and English experiments with tragicomedy, Shakespeare's later plays cultivated a new form of spectator, one nostalgic for the mystery tradition's direct incorporation of an audience of Everymen, but also savvy enough to understand the meta-theatrical machinations of contemporaneous Elizabethan theater. Righter argues that "it was only with the sixteenth-century secularization of the theater, the gradual development of the play as illusion, that the image of the world as a stage entered English drama" (67). To what uses, Shakespeare must have wondered as he composed *The Winter's Tale*, could such illusions be put? Righter characterizes the double consciousness of the early modern audience: "For Elizabethans, then, the relation of illusion to reality was anything but simple. The play, holding a mirror up to nature, was bound to reflect the reality represented by its audience. Yet this audience was also forced to recognize the encroachments of illusion upon its own domain" (83). Dixon echoes this characterization as she imagines the "sophisticated spectators of Shakespeare's tragicomedies, imaginatively engaged in a fiction they know to be fiction and, paradoxically, by virtue of this acknowledgement, able to see beyond it" (Maguire and Klein 77). My own project combines these theories, arguing that Shakespeare elicited and harnessed the participation of an unusually sophisticated audience.

Over the next few chapters, I argue that *The Winter's Tale*, building on contemporaneous experiments with meta-theater and hybrid forms, conditions its audiences to participate in the final miracles of Act V. Rooted in early seventeenth century English experiments with tragicomedy, *The Winter's Tale* also gestures towards classical tragedy, contemporaneous

spectacles such as bearbaiting and masque, and entertainments ranging from royal pageantry to miracle plays to statue-viewing. It is this scope that my dissertation aims to account for.

CHAPTER ONE: INTO TRAGEDY

The first three acts of *The Winter's Tale* present the three major forms of Elizabethan tragedy Doran's study enumerates: "*De casibus* tragedy, or the fall of the mighty, with ambition as a chief motivating force"; Italianate intrigue tragedy, which may mirror the lives of historical subjects, and which presents love or jealousy as "the central passion"; and domestic tragedy, often featuring "crime in the lives of ordinary citizens" (115). Within this larger tragic framework – one that features King Leontes' tyrannical jealousy, fall from grace, and destruction of his family and kingdom – I explore Shakespeare's juxtaposition of embedded forms emphasizing tragic rigidity and redemptive flexibility. The opening acts of *The Winter's Tale* are set inside Leontes' court, a closed, indoor location in which Shakespeare embeds two non-theatrical forms of rigid, royal performance – courtly flattery and a show trial – both of which reflect the static, un-generative arts that his play ultimately rejects. Although this first, tragic half of *The Winter's Tale* revolves around such patriarchal, neoclassical, and courtly forms, Shakespeare occasionally tempers these dramatic templates with references to the fluid, feminine, and ultimately generative forms, such as old wives' tales and Marian miracle plays, that will restore both Hermione and Sicilia.

I first argue that Shakespeare foregrounds courtly modes of performance in order to display the limitations of the static Sicilian arts. Reading the rhetorical exchanges of Act I as a type of royal performance, I interpret the portentous language of I.i as indicative of the magical, farsighted, and ultimately redemptive register that will resurface in Act V, and as a simultaneous nod to the precariousness of staged flattery. I then explore how courtly speechifying leads to Leontes' meta-theatrical failure: his inability to interpret Hermione's rhetorical performance, a particularly potent error in a play that hinges on theatrical reception. Reading Leontes' error as one of reception, we see Shakespeare's condemnation of Leontes' inflexibility as a spectator, an inflexibility that the generic mixing of the subsequent acts will correct.

In the second part of this chapter, I argue that Shakespeare's descriptions of Hermione's pregnancy and use of anachronisms help move his audience beyond Leontes' static and unforgiving reign. Drawing on recent critical interest in what Linda Woodbridge and Edward Berry describe as the "relationship between Elizabethan ritualism, broadly conceived, and Shakespeare's plays" (2), I read the show trial of Act II as the manifestation of a rigid, Sicilian brand of performance that *The Winter's Tale* ultimately rejects: a sterile, patriarchal presentation featuring Hermione as an unwilling actor and Leontes as both a tyrannical director and a disastrously immovable audience member. I then consider the generic clues Shakespeare embeds in the first half of his play to indicate that *The Winter's Tale* will extend beyond Leontes' tragic stranglehold. Focusing on the roles Hermione and Perdita play in the restoration of Sicilia, I read Hermione's pregnancy and "pregnant" language as allusions to the feminine knowledge and restorative, living arts that *The Winter's Tale* celebrates, and to the role that feminine genres will play in the resolution of the play (an argument continued in chapter three). The last moments of this chapter trace how Shakespeare's allusion to an oracle and inclusion of multiple

anachronisms jolt his audience out of a tragic, Sicilian stasis and prepare them for the movement towards comic Bohemia.

RHETORICAL BRIDGES

Shakespeare opens *The Winter's Tale* with an embedded entertainment: an elaborate rhetorical exchange between the courtiers Camillo and Archidamus. I argue here that this exchange of fawning speeches evokes the court tragedy mode of *King Lear* while also nodding to the precariousness of rhetorical performance, a potent allusion in an era notoriously hostile to flattery. The high flown language in this exchange immediately foregrounds the play's themes of performance and reception; elaborate phrasing such as "Beseech you" (I.i.8), "Verily" (I.i.9), and "unspeakable comfort" (I.i.26) is so exalted that the audience is immediately conscious that these two courtiers, who we have just met, are in fact performing for each other. My focus here is on the hyperbolic good will expressed by Camillo and Archidamus, whose words conjure the wonder necessary to bridge Sicilia and Bohemia, and on the audience's simultaneous awareness of the precariousness of such rhetorical bridges.

The speechifying of I.i reflects the period's fascination with oratory, multiplicity, and ornamentation, as well as the elevated register of Shakespeare's courtly tragedies. Doran describes the sixteenth century's interest in medieval rhetorical culture, including "the late medieval interest in diversity and detail, the medieval interest in story for its own sake," and "the medieval emphasis on rhetoric and style founded on a debased tradition of classical rhetoric" (13). Staged debates on art and nature, sermons that lasted for hours, inflated, episodic narratives, double plots, and a return to the heightened theatrical effects of Euripides: all

contributed to what Doran describes as the linguistic and theatrical "copiousness" (20) of an era reflected perfectly in the extravagantly polite language of this opening scene. Camillo and Archidamus' exchange also evokes several of the generic markers of tragedy outlined by Lucy Munro's essay on tragic forms, among them the use of a "heightened style" ("Tragic Forms" 93) marked by anaphora and other rhetorical devices, and a concern for the fate of royal male protagonists (96).

As high-flown as their language is, both Camillo and Archidamus agree that it cannot capture the extent of their good will. Though Archidamus tries to put the emphasis on honesty and plain speech – saying, "Believe me, I speak as my understanding instructs me and as mine honesty puts it to utterance" (1.1.14-15) – over and over the courtiers in this scene find themselves searching for words. The dashes, flowery exchanges, and effusive interruptions of Archidamus and Camillo immediately evoke the play's interest in what lies beyond language. The two courtiers seem to trip over each other in their desire to express their adoration:

> ARCHIDAMUS: …for indeed –
> CAMILLO: Beseech you –
> ARCHIDAMUS: Verily, I speak it in the freedom of my knowledge.
> We cannot with such magnificence – in so rare – I know not what to say. (I.i.7-10)

The first thirty lines emphasize inflated rhetoric, and the failure to communicate, in this case to flatter, as much as each character desires. "Sicilia cannot show himself overkind to Bohemia" (I.i.16), Camillo tells Archidamus, who will later note that "You have an unspeakable comfort of your young prince Mamilius" (I.i.26-7). Here, the emphasis is on what cannot be communicated – an overkindness that cannot be expressed, the unspeakable comfort of the prince. Both courtiers agree that their flattering words can only hint at the inexpressible hopes of the two kingdoms.

Camillo's words point to larger worlds beyond language. The courtier seems to travel in both time and space as he conjures the childhood affections of the two kings, and their future partnership, explaining how "they were trained together in their childhoods, and there rooted betwixt them then such an affection which cannot choose but branch now…they have seemed to be together though absent, shook hands as over a vast, and embraced as it were from the ends of opposed winds. The heavens continue their loves!" (I.i.16-24). Like the portentous language that the Gentleman and Paulina will use in Act V, his language is infused with a magical sense of scope, an ability to evoke both past and future. In *Shakespearean Romance*, Howard Felperin describes the conversation between Camillo and Archidamus in I.i as presenting an "oracular language, reflective of the nature of the play as a whole" (223), one in keeping with the play's emphasis on shaping fantasies, and with its status as a late romance. Written in prose, I.i anticipates the soaring text of V.ii, when the three astonished Gentleman report on the "passion of wonder" (V.ii.12) as the two kings reunite. A preview of the elevated register that Shakespeare will return to in his final scenes, Camillo supplies the dominant image of the opening scene: that of the two kings shaking hands "as over a vast."

Camillo's unusual use of "vast" as a noun conjures the many physical, temporal, and even affective gaps *The Winter's Tale* will require its audiences and characters to fill in as we move between Sicilia and Bohemia, elder and younger generations, and tragic and comic landscapes. Indicative of the distance *The Winter's Tale* covers, this image of a simple human handshake attempting to bridge seemingly incompatible worlds is also unsteady; Camillo must use a simile to convey the joyful spiritual unity of the two geographically separated kings.

Shakespeare's staging of flattery in this scene underscores the precariousness of Camillo's image. In "Dogs, Licking, Candy, Melting; and the Flatterer's False Glass," Meredith

Skura reads the cluster of metaphors evoked by her chapter title as indicative of Shakespeare's political and theatrical distrust of flattery. Skura argues that by the time he "began writing romances," Shakespeare had explored the political pitfalls of excessive flattery "at some length in a series of plays about politics, which in their own way turn out to be as much about theater as the great house plays" (168). Skura describes the volatility of the king who "finds in fact that he himself must stoop to flattery to court the courtiers – or, worse, the masses" (169) and the actor whose "scorn for the flattering audience is inseparable from his dependence on them and on their flattery" (167). Archidamus and Camillo are joyful characters, and flexible Camillo can certainly be considered one of the heroes of the play, but there's an edge to the fawning exchanges that these courtiers open the play with. As an audience member, I want to believe their joyful hyperbole, but, as Skura argues, kings and actors cannot always trust the flattery they thrive on.

Again and again, *The Winter's Tale* will require its characters, and its audience, to bridge worlds. In this way, the opening scene models what will eventually be required of Shakespeare's spectators as we work to make sense of an increasingly fragmented and outrageous plot. Felperin explains how the very design of the play echoes the themes of transcendence evoked by the opening scene: "For in the romantic design of *The Winter's Tale*, death and disease will be transcended, time and space telescoped almost at will, and impossibilities made to seem unexceptionable" (223). The farsighted, grandiose speeches of Archidamus and Camillo help introduce Shakespeare's audience to the leaps that will soon be required of them.

This training is evident in the prophetic, conditional nature of Archidamus' opening lines, and, perhaps, in the expendability of Archidamus himself. The first phrase of the play is tellingly capricious: "If you shall chance, Camillo," Archidamus begins, "to visit Bohemia on the like occasion whereon my services are now on foot, you shall see, as I have said, great difference

betwixt our Bohemia and your Sicilia" (I.i.1-3). Truer words are never spoken in *The Winter's Tale*, and before the end of Act I Camillo will depart for Bohemia, where he will encounter "great difference" indeed. When Camillo mentions the prospect of a Sicilian visitation, Archidamus protests, saying "We will give you sleepy drinks, that your senses, unintelligent of our insufficience, may, though they cannot praise us, as little accuse us" (I.i.10-12), a line concerned with the realities that the distorted mind creates, and one that anticipates Leontes' own description of seeing an infecting "spider" (II.i.45) in his drink. Here, too, Archidamus' focus is on the difference between Sicilia and Bohemia, and on what might be done to bridge the large gap between the two worlds. This gap is again underscored when, after assuring Camillo of the promise and importance of the young prince Mamillius, Archidamus vanishes from the play entirely. Unbeknown to both courtiers in this scene, flexible Camillo will ultimately replace Archidamus as Polixenes' aid, showcasing his ability to flourish in both Sicilia and Bohemia, once again bridging worlds.

Infused with conditional phrasing, temporal leaps, and predictive clauses, the opening scene of *The Winter's Tale* first introduces audiences to the copious narrative and temporal gaps they will soon be expected to fill in. The flattering exchange between Camillo and Archidamus provides a fitting start for a play whose final act challenges audiences to accept outrageous, almost hyperbolic good fortune – the return of a lost daughter and wife presumed dead - while at the same time avoiding the tragic consequences of misinterpretation. As the first two characters to navigate this line, Camillo and Archidamus prove conversant in the miraculous register of the play, yet the perfect balance of I.i cannot be preserved. It takes a single misreading to shatter the peace these two flattering courtiers work so hard to conjure.

It is often noted that Leontes' initial failing - the very act that sets the tragic first half of *The Winter's Tale* in motion – is his misinterpretation of Hermione's persuasion of Polixenes (Knapp 254). In this way, the tragic momentum of Act I stems from the misinterpretation of courtly display and the consequences that follow. One of the longer scenes in the play, I.ii revolves around courtly flattery, and in particular around Leontes' misreading of Hermione's invitation to Polixenes – an invitation that he himself commissions – to stay longer. However, unlike Camillo and Archidamus, who exchange rhetorical flourishes with oracular good will, Leontes proves prone to deathly misinterpretation. The tragedy of *The Winter's Tale* stems from Leontes' failure to interpret his wife's act of rhetorical persuasion – a minor failure that has wildly destructive consequences within a play that revolves around the role of the theatrical spectator. With no set of consistent constraints to operate around and within, no generic, temporal, or geographical boundaries, *The Winter's Tale* becomes dependent on audience reception, a reception that Leontes will model, first as an incapable, even deadly spectator, and later as the restored theatrical spectator that *The Winter's Tale* both produces and requires.

Much like the opening speeches of Archidamus and Camillo, Polixenes' first lines revolve around time, visitation, flattery, and the impossibility of capturing his thanks in words:

> Nine changes of the wat'ry star hath been
> The shepherd's note since we have left our throne
> Without a burden. Time as long again
> Would be filled up, my brother, with our thanks,
> And yet we should for perpetuity
> Go hence in debt. And therefore, like a cipher,
> Yet standing in rich place, I multiply
> With one "We thank you" many thousands more
> That go before it. (II.i.1-9)

Explaining the impossibility of articulating his gratitude, Polixenes alludes to an inescapable

debt, saying that his thanks must fill "Time as long again" as his visit. He imagines an endless loop, one characteristic of the repetitions inherent in the Sicilian arts (discussed in the next subsection), and his references to "perpetuity" and to the multiplication of thanks recall the extravagant flattery of the opening scene while alluding to the precariousness of rhetoric in general.

As in I.i, the focus of this scene is on speaking: on speeches, like Polixenes' attempt to thank his host, that can never measure up to their aims, and on speeches, like Hermione's, that succeed only to be misinterpreted. In this scene, the three central characters spend most of their time talking about the act of talking. Throwing down the initial gauntlet, Polixenes assures his friend that he cannot be persuaded to stay, saying "There is no tongue that moves, none, none i' th' world / So soon as yours could win me" (I.ii.20-21). In his first line to Hermione, one that provokes her first line in the play, Leontes instructs his Queen to try her hand at convincing his friend: "Tongue-tied, our Queen? Speak you" (I.ii.27). Persuaded to persuade, Hermione is asked to perform Leontes' will, which begins with a characteristic reference to – what else? – speaking. "I had thought, sir, to have held my peace until / You had drawn oaths from him not to stay," she begins, before mounting her own rhetorical arguments. Hermione's attempts to convince Polixenes to stay revolve around what Leontes should say; after alluding to her own silence, she refers twice to what Leontes should "Tell him" (I.ii.30, 34). Hermione and Polixenes' emphasis on conversation, concord, and courtly agreement establishes their facility with the non-theatrical genre of rhetorical performance, and throws Leontes' suspicion into bold relief.

Leontes' sudden jealousy infuses the rhetorical contests Hermione and Polixenes continue to engage in with a sense of danger. Hermione is natural and chatty as she turns toward Polixenes with yet another rhetorical game, saying "Come, I'll question you / Of my lord's tricks

and yours when you were boys" (I.ii.60-61), but her own speeches stand in stark contrast to her husband's clipped, distrustful asides. Ultimately, Hermione's success in persuading Polixenes to stay proves a pyrrhic victory when her clever bit of language play about prisoners prophesies her own captivity. Turning to her guest Polixenes, Hermione informs him that, if he does not agree to stay, she will be forced to "keep you as a prisoner, / Not like a guest…How say you? / My prisoner or my guest?" (I.ii.52-55). Her rhetorical sport is rewarded when Polixenes responds, "Your guest, then, madam. / To be your prisoner should import offending" (I.ii.56-57). Hermione succeeds with a clever little chiasmus, a bit of rhetorical sport that Leontes' misinterpretation will render terrifyingly literal. An act later, Leontes, afraid he cannot keep Hermione as his "guest," will send his pregnant wife to prison, where she will give birth. The King spends the next two acts escalating the situation, misinterpreting Hermione's playful cajoling so powerfully that her words result in her actual imprisonment.

All of Leontes' subsequent speeches reflect this infected, suspicious state of mind. His phrasing is chaotic, and his words, particularly those describing Hermione, become increasingly grotesque. Speaking to Camillo, Leontes digresses again and again, his dashes stringing together his jangling, accusatory lines:

> Ha' not you seen, Camillo –
> But that's past doubt; you have, or your eyeglass
> Is thicker than a cuckold's horn – or heard –
> For a vision so apparent, rumor
> Cannot be mute – or thought – for cognition
> Resides not in that man that does not think –
> My wife is slippery? If thou wilt confess,
> Or else be impudently negative
> To have nor eyes nor ears nor a thought, then say
> My wife's a hobbyhorse, deserves a name
> As rank as any flax-wench that puts to
> Before her trothplight. Say't and justify't. (I.ii.266-277)

Here, Leontes' sexual jealousy informs even the metaphors he uses as he struggles to make

Camillo "confess" and "say" Hermione's crimes. Both Leontes and Camillo draw attention to language in their exchange, Leontes by wanting Camillo to accuse his wife, to "Say't and justify't," and Camillo by refusing even to restate the King's libelous words: "You never spoke what did become you less / Than this, which to reiterate were sin / As deep as that, though true" (I.ii.281-283). So powerful are Leontes' words that Camillo will not even repeat them for fear that their meaning will stick. The punctuation of Leontes' speeches echoes the disorder of his mind, the dashes and odd syntax mirroring his new and frenzied capacity for interruption. In contrast to the good will that can't quite be articulated in the opening scene, Leontes' speech hints at larger, more destructive forces: sexual jealousy, fear, rage.

Leontes' sudden fury showcases the simplicity of mistaking; he is quickly and desperately wrong, despite the endless array of evidence to the contrary. Shocked by her husband's behavior, Hermione attempts to calm and correct him, saying "You, my lord, / Do but mistake" (II.i.81-2), yet his mistake proves deadly within a play that requires so much of its spectators. In this way, Leontes becomes representative of those audience members unable to countenance the miraculous. He is fixed, furious, and unwilling to interpret. When Hermione again tells her King "You did mistake" (II.i.101), Leontes is quick to reject her, and to expand the potential damage of his misreading: "No. If I mistake / In those foundations which I build upon, / The center is not big enough to bear / A schoolboy's top" (II.i.101-104). One misreading – a misreading of a bit of rhetorical sport, of simple persuasion – is now enough to threaten the foundations of his kingdom.

In this and subsequent scenes, Camillo, Polixenes, Hermione, and Paulina respond to Leontes' infected spectatorship by turning towards other, more physical mediums in the hopes that they will alter Leontes' fixed position. Once Camillo persuades Polixenes to escape from

Sicilia, saying that the King is mad, Polixenes confirms this accusation by reflecting on Leontes' countenance: "I do believe thee; / I saw his heart in's face" (II.i.445-446). Later, Paulina will carry the infant Perdita up from the prison and to Leontes, hoping that her tiny face, a copy of the King's, will return her father to his senses. Paulina is convinced of the rightness of this move, saying "The silence often of pure innocence / Persuades when speaking fails" (II.ii.41-42). Hermione, too, spends Act II asking for Leontes to look at her, repeatedly requesting that he "behold" (III.ii.34) her, but Leontes proves as inept an interpreter of faces as he is of courtly speech.

This inability to respond to performance is not surprising in light of the King's constant perversion of theatrical language. Leontes spends the beginning of *The Winter's Tale* describing theater and dance in miserable, soul-crushing ways. Watching Hermione give her hand to Polixenes (I.ii.108 SD), he claims "Too hot, too hot! / To mingle friendship far is mingling bloods. / I have *tremor cordis* on me. My heart dances, / But not for joy, not joy" (II.i.108-111). Though Bohemia will be filled with jigs and dancing, here in Sicilia, the word "dance" is just another way of describing a heart attack. Speaking to Mamillius, the King uses the word "play" six times, four of them dismissively, and all of them tragically: "Go play, boy, play. Thy mother plays, and I / Play too, but so disgraced a part, whose issue / Will hiss me to my grave. Contempt and clamor / Will be my knell. Go play, boy, play" (I.ii.187-190). Leontes cannot "play" because he is not receptive. Instead, he remains fixated on his false interpretation, as his simple error in reception becomes a tragic entrenchment that limits all of the Sicilian arts.

THE TRAGIC PERFORMANCE OF THE KING'S WILL

As the foundation of a play that revolves around what it means to witness and be moved by live performance, Acts II and III showcase the tragic and ultimately un-generative consequences of Sicilia's inflexible pageantry. I argue here that Shakespeare's use of a show trial to anchor the first, tragic half of *The Winter's Tale* underscores the tragic rigidity of the Sicilian arts, while also foregrounding Leontes' tyrannical immovability and the powerlessness of any spectator to stop Hermione's suffering.

Through his insistence on a show trial, Leontes assumes the double role of director and tyrant. Calling his "sessions" (III.ii.1) to order, Leontes conducts an elaborate trial, complete with the presence of "officers" (III.ii.SD), the reading of an indictment in which Hermione is "accused and arraigned of high treason" (III.ii.13), and the physical display of a disgraced, postpartum Hermione. "It is His Highness' pleasure," an Officer reports, "that the Queen / Appear in person here in court" (III.ii.9-10). Deranged Leontes is convinced he is doing right, and notes how "we so openly / Proceed in justice" (III.ii.5-6), but the "Silence!" (III.ii.10) that he calls for is suffocating, and the physical sight of Hermione, displayed in Leontes' courtroom after delivering her daughter in prison, is indelibly tragic. In "*The Winter's Tale* and the Oracle of the Law," Virgina Lee Strain claims that "Leontes' reasoning presents a tyrannical form of historical juris-prudence in which the past is manufactured to reflect the present judge's opinion (in this case, to reflect the king's will)" (566). Nothing slows the tragic trajectory of Leontes' pageant: not Hermione's "honorable grief" (II.i.111), not the presence of the infant Perdita in his chambers (II.iii), not the kneeling of all of his lords (II.iii.153), not his own considerable suffering, not even the oracle (III.ii.135). In this way, the scene models what Strain characterizes

as “the foreclosure of the mode of correction otherwise built into legal thought in which future judicial decisions and legislation present the potential to restore or redirect the law should it veer off course” (567). Unlike the dynamic trial scenes of both *The Merchant of Venice* and *Measure for Measure*, in which disguise, surprise, and reversal play critical roles, the fixed trial at the center of *The Winter’s Tale* dramatizes the problem of a King’s unchecked power and judicial immovability. The drama of these particular trial scenes stems from the powerlessness of both on-stage and off-stage spectators to correct Leontes.

As a theatrical subgenre, the staged show trial conjured cultural anxieties about the power of the sovereign. In "(Mis)representing Justice on the Early Modern Stage," Holger Schott Syme notes that early modern dramatists “unfailingly” (69) elected not to portray jury trials, the most common form of contemporaneous legal procedure, on stage, and chose instead to portray “vivid scenes of injustice in action” (73). Subha Mukherji’s *Law and Representation in Early Modern Drama* argues that the staging of trial scenes dramatized contemporaneous anxieties over the potentially tyrannical implementation of the law. Mukherji asserts that “authority was indeed a troubled notion not only in medieval England where heresy brought the problems of theorizing authority into focus, but also in the Early Modern period when many of the debates continued” (235). Strain sees evidence of such cultural anxieties in Leontes’ overbearing orchestration of Hermione’s trial, arguing that “the dramatic fallout of the trial brings to the fore the concurrent historical struggle between James and the judiciary over the sovereign’s relationship to the law and the jurisdiction of courts” (569).

The image of a king forcing his formerly beloved queen to speak at her own trial may also have stirred cultural memories of the 1536 trial of Anne Boleyn, herself tried and executed by an unchecked King for charges of adultery and treason (DiGangi 9), as well as her more

sympathetic predecessor Catherine of Aragon. Certainly Shakespeare made this connection; his 1613 work *Henry VIII* features a similar scene, in which Katherine, accused by Henry VIII's dubious "conscience" (a conscience triggered by the sight of gorgeous Anne Boleyn), heroically endures a trial that both she and Shakespeare's Elizabethan audience knew that she would lose (II.iv). Like the falsely accused Hermione, Katherine appeals to a justice beyond the rule of the king: "I will not tarry; no, nor ever more / Upon this business my appearance make / In any of their courts" (II.iv.141-143). Katherine's lines articulate a truth that both characters, as well as their historical and theatrical audiences, knew well: as righteous as they know their causes to be, they will not win against the rigged courts in which they are tried.

If Shakespeare's choice of a show trial foregrounds Leontes' role as a tyrannical director and immovable judge, it also presents Hermione as a reluctant player forced to perform for an immovable spectator. The consequence of Leontes' initial failure as a spectator, the show trial he orchestrates foregrounds the inflexibility of Sicilia, a kingdom in which the closest thing to live theater is a tragic, life-threatening pageant.

Hermione's lines draw constant attention to her unwilling performance of the King's will. Pulled from her son and gentlewomen and publically accused by her husband, she chooses her words carefully, inviting the assembled lords to witness and "measure" her:

> Good my lords,
> I am not prone to weeping, as our sex
> Commonly are, the want of which vain dew
> Perchance shall dry your pities; but I have
> That honorable grief lodged here which burns
> Worse than tears drown. Beseech you all, my lords,
> With thoughts so qualified as your charities
> Shall best instruct you, measure me; and so
> The King's will be performed! (II.i.108-116)

Hermione is a private figure; though her grief is honorable, it is also lodged within. Although she acknowledges that crocodile tears might elicit greater pity, Hermione refuses to act out her own

sorrows, choosing instead to play an unwilling part in the King's pageant.

Over and over again, Hermione laments the publicity of her shame. "How will this grieve you, / When you shall come to clearer knowledge, that / You thus have published me" (II.i.97-99), she tells Leontes. In the subsequent act, her fears come to fruition: Hermione spends III.ii on a stand, and this image of her, postpartum, dirty, bereft of any comfort, and subject to the whims of her disturbed king and husband, is one that she herself constantly refers to. Her unhappiness "is more / Than history can pattern, though devised / And play'd to take spectators" (III.ii.32-34); even as staged history - another template Shakespeare and his audiences knew well - she explains, her misery would be beyond belief. Imagining her story unfolding like a tragic play, she then appeals to her most antagonistic spectator, Leontes, as well as the play's audience itself:

> …For behold me
> A fellow of the royal bed, which owe
> A moiety of the throne a great king's daughter,
> The mother to a hopeful prince, here standing
> To prate and talk for life and honour 'fore
> Who please to come and hear. (III.ii.34-39)

Here is the great Queen Hermione "standing / To prate and talk for life." Each of her monologues in this scene draws attention to her degraded state. Sixty lines later, she again describes herself as an unwilling performer, one who has been "hurried / Here to this place, i' the open air, before / I have got strength of limit" (III.ii.101-103). Though Leontes begins the scene by congratulating himself on how "we so openly / proceed in justice" (III.ii.5-6), Hermione's take is quite different: on stage in an open-air theater, her grief is all the more public, all the more shaming.

Hermione knows, too, that she must "prate and talk" for an impossible audience: her unyielding husband Leontes. Like the audience observing her trial, she herself cannot change her husband's mind. One of the only times that the Queen interrupts her stoicism is to imagine an

unlikely source of sympathy: "The Emperor of Russia was my father. / Oh, that he were alive and beholding / His daughter's trial! That he did but see / The flatness of my misery, yet with eyes / Of pity, not revenge!" (III.ii.116-120). In "Jacobean Muscovites: Winter, Tyranny, and Knowledge in *The Winter's Tale*," Daryl Palmer describes the hold that the brutal Russian leader Ivan IV had on the English imagination. Palmer points out Ivan IV's reputation for killing his own son in a rage, as well as Shakespeare's alteration of his source material *Pandosto*, in which the emperor of Russia is evoked as a distant connection of Egistus/Leontes, not a pitying father of Hermione (*Pandosto, Historie* 24), as a means of explaining the absurdity, and the effectiveness, of Hermione's apostrophe: even the fiercest living tyrant would look on her with more pity than Leontes, whose failure as a spectator compounds his failure as a husband, father, and King.

Hermione's ensuing misery and eventual collapse – a collapse Paulina reports as a death – in Act III dovetails with Mukherji's speculations about the show trial's generic relationship to tragicomedy. Mukherji claims show trials provided tragicomic dramatists a way to evoke danger and sorrow without including actual deaths, a formula Guarini himself prescribed; "by bringing alive the reality of the suffering that the characters undergo, without knowing that all will come right in the end, dramatists draw attention to the emotional cost of ingenious plotting" (246). Throughout the trial, Hermione narrates her own suffering. More surprisingly, Leontes, too, laments, starting each of the trial scenes with a statement of despair: "Nor night nor day, no rest!" (II.iii.1); "This sessions, to our great grief we pronounce, / Even pushes 'gainst our heart" (III.ii.1-2). As a theatrical subgenre, the show trial provided a way for Shakespeare to highlight and extend the suffering caused by Leontes' inflexibility.

Compounding this sorrow is the powerlessness of Shakespeare's spectators to alter such a tragic template. Syme characterizes trial scenes in early modern drama as distinctively non-participatory. Extending his inquiry into the lack of jury trials on the early modern stage, Syme rejects the theory that audience members acted as figurative jurors, arguing that "unlike juries, spectators do not 'try' the facts of a play" and noting their inability to "change the outcome" (79). Syme goes on to argue that the role of the theatrical spectator has far more in common with that of a passive observer of a trial:

> Audiences in the theater are like audiences at trials: crucially important as witnesses to the respective representational activities of stage and court but not active participants in the sense that their judgment matters on the level of the plot…. Members of the audience who storm onto the stage to declare, say, that Hermione is innocent, mistakenly cross over from the world of the theater into the world of the play. They do not pass judgment—they interrupt the scene. (80)

Shakespeare's choice of a show trial relegates his audience, and all of Leontes' courtiers, to the role of miserable bystanders. In Act V, Shakespeare will offer his audience the choice to interpret the return of Hermione as miraculous, but the tension of Acts II and III stems from audience's inability to alter the tragic trajectory of an unjust trial; though we spectators can change our own beliefs, we cannot alter Leontes' deadly insistence on a theatrical form associated with tyrannical judgment and powerless spectators.

UPSTAGING PREGNANCY

Characterized by a tyrannical director, a reluctant actor, and by Leontes' immovability as a spectator, the Sicilian performance of the King's will is tragically bad. While *Midsummer*'s rude mechanicals produce a play so terrible that it soars to new comic heights, delighting the lovers before their wedding night, here in Sicilia, theater is so distorted as to pose a threat to the

very lifeblood of the kingdom. The stilted, ceremonial performance of the King's will dominates Act III, as Leontes' courtroom theatrics replace the female childbed rituals that Hermione's pregnancy should entitle her to. This section explores the tragic consequences of these sparring, gendered ceremonies, paying particular attention to the ways Leontes misinterprets Hermione's pregnancy, and to how the missing, feminine rituals surrounding Perdita's birth would have resonated for an Elizabethan audience intimately familiar with such ceremonies. Perdita is the only infant that appears on the Shakespearean stage, and Hermione the only pregnant mother; this section considers how, in setting up a conflict between two opposing ceremonials – birthing and judicial – Shakespeare underscores the tragic, un-generative consequences of Leontes' rigid, masculine pageant, which threaten the new life Hermione carries, and with it the continuation of Leontes' reign.

In "Overkill in Shakespeare," Gillian Murray Kendall considers this tension between the body politic and the politics of the body in *The Winter's Tale*. Commenting on the first half of the play, she asserts that "resistance to state authority is, for Leontes, a result of the autonomy of the female reproductive body, and the king imagines in Hermione a crime that gives him new control over her, as if he felt a need to legitimize his power through the suppression of that body" (35). By subjecting his pregnant wife to prison and an arduous trial, Leontes proves his ultimate control over her. It is my contention that this desire for dominance takes theatrical form, as Leontes supplants the female rituals and ceremonies surrounding Hermione's pregnancy with his own male ceremonies of state. Shakespeare links the destruction of Leontes' family – the severing of ties to his infant daughter, death of his son, and collapse of his Queen – with the King's insistence on subjecting Hermione to a show trial, a theatrical template with a fixed and

deadly outcome, thus condemning both Leontes and the inflexibility of the deadly artistic template he presides over.

The mad King spends I.ii misreading Hermione's rhetorical persuasion of Polixenes, and the next two acts misinterpreting her pregnancy. Rather than view Hermione's swollen belly as evidence of her generative love, Leontes reflects male cultural anxieties when he views it a sign of Hermione's sexual promiscuity. In *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England*, Gail Kern Paster notes the early modern belief that women's bodies produced more fluids than men's, noting how the cultural depiction of women as "leaky vessels" excreting blood, urine, tears, and milk justified beliefs about the female lack of emotional and sexual self control (25). Leontes' grotesque sexual accusations underscore such fears. In response to his wife's supposed infidelity, he imagines the naivety of a cuckolded man, who beholds his wife and "little thinks she has been sluiced in 's absence / And his pond fished by his next neighbor, by / Sir Smile, his neighbor" (I.ii.194-196). His is the language of fluids and floodgates. Hermione is "slippery" (I.ii.272), and when he discovers that Camillo and Polixenes have escaped, he asks "How came the posterns / So easily open?" (II.i.52-53). The overlap of Hermione's pregnancy and Polixenes' visit, both of which have lasted for "Nine changes of the wat'ry star" (I.ii.1) at the opening of the play, triggers Leontes' fixation on the borders of his wife's body and his own kingdom.

Such suspicions reflected common cultural fears. In "Hermione's Suspicious Body: Adultery and Superfetation in *The Winter's Tale*," Michelle Ephraim explores contemporaneous beliefs about superfetation, a process by which early modern doctors believed a pregnant woman could conceive and bear an additional child by a different father, as well as generalized male fears that married women could use pregnancy as a cover for adultery. Ephraim connects these

suspicions to the image of "twinned lambs" (I.ii.67) Polixenes speaks of: "images of doubling appear in Shakespeare's play and, like discussions of superfetation in contemporary gynecological and medical tracts, suggest evidence of the pregnant woman's sexual indiscretions" (48). In Ephraim's view, Leontes' suspicion and fury reflect "contemporary fears about the pregnant woman's sexual autonomy" (48). Shakespeare's language bears this out; while Hermione rationally explains to her husband that he "did mistake" (II.i.101), Leontes speaks the language of pregnancy as he imagines the source of Mamillius' sudden illness: "Conceiving the dishonor of his mother, / He straight declined, drooped, took it deeply" (II.iii.13-14). Leontes' suspicions are so unbounded, so irrational, indeed so hysterical, that he projects them onto his son.

Because Leontes so tragically misreads Hermione's pregnancy, he forces his wife to forego the cultural ceremonies she herself should be at the center of; thus, having failed as a spectator, he begins the tragic direction of his wife by initiating court rituals that will upstage the gathering of midwives, nurses, female neighbors, and relations, outpouring of care, and final churching ceremony Hermione expects. DiGangi's discussion of "Gender, Sexuality, and the Family" within *The Winter's Tale: Texts and Contexts* makes much of what Hermione's trial requires her to forfeit, saying "it is important to understand the implications of what Leontes denies Hermione by causing her to give birth in prison and forcing her to stand trial during the 'childbed privilege' (III.i.100) of her lying-in month" (176). Six midwives attended to the 1605 birth of Princess Mary, and the childbed alone cost 15,593 pounds at a time when laborers made 12 pounds a year (193). John Nichols' 1828 account of *The Progress, Processions, and Magnificent Festivities of King James the First* recreates a historical scene diametrically opposed to the image of Hermione giving birth in a prison: "The Queen expects her delivery every hour,

and prayers are dayly said every where for her safety. There is great preparation for the Christening-chamber, and costly furniture provided for performance of other ceremonies" (505). Describing the churching ceremony, which took place "Upon Whit-Sunday, the 19th of May," a date Perdita will later refer to (IV.iv.133), Nichols paints an idealized picture, recognizing the importance of the Queen's female attendants, the blessing of the lords, prayer, music, and, most notably, the tender support of the King. He describes how "the King and Queene came both forth of their traverses, and met before the altar, and, imbracing each other with great kindnesse, went hand in hand together, until they came to the King's Presence-chamber doore, where they parted, doing great reverence each to other" (514). In stark contrast to the events described by Nichols, Hermione's own childbed and churching are so disgraced as to be eliminated entirely.

Hermione herself continuously reminds us of the ceremonies that she is denied, highlighting the destruction of the roles she was once so beloved for: devoted wife, the mother of the prince, the nursing mother of an infant princess, a lady renowned for her virtue, and a pregnant woman entitled to care and rest. Speaking directly to her husband, she describes his systematic ruination of each of her roles:

> The crown and comfort of my life, your favour,
> I do give lost; for I do feel it gone,
> But know not how it went. My second joy
> And first-fruits of my body, from his presence
> I am barr'd, like one infectious. My third comfort
> Starr'd most unluckily, is from my breast,
> The innocent milk in its most innocent mouth,
> Haled out to murder: myself on every post
> Proclaimed a strumpet: with immodest hatred
> The child-bed privilege denied, which 'longs
> To women of all fashion; lastly, hurried
> Here to this place, i' the open air, before
> I have got strength of limit. Now, my liege,
> Tell me what blessings I have here alive,
> That I should fear to die? (III.ii.91-105)

Hermione's monologue highlights her husband's annihilation of each of the feminine comforts she is owed. Though women of "all fashion" are accustomed to the "child-bed privilege," the great queen delivers in prison, a disgrace affirmed by the setting of II.ii, and by the waiting woman Emilia's description of Hermione holding Perdita in her prison cell, and saying "'My poor prisoner, / I am innocent as you'" (II.ii.28-29). Leontes replaces Hermione's child-bed privileges with prison, and her churching ceremony with a trial. Indeed, over the course of the III.ii, he misreads every one of Hermione's motherly prerogatives, including her nursing and Paulina's midwifery.

Just as he has misinterpreted Hermione's pregnancy, Leontes misjudges the act of nursing, sending his youngest child out to die with, as Hermione reports, "The innocent milk in its most innocent mouth." In "Nursing and Influence in *Pandosto* and *The Winter's Tale*," Donna C. Woodford notes how Shakespeare adapts his source material in order to reflect Leontes' "fear of maternal influence" (183). While Porrus, the model for the Shepherd, is "Motivated by money to foster a child he knows he is not fit to care for," a behavior that Woodford likens to contemporaneous anxiety about the use of wet nurses (185), Leontes sees Hermione's milk as a threat. Speaking of Mamillius early in the play, Leontes says to Hermione, "Give me the boy: I am glad you did not nurse him" (II.i.57). Woodford reads this line as compounding Leontes' anxieties about his paternity: "Nursing and adultery are conflated in the language of Leontes because both make the child less a pure copy of the father and therefore less his child" (190). As threatened by Hermione's pregnancy as he is by the prospect of her nursing, Leontes pulls the infant Perdita from her mother, sending her out to be nursed by chance and nature. Leontes instructs Antigonus to carry the infant "to some place / Where chance may nurse or end it" (II.iii.183); setting Perdita on the Bohemian ground, Antigonus himself calls out to nature:

“Some powerful spirit instruct the kites and ravens / To be thy nurses!” (II.iii.186-7). Having drunk none of her mother’s milk, and with no familial connection to reveal that she is indeed worthy of marrying her beloved Florizel, Perdita resurfaces as the disguised “queen of curds and cream” (IV.iv.161), yet once her disguise is discovered, she speaks of herself as a poor dairymaid, surrounded by misery and the milk of lowly animals. Of the sheepshearing festival, she says, “I'll queen it no inch farther, / But milk my ewes and weep” (IV.iv.428-429). In upstaging feminine birth rituals with a courtly show trial, Leontes literally denies Perdita her mother’s milk. Without a matrilineal connection to Queen Hermione, princess Perdita cannot “queen” the festival; she can only milk her ewes. The milk Leontes denies Perdita becomes a symbol of her lost inheritance, and her new life as a shepherdess surrounded by dairy cows an ironic symbol of how far she has fallen. Cut off from maternal sustenance, Perdita is a casualty of Leontes’ insistence on a stultifying show trial rather than generative female rituals Hermione longs to include her in.

Not only does Leontes reject his child, he also rejects his wife’s greatest advocate. Even more so than Hermione, Paulina best reminds us of the birth ceremonies, childbed rituals, waiting women and gossips that Hermione has been denied. Speaking to Antigonus, Leontes himself likens Paulina to a midwife (III.ii.160). DiGangi points out that the king’s “complaints against Paulina recall those found in contemporary satires of the unruly antics of gossips,” for instance those found in the 1603 satire *The Bachelor’s Banquet* (178), but Paulina accepts the honor of this role, claiming to provide the king with "words as medicinal as true" (II.iii.37), as well as “needful conference / About some gossips for Your Highness” (II.iii.40-41). Her deliveries are unwelcome. Leontes views Paulina with a suspicion that belies his greater male anxiety about the female-controlled ritual of childbirth. As David Cressy’s *Birth, Marriage, and*

Death: Ritual, Religion, and the Life Cycle in Tudor and Stuart England explains, "From the viewpoint of ministers and physicians, and perhaps too for many husbands, the gathering of women at childbirth was exclusive, mysterious, and potentially unruly" (55). The midwife, particularly, proved a powerful figure, particularly because in addition to presiding over the birth, her role involved confirming the identity of the child's father, a role that Paulina herself undertakes in the most hostile of circumstances. Caroline Bicks theorizes that "Leontes angrily calls Paulina 'a midwife' (II.iii.160) precisely because her report of the infant's paternity contradicts his own" (52).

To Leontes, who will not accept female council, or, it turns out, council of any kind, fearless Paulina personifies the threat of female knowledge and authority. Perhaps because of her loud refusal to participate in his deathly ceremonies, Leontes misinterprets Paulina's performance of loyalty to her queen as mere shrewishness. Both in length and in content, Paulina's speeches defy the codes set forth in early seventeenth-century writings, for instance the guidelines suggested by Puritan minister William Whatley's 1619 *A Bride-Bush: Or, A Direction for Married Persons*. According to Whatley, "her speeches to himself must neither be cutted, sharp, sullen, passionate, tetchy, nor yet rude, careless, unmannerly, and contemptuous, but all such as carry the stamp of fear upon them, testifying that she well considers who herself is and to whom she speaketh" (qtd. DiGangi 270). In the face of Paulina's long, voluble speeches, speeches that would surely horrify Whatley, Leontes cannot heap enough insults upon her, calling her "audacious lady" (III.ii.42), "A mankind witch!" (III.ii.68), and "A most intelligencing bawd!" (III.ii.70). She is indeed a force: both in II.ii, when she threatens the jailer, and in II.iii, when she storms into the King's chambers, Paulina dominates the men around her. When a Lord proclaims, "You must not enter," she immediately retorts: "Nay, rather, good my

lords, be second to me" (III.ii.27). She insults the men "That creep like shadows by him" (III.ii.34), despite, or perhaps because of, the fact that her husband is one of these cowed councilors. Paulina proves threatening to Leontes precisely because she is unwilling to perform the King's will – to participate in his rigidly patriarchal performances.

If audience familiarity with birth, christening, and churching rituals helped to compound Hermione's tragedy by putting it into bold relief, their familiarity with charivari rituals would have informed their response to Leontes' interpretation of Paulina's marriage. True to his misreading of Hermione's pregnancy and desire to nurse her child, Leontes also misreads Paulina's relationship with Antigonus, going so far as to evoke the ritualistic public shaming of hen-pecked husbands. Referring to Paulina as "A callet / Of boundless tongue, who late hath beat her husband" (III.ii.92-93), Leontes evokes the threat of charivari, the early modern street ritual in which a husband or impersonator was ridden backwards on a donkey, accompanied by rough music, and, occasionally, a cross-dressed "wife" who followed while hitting him with a ladle (DiGangi 266). When he isn't insulting Paulina, Leontes heaps insults on Antigonus for his inability to control such a demanding wife: "Thou dotard, thou art woman-tired, unroosted / By thy Dame Partlet here" (III.ii.75-76). Leontes projects his own fear of being hen-pecked and "unroosted" onto Antigonus, but both egalitarian Antigonous and righteous Paulina reject Leontes' belief that Antigonus should have sole power to "rule" his wife:

> LEONTES: What, canst not rule her?
> PAULINA: From all dishonesty he can. In this,
> Unless he take the course that you have done –
> Commit me for committing honor – trust it,
> He shall not rule me.
> ANTIGONUS: La you now, you hear!
> When she will take the rein I let her run,
> But she'll not stumble. (III.ii.47-52)

For Leontes, Paulina's refusal to participate in his misguided courtly pageant immediately conjures an alternate public entertainment: the disgracing of husbands ruled by their wives. By

contrast, Paulina and Antigonus see no threat to her taking the reins; both are sure Paulina has committed nothing but "honor." As a result, their relationship serves as a foil to the imbalanced, woeful union of Leontes and Hermione in III.ii.

Against this backdrop of royal history and latent rites of passage, including both birth rituals and threats of charivari, that informs the understanding of Leontes' infirmity, the one birth-related scene we do see is an extended, excruciating scene of Leontes rejecting his infant daughter (II.iii). He will not give the blessing Paulina seeks; he won't even lift Perdita's basket up, a rejection that requires an unusually sad stage direction: "*She lays down the baby*" (II.iii.SD). Leontes' inability to interpret any female ritual performances, in this case the midwife's presentation of his own child, comes to a head in his inability to read Perdita as his own, even after Paulina's exegesis: "Behold, my lords, / Although the print be little, the whole matter / And copy of the father" (II.iii.98-200). Whether she is in utero or laid unceremoniously on the floor of his royal chambers, Perdita proves unreadable to her father; Leontes' failure, as always, is a failure to interpret, followed by a dominating, toxic, directorial impulse.

Ironically, it is Leontes' misreading of Hermione's pregnancy and suppression of female ritual that destroys the male line he so desperately wants to protect. In rejecting his wife and the world of female ritual surrounding the birth of his daughter, Leontes puts his patrilineal line in jeopardy, compounding the tragedy of his Kingdom.[1] Yet unbreeched and given a name that connects him to Hermione, Mamillius is constantly depicted with Hermione's waiting women, and so allied with Hermione that he takes ill when she is accused, dies at the very moment she is

[1] Recent history would have underscored the fragility and importance of Leontes' children: the rejection of Perdita in III would certainly have triggered the cultural memory of Princess Mary's death at the age of two, just as the early presence of young Mamillius, a prince so beloved that his reputation comprises one third of the opening scene (I.i.26-36), would recall the early seventeenth century celebration of and investment in Prince Henry, crowned Prince of Wales in June 1610 at the age of sixteen. Fragile Henry was still alive at the 1611 premiere of *The Winter's Tale*, but Leontes' male heir does not survive the king's misreading of his mother.

condemned, and ultimately requires a shared burial plot (III.ii.231). Over the course of Acts II and III, we watch Leontes upstage Perdita's birth, condemn his wife, and send the princess out to die, all the while inadvertently killing the son he treasures most. The male fears that distort Leontes' ability to interpret his wife's fidelity, inspiring a show trial that upstages her own birthing needs, ultimately destroy the male line, compounding the life-threatening consequences of the Sicilian King's rigidity.

In keeping with the destructive inflexibility of Leontes, both the King's crime and his punishment are miserably repetitive. Leontes spends Acts II and III rejecting Hermione, Paulina, and his counselors' pleas, insisting – again and again - on subjecting Hermione to a courtly pageant culminating in death. The moment he comes to his senses, Paulina immediately catalogues the ceaseless sorrow the reformed King must endure:

> Therefore betake thee
> To nothing but despair. A thousand knees
> Ten thousand years together, naked, fasting,
> Upon a barren mountain, and still winter
> In storm perpetual, could not move the gods
> To look the way thou wert. (III.ii.204-209)

The result of a show trial so fixed that Leontes overturns an oracle in order to condemn his wife, the death of Mamillius and collapse of Hermione restore Leontes' senses just in time for him to embark on sixteen repetitive years of suffering. Leontes refers to his "shame perpetual" (III.ii.233), and immediately accepts a redundant penance: "Once a day I'll visit / The chapel where they lie, and tears shed there / Shall be my recreation" (II.iii.233-235). Shakespeare's meaning here is surely double: in referring to this miserable daily visitation as his "recreation," Leontes recalls his joyless uses of the word "play," and the lack of spontaneity, pleasure, and change in Sicilia, a country whose arts are characterized by tragic stasis. Yet Shakespeare is also alluding to Leontes' reanimation, his re-*creation*, a restoration that the wide sweep of *The*

Winter's Tale affirms, and one that the later embedding of genres with feminine connotations will help to facilitate.

FEMININE GENRES, FEMININE HOPES

True to the nature of this play, in which so much that is important – the titular winter's tale that Mamillius tells, the missed churching of Perdita, the recognition scenes described in V.ii – is elided, the feminine knowledge and rituals that Leontes suppresses in III.ii hold the key to his family's ultimate restoration. It is Paulina's medicinal wisdom, as well as Leontes' complete subordination to her rule, that will restore the royal family in V.iii. Indeed, each of the female rituals and ceremonies that Leontes misreads in III - Hermione's pregnancy, Paulina's midwifery, Hermione's desire to nurse, and even the infant Perdita herself – provide the matrilineal line that will reinstate his heir. While Leontes remains fixated on Hermione's death, Perdita holds the key to Act V's improbably happy ending; in this way, *The Winter's Tale* affirms what Strain describes as the "legal and popular commonplace that truth was the daughter of time" (568). In the final scene, Hermione will speak only to Perdita, offering the blessing that Leontes refuses in II.iii: "You gods, look down/ And from your sacred vials pour your graces / Upon my daughter's head!" (V.iii.122-124). What male tyranny has destroyed, matrilineal connection will restore.

On both a plot and a generic level, it is the women in *The Winter's Tale* who ultimately reset the tragic trajectory of the early acts. The tragedy of III revolves around the courtly, masculine show trial Leontes insists upon, a pageant that provides the counterpoint to the feminine restoration of V, when Shakespeare surrounds Perdita's return, Leontes' recognition of

Paulina's powers, and Hermione's revival with the generic resurrection of traditionally feminine forms, such as winter's tales, a phenomenon I discuss in chapter three. Intriguingly, this ultimate restoration of the feminine is one that Hermione's position as an expectant mother seems to allow her to see. If Hermione's pregnancy compounds her tragedy, it also compounds her wisdom. Her language is the language of moral authority; in contrast to Leontes' highly enjambed and often nonsensical tirades, Hermione's lines are measured, grammatical, and more often in iambic pentameter.[2] Perhaps because of her pregnancy, which serves as a physical reminder of what must and will come, she speaks to the far future. Her voice is both compassionate and prophetic: "How will this grieve you, / When you shall come to clearer knowledge" (II.i.99), she tells her husband, and later, "I never wished to see you sorry; now / I trust I shall" (II.i.123-125). In II.i, when she is nine months pregnant and birth is imminent, Hermione infuses her speech with time markers and attention to what "shall" occur. Even after she has given birth, Hermione continues in this prophetic mode. On trial for her life, she appeals to heaven: "If powers divine / Behold our human actions, as they do, / I doubt not then but innocence shall make / False accusation blush and tyranny / Tremble at patience" (III.ii.26-29). Hermione constantly reaffirms her beliefs in innocence and patience, two qualities that her pregnancy, which requires patience and produces an innocent, embodies.

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[2] Though markedly more organized than Leontes' own, Hermione's syntax is indeed skewed, as she, too, favors enjambment – an intriguing topic for further research. In *Shakespeare and the Idea of Late Writing: Authorship in the Proximity of Death*, in which Gordon McMullan rejects nearly all attempts to characterize Shakespearean late style, he grudgingly admits to the presence of such syntactical complexity in *The Winter's Tale* and other later plays, noting that "the plays at the end of the career manifest to a greater or lesser extent certain intense, fissured stylistic tendencies that cannot be found in the Elizabethan or earlier Jacobean plays" (120).

Contemporaneous uses of the word pregnancy as a metaphor for wisdom underscore this interpretation. In his 1612 treatise "Of Counsel," Sir Francis Bacon uses the story of Jupiter and Pallas as a metaphor for the "begetting or impregnation" of council: "But when they are elaborated, molded, and shaped in the womb of their council, and grow ripe and ready to be brought forth, that then they suffer not their council to go through with the resolution and direction, as if it depended on them, but take the matter back into their own hand, and make it appear to the world that the decrees and final directions…proceed from themselves, and not only from their authority, but…from their head and device" (92). Bacon's image of council as nurtured within a womb is particularly fascinating when juxtaposed with Paulina's desire to position herself as Leontes' chief councilor and Hermione's own pregnant vision. Bacon's language of fruition and ripeness echoes the Bohemian spring of Act IV, and the ultimate restoration that Hermione's lines anticipate.

Shakespeare had reason to put his faith in female rule. In *The Shakespearean Wild: Geography, Genus, and Gender*, Jeanne Addison Roberts speculates about how an early modern audience would have interpreted the reunification of Hermione and Perdita in V.iii, noting "the memory that James, their present king, had derived his crown through female right of succession." She then goes further, positing that "for Shakespeare himself, whose only son had died earlier, leaving him only with daughters, there must have been a particular poignancy" (165) to Perdita's return. If Paulina's political savvy and Hermione's queenly comportment evoke the memory of Shakespeare's beloved patron Elizabeth, surely the plucky young women at the heart of the late romances - Marina, Imogen, Perdita, Miranda – evoked Shakespeare's own regard for his daughter Susanna, who, in 1608, gave birth to his granddaughter. At the very least, what Leontes misinterprets, *The Winter's Tale* itself affirms: it is the matrilineal line, and the feminine

connotations of birthing rituals, Marian miracle plays, winter's tales, and feminine generic templates, that will restore the royal family.

Oracles and Other Destabilizing Anachronisms

The final moments of III.ii are filled with enough shocks to destabilize both Leontes and Shakespeare's audience. Within about fifteen lines, Leontes reads the oracle, rejects it, learns of Mamillius' death, comes to his senses, and learns that his Queen has collapsed (III.ii.130-145) – an astonishing amount of plot, and a sequence that jolts the audience of *The Winter's Tale* into the active spectatorship required by the play's subsequent movement in time and space, a movement that spans generations, kingdoms, and genres. Here, I want to consider how, within a play about mental states – about beliefs, both real and false, dreams, imagination, and, fundamentally, theater and the mindsets it inspires – Shakespeare's use of anachronisms, most notably the oracle, as well as his nod to the seacoast of Bohemia, loosens Leontes' vice-grip on the play, disrupting the fixed pageant he has commissioned and providing a preview of the miracles of the final act. By adapting *Pandosto*'s nods to both the oracle and to the seacoast of Bohemia, Shakespeare capitalizes on the quirks of Robert Greene's source text, making spectators increasingly aware of the play's design, and of our critical, increasingly active role as makers of theatrical meaning. If we want a happy ending, Shakespeare seems to be telling us in the closing moments of Act III, we're going to have to work for it.

On a plot level, the oracle, which Shakespeare lifted and adapted from *Pandosto*, confirms the severity of Leontes' delusions. Like Greek tragic heroes before him, Leontes ignores "sacred Delphos" (II.ii.184) at his own peril. His claim that "There is no truth at all

i'th'oracle" (III.ii.135) is the apex of his delusion, the ultimate indicator of his willingness to ignore everything, even the voice of a higher power, in order to falsely convict his wife. Shakespeare's adaptation of the oracle scene from his primary source material places even greater emphasis on Leontes' hubris; in *Pandosto*, it is the Queen Bellaria who suggests consulting Delphos (*Pandosto, Historie* 29), and the King, prompted by his conscience, repents immediately after hearing the oracle and before his son dies (30-31). The King Pandosto is moved by the results of his wife's commission, unlike Leontes, who is unmoved even by his own decision to consult the oracle, and whose refusal to heed the oracle's warning results in the immediate death of his beloved son.

Ironically, the oracle provides Leontes and his kingdom with both a tragic capstone and a new horizon. In addition to confirming the tragic rigidity of Leontes' delusions, the oracle provides a vision of a world beyond Sicilia – one that anticipates the theatrical miracles to come. Through the speeches of Cleomenes and Dion, Shakespeare surrounds the oracle with shimmering language, providing a release from claustrophobic Sicilia, and the promise of a distant and divine justice. Platt characterizes Cleomenes and Dion as "out of place in Sicilia as they speak about their journey in the language of the marvelous" (159). Cleomenes describes their journey as "rare, pleasant, speedy" (III.i.13), his language providing a stark contrast to stultifying Sicilia. This is the one time that the audience is able to leave Sicilia, and the air is fresh and marvelous. As Cleomenes reports, "The climate's delicate, the air most sweet, / Fertile the isle, the temple much surpassing / The common praise it bears" (III.i.1-3). Dion can hardly capture the reverence of the temple priests: "I shall report, / For most it caught me, the celestial habits – / Methinks I so should term them – and the reverence / Of the grave wearers. Oh, the sacrifice! / How ceremonious, solemn, and unearthly / It was I'th'offering!" (III.i.3-8). Henke

notes how the description of Delphos in III.i seems to depict "the pagan temple central to Italian pastorals: the source of oracles, the site of fertility rituals, and often the converging point of the characters as they emerge from the disorienting *selva*" (*Pastoral Transformations* 151). Dion's report is one from a different and distant world, and as such it anticipates the gentlemen's speeches of V.ii. Like the Gentlemen, Dion can hardly find the words to convey what he has witnessed, and speaks the language of miracles.

By including an oracle within what seems to otherwise be the contemporaneous Italian kingdom of Sicilia, Shakespeare alludes to Greek tragedy while simultaneously loosening the tragic grasp of Acts I through III. In *Shakespeare's Poetics*, Ekbert Faas describes how Shakespeare opens *The Winter's Tale* with a mini-tragedy that ends in III.ii – a self-contained parable of a King's jealous tyranny and the ensuing destruction of his family and kingdom. Faas then notes that "at least his suffering has taught the protagonist repentance. In this way, his final words, like those of many tragic heroes before him, round off a tragedy which, however short, forms a self-contained unity" (179). Within one scene, Leontes reaches the maximum extension of tragic hubris – overturning an oracle – and the maximum show of remorse. His final lines in this scene, in which he commissions a joint grave for his wife and son, acknowledges his "shame perpetual," and exits the stage by asking for Paulina to "lead me / To these sorrows" (III.ii.229-238), form a worthy Act V monologue delivered two Acts too soon. In this way, the reading of the oracle serves as both the culmination of a tragedy, and as an anachronistic nod to a world beyond the courtroom. Paying attention to the themes that "in retrospect, help subsume the teleological first half of the play within an overall cyclical structure" (184), Faas notes how "the first half is absorbed, or made to disappear, in an open cyclical structure that gradually overwhelms the closed, teleological thrust of Leontes' tragedy" (198). Though the tragedy ends

in III, the play itself continues, bolstered by the "timelessness" evoked by Shakespeare's use of anachronisms (177), among them the oracle.

My work affirms Faas' reading, and proposes that Hermione's pregnancy, as well as the birth and exile of Perdita, supports the cyclical structure and generic transitions that Faas describes. As Leontes realizes that he has destroyed his family, the audience shifts toward Perdita and Bohemia, where the second generation of Leontes' family must redeem the first. In this way, Hermione's pregnancy foregrounds the role of time in the resolution of Sicilia's tragedy. Speaking of the bundled baby Perdita, Leontes charges Antigonus to "bear it / To some remote and desert place quite out / Of our dominions" (II.iii.175-177). Just as Perdita is born of Hermione and will come of age in wild Bohemia, so comedy, once contained within tragedy, is soon born of it. This belief in pregnancy as a metaphor for the guaranteed movement towards a more joyful future is given a comic spin when Paulina attempts to convince the reluctant Jailer to release the infant Perdita: "You need not fear it, sir / This child was prisoner to the womb and is / By law and process of great Nature thence / Freed and enfranchised" (II.ii.58-61). Captive within tragic Sicilia, and implicated in Hermione's tragic fate, Perdita is rescued by Antigonus, who carries both Perdita and Shakespeare's audience into the comic, outdoor wilds of Bohemia. Within the shifting landscape of *The Winter's Tale*, tragedy contains the seeds of comedy.

The play's tricksy physical scope mirrors its wild generic and temporal scope. In the same way that *The Winter's Tale* seems to be set in no time at all, alluding, as it does, to both the contemporaneous sculptor Julio Romano and to the world of the ancient Greeks, the play also spans two kingdoms, one of them geographically impossible. *The Winter's Tale* famously preserves the seacoast of Bohemia that appears in Greene's *Pandosto*, allowing Antigonus to open III.iii with a preposterous question for a Mariner in what should be a land-locked kingdom:

"Thou art perfect then, our ship hath touched upon / The deserts of Bohemia?" (III.iii.1-2). He is certain, and certain, too, that they have "landed in ill time" (III.iii.3). In these tricky transitional scenes, time and space are always out of joint, as Shakespeare flouts Ben Jonson's theatrical unities and forces his audience to take note of the comic loosening of his previously quite tragic play.

Intriguingly, Shakespeare reverses the settings in Greene's *Pandosto*, placing tragic Leontes in Sicilia, a decision that creates more geographical confusion while, in my reading, hinting at comic possibilities from the depths of Leontes' despair. In Greene's original telling, Pandosto, the Leontes figure, is the King of Bohemia and Egistus, the Polixenes figure, the king of Sicilia; Shakespeare reverses this, making Pandosto's counterpart, Leontes, the King of Sicilia, and reserving Bohemia, the comic land, for Polixenes, a choice that recalls his reversal of Ephesus and Syracuse in *The Comedy of Errors*, and one that – quite strangely – places Leontes' tragic trial in Sicilia, a landscape commonly associated with Italian pastoral tragicomedy (Felperin 226). Through this reversal, Shakespeare nods to Italian pastoralism even amid the despair, once again affirming the flexibility of his play. Louise Clubb affirms this reading in her essay "The Tragicomic Bear," saying: "By transferring the tragic half of the play to Sicily, the site of Vergil's *Arcadia*, and setting the overtly pastoral part in Bohemia, Shakespeare drew the whole within reach of the pastoral world, and despite his English freedom with regard to time, space, and decorum, accentuated the resemblance between his play and Italian pastoral tragicomedy of the verisimilar sort" (Orgel and Keilen 153).

Mid-cinquecento theorists of Italian tragicomedy seem to have anticipated the wide-ranging scope of *The Winter's Tale*. Writing in 1543, Giraldi Cinthio provided a theoretical basis for the anachronisms common to Italian tragicomedy, arguing that anachronisms and other

creative liberties not open to writers of history serve to instruct audiences of tragicomedy. A theorist of the emerging hybrid form, Cinthio argues that writers of tragicomedy may alter the facts in order to present things "as they should be." Paraphrasing Aristotle's famous claims in the *Poetics*, Cinthio argues that

> while the historian is obliged to write only of deeds and actions that are true and as they really happened, the poet presents things not as they are but as they should be, that they may serve to instruct his readers about life. And this is why, though the poets write of ancient affairs, they nonetheless seek to harmonize them with their own customs and their own age, introducing things unlike those of ancient time and suitable to their own. (270-271)

In incorporating both ancient affairs and contemporaneous customs, *The Winter's Tale* extends the mid-cinquecento Italian interest in incorporating anomalous material as a means of connecting with its audiences.

In *The Purpose of Playing*, Louis Montrose argues that "it is characteristic of Shakespeare's plays to subject their protagonists to vividly represented experiences of cognitive and ideological dissonance, to both comic and tragic disruptions and confusions of expectations and norms" (39). In alluding to such dissonance through the use of an oracle, the shimmering, out-of-place language of Cleomenes and Dion, the transfer of attention from the first to the second generation of the King's family, the geographical impossibility of the Bohemian seacoast, and the transposition of his two primary settings, Shakespeare elicits his audience's active participation even in the comparatively realistic first half of *The Winter's Tale*. In the next two chapters, I look at the shifting temporal and poetic landscape that Shakespeare constructs, and how these shifts condition the play's audience, who soon learn that we have been in the land of Julio Romano, surviving infants, and Bohemian seacoasts all along.

CHAPTER TWO: TOWARDS COMEDY

Theorizing Italian pastoral tragicomedy, or, in his marvelous words, the "less terrible tragedies," in the early Cinquecento, Cinthio noted the author's relationship to and necessary guidance of his spectators:

> The happenings in these less terrible tragedies should come about in such a way that the spectators are suspended between horror and compassion until the end, which, with a happy outcome, should leave everyone consoled. And this holding of the spectator in suspense ought to be so managed by the poet that it is not always hidden in clouds, but the action goes on unrolling the plot in such a way that the spectator sees himself conducted to the end but is uncertain how the play is coming out. (256-257)

This second chapter considers how the Bohemian setting helps Shakespeare to conduct his spectators towards a more participatory level of engagement with his play, and thus towards the theatrical faith that the miracles of Act V require. Within my larger reading of *The Winter's Tale* as leading its audience through a choreographed progression of generic templates, I look here at Shakespeare's tricky transition between tragedy and comedy, focusing on how the bear and pastoral setting of the sheepshearing invoke the highly contemporaneous genres of bearbaiting, masque, and pastoral tragicomedy. I also consider how Autolycus allows Shakespeare to comment on the early seventeenth-century proliferation of print genres, including pamphlets, ballads, and prose romances. This chapter reads Shakespeare's overt nods to the performance

and print culture of his period as a way of cultivating a more participatory, engaged audience, one able to put Sicilian tragedies behind them and embrace the Bohemian present.

In the first of this chapter's three major subsections, "The Contemporaneous, Contrapuntal, Indoor-Outdoor Bear," I read the bear, famously theorized as the link between Sicilian tragedy and Bohemian comedy, as an allusion to two other contemporaneous and diametrically opposed entertainments: bearbaiting and masque. I also examine the bear in light of the three divergent venues that *The Winter's Tale* was performed at, the Globe, Blackfriars, and Whitehall, and interpret Shakespeare's inclusion of such a literally and figuratively wild stage direction as an attempt to challenge the courtly, indoor theaters that his company had recently gained access to.

In "Towards Meta-Theater: The Sentimental Pastoral and Tragicomic Possibilities of IV.iv," I focus on what is perhaps the most theorized aspect of *The Winter's Tale*: Shakespeare's use of pastoral tragicomedy. In the ensuing subsections, I claim that Shakespeare's use of the pastoral creates an increasingly savvy spectator, one who knows that what he or she is watching is contrived, yet who eagerly invests in this idealized, obviously temporary setting. I begin by accounting for Shakespeare's ironic choice of Florizel, a disguised prince, as the most articulate linguistic conjurer of the pastoral landscape, and argue that this choice presents the pastoral as a state of mind that any audience member, no matter how royal or lowly, is eager to buy into. Moving further into IV.iv, I extend the critic Philip Edwards' interest in grafting as the play's central metaphor to include Shakespeare's generic grafting. Focusing on the famous debate between Perdita and Polixenes, I read pastoral tragicomedy as the generic medium through which Shakespeare grafts comedy onto tragedy, linking Perdita and Polixenes' debate over the merits of art and nature to Guarini's Cinquecento theorization of Italian pastoral tragicomedy. I

next draw on Paul Alpers' work on pastoral, and apply Schiller's distinction between naïve and sentimental poetry to *The Winter's Tale*. Here, I explore how the disguised royals populating the sheepshearing model a form of sentimental pastoralism, a mode of engaging with pastoral Bohemia that is both aspirational and knowingly temporary. Finally, I read Camillo's meta-theatrical language as yet another way that Shakespeare invites his audience to participate in the making of theatrical meaning.

Not all of the contemporaneous genres alluded to in *The Winter's Tale* are theatrical, and my third and final section, "Bohemian Fictions: The Invention of Autolycus and the Rejection of Robert Greene," reads Autolycus as a stand-in for the author of the play's source material and as a medium through which Shakespeare conveys his anxieties about the seventeenth-century advent of popular print culture. Here, I explore Shakespeare's treatment of three print genres: rogue pamphlets, prose romances such as his source text *Pandosto*, and broadside ballads. I first read Autolycus as a stand-in for Robert Greene, who Shakespeare dismisses as a trickster and peddler of pamphlets and other trumpery. I then consider the role Mopsa and Dorcas play as gullible consumers of Autolycus' prose romances and broadsides. Finally, I argue that Shakespeare's exclusion of Autolycus from the play's final miracles reflects his rejection of the print culture epitomized by Robert Greene, and ultimate preference for the live arts showcased by Act V.

THE CONTEMPORANEOUS, CONTRAPUNTAL, INDOOR-OUTDOOR BEAR

If Sicilia, the first land the audience encounters, and the location of the royal deaths that

fill the subsequent acts with a sense of loss and tragedy, comes to represent the past, Bohemia represents the now. It is here that the Clown is repeatedly robbed by Autolycus, seemingly without consequence, and here, during the play's tricky transition between tragedy and comedy, that Shakespeare inserts his most famous stage direction, as well as his most contemporary generic referent: "Exit, pursued by a bear" (III.iii.57 SD).

In 1611, a thrill-seeking patron on the South bank of the Thames could take advantage of the "proximity of the public theaters to the bearbaiting arenas in Jacobean London" (DiGangi 302) by choosing between the Globe Theater, the Rose Theater, and the Bear Garden. He might take in a roughneck evening of bearbaiting, or, if he were a man of means and connections, attend Ben Jonson's *Oberon*, performed New Year's Day, 1611, in the Banqueting Hall of Whitehall Palace, in which the Prince of Wales famously enters in a chariot drawn by two white bears, very possibly procured from the nearby bearbaiting arena (Grant). While cheap-thrill impresarios Philip Henslowe and Edward Alleyn exploited bears for bloodsport, and Ben Jonson called for bears as exotic capstones to his indoor tableaus, Shakespeare's central stage direction brilliantly evoked both of these associations. By calling for one such bear in his most famous stage direction, Shakespeare deepens the meta-theatrical nature of *The Winter's Tale*; in evoking a symbol of not one but two nearby forms of entertainment, Shakespeare calls attention to *The Winter's Tale* as yet another performance, one in dialogue and even in direct competition with the surrounding venues.

Much scholarship on *The Winter's Tale* has focused on the bear as a means of bridging tragedy and comedy, and on the bear's place in the play's exploration of the relationship between art and nature, a dialogue that my own exploration of the contrapuntal generic implications of the bear extends. Critics from Dennis Biggins to Maurice Hunt, and, most notably, Louise G. Clubb,

have described the bear as a tragicomic bridge. Noting the particular ambiguity of bears as featured in sixteenth-century Italian pastoral tragicomedy, Clubb explains how "the dual potential of the bear made it a serviceable figure for Renaissance dramatists experimenting with mixed genres" (147). Other critics, such as Andrew Gurr, have connected Shakespeare's bear to the surrounding play's polarization of "nature" and "art," noting how the bear embodies the brutality of unchecked nature two acts before Hermione's statue embodies the living art that Shakespeare's play celebrates. Here, I extend this exploration of the bear as a multifaceted, transitional generic referent by considering the bear as a nod to several opposing, contemporaneous London trends and venues.

In summoning a bear to the stage in 1611, Shakespeare evoked an outlandish yet increasingly common spectacle. Bears were newsworthy items, present in daily Elizabethan life yet also exotic. In "The Eight Animals in Shakespeare; or, Before the Human," Laurie Shannon describes "the frequency with which early moderns encountered living and butchered animals in their daily routines." She nods, too, to the early modern "bestiary tradition, with its inventory of attributes (the elephant's memory, peacock's pride, dog's loyalty, rabbit's fearfulness, fox's cunning, and so on)," to hunting and husbandry manuals, and to the "wave of natural-history writing, fueled by colonialism" and a new zeal for scientific description (472). By 1611, foreign bears were big news. DiGangi explains: "the presence of a bear in *The Winter's Tale* seems less arbitrary in the context of a contemporary travel narrative that describes sailors' terrifying (but often exhilarating) adventures with polar bears in the northern seas" (3). Translated into English by William Phillip in 1609, Gerrit De Veer's *The True and Perfect Description of Three Voyages* included descriptions of awesomely savage bears,[3] among them a white bear of "most wonderful

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[3] Intriguingly, all three of De Veer's bears are described as "she," lending credence to the interpretation of the bear as the agent of Hermione's justice, a savage embodiment of the fate she outlines in Antigonus' dream, narrated just

strength" spotted on a 1594 voyage, and a second bear who "falling upon the man bit his head in sunder and sucked out his blood" (qtd. DiGangi 311-312), bears whose captured, captive cousins were by then drawing crowds in downtown London.

Enter the Globe in May of 1611 and you could see a performance of *The Winter's Tale*. Choose a neighboring venue and you'd see four to six mastiffs set loose on a chained bear. Should the mastiffs tire, fresh dogs would be supplied. The few surviving bears – Harry Hunks, Sackerson – were so rare they became famous, and despite the ferocity of such rigged fights, critics such as Stephen Dickey argue that contemporary accounts indicate that, "however destructive for the animals, the experience of the audience attending this 'plasant sport' was essentially festive and comical" (256). Bearbaiting was such a savage, beloved populist entertainment that it was commonly dismissed, along with theater, from the pulpit. According to Jason Scott-Warren's "When Theaters Were Bear-Gardens; Or, What's at Stake in the Comedy of Humors," both "blood sports and drama" shared such large, passionate constituencies, that the "godly frequently damned the two entertainments with one breath" (64). Bears also appeared onstage to great acclaim, for instance in *Mucedorus,* a pastoral comedy which involved a bear head prop in 1598, and, twelve years later in the 1610 revival, had added new bear scenes. By the time Ben Jonson staged his court masque *Oberon* a year later, bears were big news.

Less than marginal in Shakespeare's source material, bears were hot commodities in downtown London, and proved a versatile, usable symbol, associated as they were with two diametrically opposed and curiously Elizabethan spectacles: the grotesque thrill of bearbaiting and the solemn pageantry of masque. Shakespeare seems to have invented the bear for exactly this purpose, as his otherwise deeply-mined source material, Robert Greene's *Pandosto*, provides

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moments before he is attacked: "For this ungentle business / Put on thee by my lord, thou ne'er shalt see / Thy wife Paulina more" (III.iii.33-35).

few hints. Like Antigonus and Paulina, the two characters that the animal's actions most affect, the bear has no counterpart in *Pandosto*. The closest suggestion occurs when *Pandosto*'s Egistus, the counterpart to Polixenes, realizing that his son Dorastus (Florizel) has been gone for two days, "began to feare that he was devoured with some wilde beastes" (*Pandosto, Historie* 45). There are no other bear references; when the Leontes-figure, Pandosto himself, decides to reject his own infant, he claims he will "commit it to the charge of fortune," and commands anonymous nobles to place the baby into a cock-boat and "send it to the mercies of the Seas and the destenies" (26). Here we see storms, fortune, and a nod to Moses, but no reference to animal savagery.[4] Louise Clubb's analysis of the multiplicity of bear meanings confirms this analysis: "The bear in pastoral seems both more and less terrible than the other wild beasts, because it is humanoid, capable of upright posture, ambiguous in reputation and habitat. From ancient times it was known for its receptiveness to taming and for its unreliability, the savage nature being likely to break out without warning. If not completely at home in both pleasance and wood, it nevertheless moves between the two more easily and plays more roles in the human stories than can the other animals" (153-4).

Pursuing Antigonus, Shakespeare's bear is on the one hand an agent of savage retribution, the terrifying instrument that kills Leontes' most conflicted yet trustworthy servant, widows Paulina, and severs the last link between Perdia and her country of origin. In this way, the bear is a signifier of revenge tragedy, a destructive instrument that the play's audience could pay to see destroyed in the surrounding bear-gardens of the day. On the other hand, of course, the bear is an outrageous comic invention, a ridiculous *deus ex machina* that cleanses Bohemia of Sicilia's tragic emissary, and unwittingly delivers Perdita into the arms of the loving Shepherd,

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[4] Further back, there is a single, tantalizing clue in one of the sources of *Pandosto*: Edward Ford's *The famous and pleasant History of Parismus, the valiant and renowned Prince of Bohemia* (1597) refers to a nurse who, after taking to the woods to preserve the life of the rejected princess, is eaten by a bear (Thomas xvii).

who closes the scene by proclaiming "'Tis a lucky day" (III.iii.115). At the center of III.iii, the Shepherd, holding the newborn Perdita, addresses his strapping clown of a son, now agape after watching Antigonus torn limb from limb, saying "Thou met'st with things dying, I with things newborn" (III.iii.98), a chiasmus that stitches together tragedy and comedy, death and life, age and youth. Describing this bear scene as one that requires a "double-take" (420), Andrew Gurr further extends the complex meanings of the bear scene, noting how this famous line twists a familiar quotation of Evanthius, *in tragoedia fugienda vita, in comoedia capessenda*" (421). Originally intended to define comedy and tragedy, Evanthius' line, translated as "whereas in tragedy life is fled, in comedy it is seized" (Newman 51). Such cross stitching between tragedy and comedy, death and life, is also achieved through puns; less than a dozen lines after Antigonus is devoured by his bear, the Shepherd discovers Perdita, exclaiming "a bairn, a very pretty bairn!" (III.iii.66).[5] In summoning a creature associated with such contrasting spectacles, Shakespeare once again underscores the topsy-turvy, meta-theatrical nature of III.iii, the central, transitional scene of his increasingly wild play.

Building off the notion of the bear as a tragicomic bridge between two halves of *The Winter's Tale*, I would like to make a second argument concerning the bear as a theatrical provocation intended to ruffle courtly feathers. Unlike Shakespeare's prior plays, *The Winter's Tale* was written when the King's Men had knowledge of and access to three different venues.

[5] Maurice Hunt's "'Bearing Hence': Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*" explores the myriad ways Shakespeare puns on the word "bear," and notes how Shakespeare includes references to "bearbaiting" (IV.iii.84), "bearing misery" (V.i.137), and even the infant Perdita's "bearing-cloth" (III.iii.99). Turning towards Camillo, Hunt notes how the trusted servant "bears" Polixenes "hence" (II.i.461), becoming a "'father' to the father figure he carries" (Hunt 341) then introduces a new and final resonance to the term by instructing Florizel on his own royal "bearing" (IV.iv.539). Returning to the court, Hunt notes that it is only when Leontes has "reached the limit of suffering that a person can bear" that he can witness Hermione's resurrection, thus losing "all traces of the bear to reemerge fully as the royal lion, the monarch aware of his responsibility for building an extended ruling family" (Hunt 343). Such puns surround and, in Hunt's opinion, incorporate Shakespeare's otherwise startling inclusion of a beast at the heart of his play.

The play premiered at the Globe on May 11, 1611 before playing at Blackfriars. It was then produced at the court of King James on November 5, 1611, and, most notably, was performed at Whitehall in celebration of Princess Elizabeth's marriage to Frederick V of Bohemia on February 14, 1613, linking *The Winter's Tale* to *The Tempest* and other court masques performed in the same famed venue, and providing some intriguing romantic and geographical context for the play's celebration of a handfasting on the seacoast of Bohemia. First mounted at the raucous, outdoor Globe in spring, *The Winter's Tale* was later produced indoors at the Blackfriars in autumn, a far more Sicilian setting, and finally performed at Whitehall in the chill of February, on the cusp of spring, on a stage that had once contained Jonson's tamed bears. In light of this performance history, Shakespeare's choice to include both a wild, outdoor bear attack and a refined, indoor statue-viewing seems to me to be an attempt to please and, I argue here, provoke the two divergent theatrical audiences he anticipated. By staging a bear attack, Shakespeare smuggles a bit of Bohemian wildness into the hallowed interiors of Blackfriars, Whitehall, and their theatrical stand-in: Paulina's gallery.

The physical trajectory of the latter half of *The Winter's Tale* echoes the movement of the King's Men in the early seventeenth century. By 1608, Shakespeare, along with two of James Burbage's sons and four other actors, took over operations at the Blackfriars Theater, which Burbage himself had reconstructed in 1596. Replacing the young troupe of boy actors who had occupied the theater for the past decade, and the long-gone Dominican monastery whose dark-robed inhabitants gave the theater its name, Shakespeare's company could now perform year round, particularly in winter, taking advantage of their new, more expensive, artificially-illuminated indoor venue, a protected, transformable artistic space not unlike Paulina's chapel.

Knowingly composed for both the Globe and Blackfriars, *The Winter's Tale* flattered its gentlemanly audience while at the same time provoking them. Speculating on the inclusion of gentlemen in *The Winter's Tale*, Henke enumerates the affective possibilities afforded by the more intimate, upscale Blackfriars theater. Roughly half the size of the Globe, with "one-third the audience capacity, about one thousand people" (332) and the furthest distance between actor and audience member being sixty feet, Blackfriars was a counterpoint to the larger, noisier Globe. Additionally, with the minimum admission at Blackfriars being "six times the cheapest entrance fee to the Globe" (332), playwrights could anticipate a wealthy, status-oriented audience of gentlemen. Henke argues that the numerous gentlemen who appear in *The Winter's Tale* are a nod to this newly-cultivated Blackfriars audience; to this I would add that, read within the context of such an intimate, upper-crust atmosphere, Shakespeare's call for a bear gestures away from the gentlemen of Blackfriars and towards the comparatively raucous, outdoor entertainments of the other location for which his play was composed: the Globe.

The Mariner's multiple references to "loud weather" (III.iii.10) and "creatures / Of prey" (III.iii.11-12) epitomize Shakespeare's attempt to bring the outside inside. Upon arriving in Bohemia, Antigonus immediately encounters an unlikely triumvirate of natural disasters: a thunderous storm at sea, the crazed shots of young hunters, and, of course, a devouring bear. This conflation of thunder, hunters, and a shipwreck provides a hyperbolic backdrop to the bear's appearance. Though critics are divided on whether Shakespeare was calling for a real bear, Michael Peterson's "The Animal Apparatus: From a Theory of Animal Acting to an Ethics of Animal Acts" argues for the bear as an early example of animal acting in Western theater. Peterson claims that *The Winter's Tale* "imagines the performance of a live animal onstage," pointing particularly to Antigonus' gloss of "the actions of the animal protagonist," a technique

that ensures "that the spectator understands what the animal 'means'" (36). Whether the bear was real or fake, Antigonus' description of "A savage clamour" (III.iii.55) stages a particular kind of outdoor excitement, one that marks the outside limits of new, indoor theaters like Blackfriars.

Though the final setting of *The Winter's Tale* is an ornate, indoor space in which Paulina stages a masque-like performance for the benefit of her King, I believe that the memory of the bear lends a bit of wildness to the proceedings. Ushered in by the bear's appearance, Act IV is a cavalcade of hunters, sheep, shepherds, satyr dances, and the great Bohemian outdoors. By contrast, Act V invites us into Paulina's "gallery" (V.iii.10), also referred to as a "chapel" (V.iii.86), known for its "many singularities" (V.iii.13). Amid the Bohemian wildness of IV, the bear serves as a fittingly outrageous signifier within a land of untamed possibilities; one act later, the memory of the bear and the attendant Bohemian chaos surrounding the sheepshearing infuses the courtly, masque-like atmosphere of V with an openness to possibility lacking during the static show trial of Act II. It is here in Paulina's sacred gallery, safe from the barrenness of Leontes' court and the outdoor, ursine wilds of Bohemia, that Shakespeare's audience can encounter "life as lively mocked as ever" (V.iii.19). It is only with the arrival of the Bohemian exiles that Hermione emerges from statuesque stillness to once again become a moving, breathing woman.

Shakespeare's call for a bear in III.iii seems designed to reanimate the courtly venues of Blackfriars and Whitehall, just as the a trip to the outdoor landscape of Bohemia, with all its raucousness and capacity for savagery, is required for the reanimation of Sicilia. Both as a theatrical provocation, and as an allusion to two opposing, contemporaneous forms of entertainment, the bear takes on a meta-theatrical resonance, forcing the audience to think outside of the confines of *The Winter's Tale* itself, and to consider other contemporary London

spectacles, once again engaging them in the participatory meaning making that *The Winter's Tale*, in all its controlled wildness, requires.

TOWARDS META-THEATER:
THE SENTIMENTAL PASTORAL AND TRAGICOMIC POSSIBILITIES OF IV.IV

A raucous, idealized land of possibility, Bohemia transforms the passive witnesses of Sicilian tragedy into participatory spectators. My focus here is on Act IV's use of pastoral tragicomedy, an inherently meta-theatrical genre that requires its audiences to collaborate in the creation of a happy and, in the case of *The Winter's Tale*, extremely improbable ending.

As a contemporaneous, emerging form dependent on audience reception, pastoral tragicomedy challenged early English adaptors of the form. In 1609, *The Faithful Shepherdess*, John Fletcher's stiff, pedantic adaptation of Giovanni Battista Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido* proved to be such a crowd failure that the author issued the following introductory statement, addressed "To The Reader," to the 1610 print edition:

> If you be not reasonably assured of your knowledge in this kind of poem, lay down the book, or read this, which I would wish had been the prologue. It is a pastoral tragi-comedy, which the people seeing when it was played, having ever had a singular gift in defining, concluded to be a play of country hired shepherds in gray cloaks, with curtailed dogs in strings, sometimes laughing together, and sometimes killing one another; and, missing Whitsunales, cream, wassail, and morris-dances, began to be angry. (6)

"Lay down the book," a defensive Fletcher warns potential readers, because this form was so misinterpreted in the theater that the audience "began to be angry." Fletcher's preface pays scrupulous attention to the errors of his live audiences, and warns his readers against making the same mistakes: "In their error I would not have you fall" (6). Such errors were not hard to come

by as English playwrights and audiences struggled to interpret this recently imported genre, staging everything from flops such as *The Faithful Shepherdess* to popular successes such as *Pericles*. In *What Is Pastoral?* Paul Alpers notes the lack of a complete Renaissance treatment of this hybrid genre, and explains how "much Renaissance criticism of pastoral occurs in prologues or prefaces to pastoral works – where, in effect, the reader is introduced to a 'simple' work and is asked to take its humility seriously" (10). It is my contention that IV.i of *The Winter's Tale* replaces this explanatory prologue with the figure of Time, and that this replacement serves as our first indication of the fully embodied, participatory nature of Bohemia.

Perhaps ironically, pastoral tragicomedy inspired more theoretical debate than actual theatrical practice in Italy, where it developed, and where the 1590 publication of *Il Pastor Fido* punctuated a decade-long critical debate between Guarini and Giason Denores on the fixity of forms and potential acceptability of this slippery genre (Weinberg 1084). Overtheorized in Italy, and undertheorized in England, pastoral tragicomedy was perhaps most famous for being rejected by Jonson and Sidney, whose 1595 *Apology for Poetry* famously rejects "mongrel tragic-comedy" (112), a genre featuring stages in which "you shall have Asia of the one side and Africa of the other," combining so many various locations "that the player when he comes in must ever begin with telling where he is" (110). Sidney goes on to affirm the Elizabethan interest in Aristotle's unities – "the stage should always represent but one place, and the uttermost time presupposed in it should be, both by Aristotle's precept and common reason, but one day" – and dismisses the hybrid form for its "gross absurdities," "mingling kings and clowns," and tendency to "match hornpipes and funerals" (112). Shakespeare seems to have incorporated such criticism directly into *The Winter's Tale*, for instance through the Clown's comment as he prepares for the sheepshearing; describing the singing men approaching, he notes "but one Puritan amongst them,

and he sings psalms to hornpipes" (IV.iii.38-39). Act IV of *The Winter's Tale* revels in shuttling between Sicilian funerals and Bohemian hornpipes, the mixing of kings and clowns, and the flouting of all unities.

Noting that *The Winter's Tale* "positively advertises its defiance" of spatial and temporal unities, Gurr sees Shakespeare's evocation of the Bohemian seacoast as a jab at Jonson's obsessive unity of time and place, and suggests that the structure of *A Winter's Tale* is a direct shot at John Florio for his leaden Dictionary definition of tragicomedy as "half a tragedy and half a comedy" (422). Though I'm certain Shakespeare enjoyed any opportunity to ruffle Jonson's feathers, I read Act IV's embedded references to pastoral tragicomedy – its cavorting shepherds, quick reversals, lavish descriptions of the landscape, and emphasis on mixing – as yet another step in Shakespeare's conditioning of his audience. As an emerging genre, pastoral tragicomedy required audiences to expect and respond to wild shifts in fortune. Having been jolted out of tragic Sicilia and moved, along with Antigonus and Perdita, into a new setting, Shakespeare's audience is suddenly confronted with a new and more active genre – a pastoral tragicomic landscape that evokes both a sense of escape and of possibility.

This emphasis on active audience participation informs the way Shakespeare introduces his audience to Bohemia. Shakespeare composed *The Winter's Tale* shortly after John Fletcher's 1609 premiere of *The Faithful Shepherdess*, and shortly before collaborating with Fletcher on *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* in 1613 and 1614, and would certainly have paid close attention to Fletcher's 1610 address to the readers of the printed edition of his infamous flop. Yet what Fletcher includes as a theoretical preface, Shakespeare communicates through the setting, characters, and the generic shift of Act IV. Speaking of his shepherds, Fletcher warned that "they are not to be adorned with any art, but such improper ones as nature is said to bestow," a

theoretical idea that Shakespeare stages as the debate between Perdita and Polixenes. Shakespeare foregoes the prologue traditionally associated with English attempts at Italian pastoral tragicomedy; in *The Winter's Tale*, the setting and characters of IV – the lowly Shepherd and his son, the rogue Autolycus, and the proliferation of humbly disguised royals such as Polixenes and Florizel – inform the audience of the move towards this emerging genre.

True to the play's emphasis on live theatrical practice, where an actual English pastoral tragicomedy might begin with a preface, Shakespeare substitutes the character of Time, whose famed "argument" (IV.i.29) in IV.i accomplishes what Fletcher's note "To the Reader" attempts. Speaking to the audience as Gower did in *Pericles*, Time, "the Chorus," inaugurates the pastoralism of IV with a first-person monologue. Through Time's speech, Shakespeare replaces the defensiveness of Fletcher with his own appeal for forgiveness: "Impute it not a crime / To me or my swift passage that I slide / O'er sixteen years" (IV.i.4-6), Time begs, even as Shakespeare's combination of rhyme and enjambment pushes towards the future. Time makes quick work of the tragic tyranny of Acts I through III, telling us that "it is in my power / To o'erthrow law" (IV.i.7-8), and replacing such sterility with bountiful references to birth, growth, and "the freshest things now reigning" (IV.i.13). In line sixteen, the mathematical middle of his monologue, he makes a fitting announcement, "I turn my glass" (IV.i.16), and with this line the play itself morphs into a new and more hopeful genre as Time reveals that Perdita has "grown in grace" as "A shepherd's daughter" (IV.i.24, 27).

Such turning requires the participation of the audience, whom Time, like Fletcher's prologue, directly addresses. Fletcher is defensive: "Thus much I hope will serve to justify my poem, and make you understand it; to teach you more for nothing, I do not know that I am in conscience bound." Time, by contrast, invites the participation of the audience, beseeching them

with humble entreaties: "Let me pass" (IV.i.9), he begs. Time twice asks his audience to "allow" (IV.i.15, 29) his machinations. Like Hermione before him, he asks viewers to behold him, saying "imagine me, / Gentle spectators" (IV.i.19-20), a request that reprises the "oracular language" (Felperin 223) and imaginative conditioning of I.i.

In his analysis of Shakespeare's poetics, Ekbert Faas has written of Shakespeare's intriguing resistance to direct generic citation (18). Indeed, there is no use of "tragic," "comic," or any of their variants in the *The Winter's Tale*; the single direct theatrical referent is Perdita's nod to "Whitsun pastorals" (IV.iv.133), a meta-theatrical moment that, as we will see here, paves the way for the miracles of V. To read Time's address to the audience as a nod to Fletcher's preface is to deepen our understanding of the self-referential pastoralism of Act IV, and to once again confirm the play's interest in visceral, theatrical embodiment and the use of meta-theatrical framing. It is Time the character, not Shakespeare the theorist, who inducts the audience into Bohemia, where the idealized pastoral setting allows for a range of tragicomic possibilities – a stark contrast to the constrictive, relentless sorrow of Sicilia. In using a character, rather than a preface, to advance a theory, Shakespeare once again affirms his emphasis on embodiment and the live theatrical arts, an emphasis that the role playing at the sheepshearing extends. Further into IV.iv, the audience watches as Bohemia's royal interlopers, particularly Florizel, Perdita, and Camillo, take parts and learn to direct their own experience. If Time inducts us into the pastoral, tragicomic landscape of IV, these late nods to meta-theater – to moments when the play's characters begin to direct their own plays, as well as their own fates – will help lead us out of the topsy-turvy Bohemian landscape that Shakespeare so clearly delights in.

PASTORAL ESCAPISM AND PRINCELY EXTRAVAGANCE

In "Guarini and the Presence of Genre," Joseph Lowenstein describes the 1616 title page of Jonson's *Works*, which features a personified "Tragicomedy" on an arch surrounded by a satyr and shepherd, a representation "which indicates the persistent if apparently peculiar alliance between this new *genre* and the pastoral *mode*" (Maguire and Klein 33). By 1611, pastoral tragicomedy had emerged as a highly specific and popular English genre, one whose components, pastoral and tragicomedy, were linked by both history and iconography. Here I consider Shakespeare's use of pastoral within Act IV, and draw on the work of William Empson, Paul Alpers, Anne Righter, and Philip Edwards as I argue that the pastoral setting of Bohemia conditions Shakespeare's audience, creating a remote, idealized landscape capable of moving spectators from the abject tragedy of III to the comic heights of IV.iv. Through the sheepshearing, Shakespeare conjures a landscape so remote that it can exist only in the realm of fantasy, a concept underscored by the ironic fact that it is not a shepherd but Florizel, the prince "obscured / With a swain's wearing" (IV.iv.8-9), whose extravagant speeches best evoke the pastoral atmosphere. I argue here that in selecting the lofty Florizel as the mouthpiece for the pastoral landscape, Shakespeare presents the pastoral as a state of mind, an affective experience that the audience, like prince Florizel, can don as easily as a disguise. As the unlikely mouthpiece for the pastoralism of IV.iv, Florizel both creates the idealized atmosphere and reminds the audience of its transience.

Working not on pastoral tragicomedy but on the pastoral as a general mode, William Empson's *Some Versions of the Pastoral* describes "the pastoral process of putting the complex into the simple" (22). I see this process at work in the setting and floral metaphors of Perdita and

Polixenes' famed debate. Here, the medium – flowers, nature's fecundity, the sheepshearing itself – is quite literally the message. Aging, time's passage, doubtful origins, and marital fragility lead to ruin in Sicilia, but the sheepsheering recapitulates these same themes in a dialogue about gillyvors. The pastoral setting of IV.iv simplifies and relieves the problems that plagued the play, allowing for a comic retelling of tragic events, and providing the audience with a safe enough distance from Sicilia that we can heed Florizel's instruction to "Apprehend / Nothing but jollity" (IV.iv.24-25).

In moving the action of his play from tragic Sicilia to pastoral Bohemia, Shakespeare requires that his spectators embrace a genre that is at once deeply affiliated with nature and highly artificial, once again using his audience's experience of genre to underscore his own meditation on the uses of art. The pastoral becomes a mode of myth-making, a way of getting further and further from the bleak reality of Leontes' court and closer to a paradoxically more authentic and impossible place. In *What is Pastoral?* Paul Alpers describes pastoral nature and landscapes as "associated with the Golden Age, innocence, and nostalgia" (28), and goes on to quote Schiller on man's idealization of "his paradise, his golden age." In this conception, the pastoral is "an elevating fiction" (Schiller 211, qtd. Alpers 33), a far away place infused with longings for the unreachable past.

Compared with the rapid industrialization and bustle of Shakespeare's London, Bohemia provides a wondrous new horizon, a landscape as verdant and uncorrupted as the young lovers. The geographical oddity of Bohemia, an ostensibly landlocked kingdom equipped with a seacoast, reinforces its power as an idealized pastoral setting. Presented in London, *The Winter's Tale* begins in recognizable if often uppercrust settings – in the home of a ruler, in the seat of government, in the prisons and the courts. The movement towards Bohemia, though, is a

movement into wild country, a landscape that London's many newly uprooted rural immigrants could remember but never return to. In *Shakespeare and the Idea of the Play,* Anne Righter explores how Shakespeare's increasing fascination with country festivals lends a mythic element to his later plays:

> In the theatrical images of these last plays there is a curious sense that … drama had come to mean for [Shakespeare] not The Globe or Blackfriars but the festivals of the country. The traditional celebrations of the people themselves, always present to some degree in his work, come now to exclude almost everything else, and he fills his plays with the pageants of nymphs and reapers, the sicklemen of August, with fairs and holidays, puppets, hobby-horses, horn-pipes, Whitsun queens, and the idle shows of swineherds and shepherds. (192)

Alpers takes this notion even further by noting Shakespeare's juxtaposition of Sicilian prisons with Bohemian landscapes, explaining how "the pastoralism of Bohemia frees the play and, eventually, Sicily from these segregations and self-enclosures" (209). The sheepshearing takes place in a landscape wild enough that a prince, chasing his "good falcon" (IV.iv.15) across a shepherd's land, might stop and fall in love with a shepherdess who is, unknowingly, a princess and his equal match.

In selecting Florizel as the ambassador of such a remote, idealized world, Shakespeare draws attention to the artificiality of the pastoral, an artificiality compounded by Florizel and Perdita's constant references to their costumes. The language of the sheepshearing is the language of flowers, fertility, and the lusty Roman gods, but it is also, always, the language of disguise. Speaking intimately to each other at the beginning of IV.iv, the secret lovers Florizel and Perdita provide the invocation to this scene. "These your unusual weeds to each part of you / Does give a life; no shepherdess, but Flora / Peering in April's front" (IV.iv.1-3), Florizel declares, evoking liveliness, fluid social classes, spring, disguise, and, most notably, the Roman flower goddess Flora, the fertile emblem whose April feast day the Romans celebrated with bawdy performances, strewn flowers, the release of goats and hares, and bright clothing, in short,

all the trappings of Bohemia's sheepshearing (Takács 43). Florizel opens the scene by speaking the language of gods and flowers, casting Perdita as both a shepherdess dressed in "unusual weeds" and a "queen" (IV.iv.5). By contrast, Perdita worries over Florizel's "extremes" (IV.iv.6) and speaks almost exclusively about the dangers of disguise. Again and again, she draws attention to her "borrowed flaunts" (IV.iv.22), at one point chiding Florizel: "Your high self, / The gracious mark o'th'land, you have obscured / With a swain's wearing, and me, poor lowly maid, / Most goddesslike pranked up" (IV.iv.7-10). The linguistic creator of the Bohemian landscape, prince Florizel recasts her doubts, noting the Roman gods' propensity for shapeshifting, and comparing the spring festival to a wedding. His conversation is laced with Roman gods – with Flora, Jove, Jupiter, and Neptune. "The gods themselves, / Humbling their deities to love, have taken / The shapes of beasts upon them" and "Their transformations / Were never for a piece of beauty rarer" (IV.iv.25-27, 31-32), he assures his nervous love. Play the part, Florizel tells her, "Lift up your countenance as it were the day / Of celebration of that nuptial which / We two have sworn shall come" (IV.iv.49-51). In saying so, Florizel assures both Perdita and her audience that we are indeed at a festival in a festive country. Florizel is confident that the sheepshearing can absorb all sorts of transformation, and if a lusty god once "Became a bull, and bellowed" (IV.iv.28), then surely a disguised, honorable prince in love with a shepherdess will come to good. Florizel both creates and trusts in the artificial pastoral landscape of Bohemia.

So tremendous is Florizel's affection that he will not be altered even after Polixenes reveals himself, shattering the Bohemian levity. Florizel simply uses the opportunity to offer further assurances of his intentions, fidelity, and faith. Upon being discovered by Polixenes, Perdita, fearing for herself and her shepherd kin, is ready to give up the fantasy of Bohemia, but Florizel is undeterred: "Why look you so upon me?" he asks her, "I am but sorry, not afeard;

delayed, / But nothing altered. What I was, I am, / More straining on for plucking back, not following / My leash unwillingly" (IV.iv.2-446). True to form, Florizel uses four protestations where one will do, each one more emphatic than the last: first, he is sorry; next, simply delayed; then, he is unchanged; and finally, he is even more committed than before. The more Florizel speaks, the more energized he becomes – yet another indication of the productive bounty of his speech.

Indeed, in creating the character of Florizel, Shakespeare recast the character of Dorastus, Florizel's counterpart in Greene's *Pandosto*, in order to emphasize the prince's loyalty. When adapting *Pandosto*, Shakespeare cut the speech that Egistus (Polixenes) makes to Dorastus (Florizel) in which he encourages the young boy to accept a princess bride from Denmark that he has selected for his son. Greene's Dorastus reluctantly assures his father that he will attempt to love this bride out of obligation: "I rest content to love, though it bee the only thing I hate" (*Pandosto, Historie* 39). Shakespeare's Florizel, by contrast, loves only Perdita, and his love is spontaneous and for himself alone. Though Perdita and Polixenes spend the act articulating their many doubts, Florizel offers only gorgeous statements of romantic conviction. "I / Am heir to my affection" (IV.iv.460-61), he assures Perdita and the audience.

Impossibly affectionate, articulate, and trusting, a handsome prince in love with a shepherdess, Florizel, like the landscape his lavish language invokes, is almost too good to be true. Like so much in the second half of the play, Florizel's goodness must be taken on faith, a word both he and later Paulina use to activate the miracles that this play revolves around. Florizel assures Perdita that their plans to wed "cannot fail but by / The violation of my faith" (IV.iv.456-7), a faith that will not fail. Speaking of Florizel's hearty contribution to the length of IV.iv, Alpers notes how the prince's "extravagant speeches…redeem the hyperboles of love that

Leontes corrupted and that underlie the wonders of the statue scene" (213). The foil to Leontes' ravings, Florizel's protestations of love are copious, earnest, and romantic. We audience members want to believe in him, and in the Bohemian countryside that his language creates.

Indeed, in choosing Florizel as the mouthpiece for the pastoral landscape, Shakespeare underscores the idyllic, impossible pastoralism that his genre shifting will require. That the rustic landscape of IV.iv is created not by shepherds' labor but by princely speeches affirms the social fluidity of Bohemia, an imagined and imaginative paradise. As articulated by Florizel, the pastoral comedy of IV.iv provides the generic antidote to the classically-infused tragedy of Acts I-III. The distance and longing associated with the pastoral help to channel the audience's mythic longings, allowing Shakespeare to integrate abject tragedy and soaring comedy into the same play.

Describing Shakespeare's use of the pastoral as a means of moving between tragedy and comedy, Henke notes how "Shakespeare unhitches pastoral from generic constraints in his late plays and uses it as a kind of hinge between tragedy and comedy, one that strikes a middle register between tragedic and comedic affective registers" ("Gentleman-like Tears" 331). This interest in the mixing of tragic and comic registers was widespread during the period, but both Philip Edwards and I view Shakespeare's interest in tragicomedy as the culmination of a restless and longstanding search. In *Shakespeare and the Confines of Art*, Edwards sees tragicomedy as allowing Shakespeare a way of balancing a tension he'd been exploring since *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Edwards traces Shakespeare's generic restlessness, citing the playwright's constant switching between his many kinds of comedies, tragedies, histories, and ultimately romances. "The Shakespeare whom I wish to present is the experimenter," he explains, "engaged in a continuous battle, a quarter of a century long, against his own skepticism about the value of

his art as a model of human experience" (10). Edwards describes Shakespeare's continuous need to acknowledge tragedy while tempering it with comedy, a form of experimentation common to the time, but one Edwards attributes to Shakespeare's particular desire to integrate both forms:

> The explanation of Shakespeare's experimentation may be that he was trying, within the main forms of tragedy and comedy, to create fictional patterns which could maintain the consoling force of those forms and withstand his own charge that the assurance mediated by his work was cheaply won. In comedy, he would try to celebrate the power of love without belittling the fact of hate. In tragedy, the stubborn realities of malice and lust would be woven into a fabric which satisfies the strongest urge in our blood, the urge towards unity and integration. This is really to say that his efforts take the form of trying to merge comedy and tragedy, or, better, to enclose tragedy within comedy. (14)

The decades-long process of balancing – of composing comedies tempered by tragedy, and tragedies leavened by comedy - that Edwards describes comes to fruition in *The Winter's Tale*, the play that uses the pastoral in order to make the single biggest generic leap of Shakespeare's career.

Tragicomic Mixing and Shakespeare's Generic Grafting

The debate between Perdita and Polixenes, in which Perdita rejects gillyvors as "nature's bastards" (IV.iv.97) while Polixenes evokes "an art / Which does mend nature" (IV.iv.112-113), famously recapitulates the central themes of the play: the uses of art, "great creating nature" (IV.iv.87), and the passage of time. In the mid-sixties, Northrop Frye, Edward W. Tayler, and Howard Felperin each targeted this staged debate as the central articulation of the play's concerns. Edwards in particular explains how "Perdita's refusal to accept the 'art of grafting' takes us further into the concept of the play. For the play itself is a story of grafting; of reinvigorating the old stock by the freshness of unsullied youth and love" (149). I apply

Edwards's notion of grafting to Shakespeare's use of genre, noting how the tragicomic pastoralism of Act IV allows Shakespeare to graft comedy onto tragedy, creating, in Polixenes' words, "an art / Which does mend nature" (IV.iv.95-96), or, in generic terms, a pastiche of comic and tragic templates whose deliberate "piedness" (IV.iv.87) helps lead Shakespeare's audience from despair to redemption, all the while echoing terms used in Guarini's own theoretical defense of tragicomedy. My generic reading extends the critical interest in this debate, and offers a meta-theatrical reading of the argument between Perdita and Polixenes, all the while linking the language of their debate to Guarini's original, audience-oriented theorizing of the form.

The fundamental plot point in Act IV is Perdita's perceived lowliness – her status as a shepherdess in love with a prince. The drama of the sheepshearing scene stems from Perdita's worry over being found out, a concern that comes to fruition with Polixenes' rejection of Florizel and vow to ruin Perdita and her shepherd family. Perdita's debate with the disguised Polixenes revolves around intermingling - of flowers, surely, but also of social classes, ages, and, in my original reading, of genre. In lacing IV with references to piedness, Shakespeare seems to me to be winking at Guarini's definition of the genre that defines the sheepshearing and defines the larger tragicomic trajectory of *The Winter's Tale*. I read Act IV's mingling of opposites – of true and fake shepherds, of true and fake royals, of people and animals, of seasons and flowers, of a prince and a perceived shepherdess, and even, on a linguistic level, of contrapuntal words – as Shakespeare's linguistic conjuring of a generic template, tragicomedy, capable of paving the way for the miracles of V.

In the late sixteenth century, Guarini's *Compendium of Tragicomic Poetry* theorized tragicomedy as a genre characterized by mixing, a notion Shakespeare underscores throughout IV.iv, most notably through the language of the debate between Perdita and Polixenes. Within

his theoretical defense of *Il Pastor Fido,* Guarini speaks again and again of tragicomedy's interest in a "proper mixture" of feelings (517). "The end of tragicomedy," he explains,

> is to imitate with the resources of the stage and action that is feigned and in which are mingled all the tragic and comic parts that can coexist in verisimilitude and decorum, properly arranging in a single dramatic form, with the end of purging with pleasure the sadness of the hearers. This is done in such a way that the imitation, which is the instrumental end, is that which is mixed, and represents a mingling of both tragic and comic events. But the purging, which is the architectonic end, exists only as a single principle which unites two qualities in one purpose, that of freeing the hearers from melancholy. (524)

Guarini's emphasis is on the restorative effects of "mingling" and "mixing," of balancing the comic and tragic in order to release melancholy and cleanse the audience.

Like the decade-long debate between Guarini and his critical rival Denores about the validity of hybrid genres (Weinberg 1103), Perdita and Polixenes' famous debate revolves around mixing. When Polixenes balks at Perdita's attempt to suit his and Camillo's ages by greeting the men with "flowers of winter" (79), Perdita confesses that "the year growing ancient, / Not yet on summer's death nor on the birth / Of trembling winter, / the fairest flow'rs o'th'season / Are our carnations and streaked gillyvors, / Which some call nature's bastards" (IV.iv.79-83). Mixing ages and seasons as she evokes "summer's death" and winter's birth, Perdita nevertheless rejects "streaked" gillyvors as "bastards," as adulterated impostors. Polixenes disagrees, and frames his objection with a question:

> POLIXENES: Wherefore, gentle maiden,
> Do you neglect them?
> PERDITA: For I have heard it said
> There is an art which in their piedness shares
> With great creating nature. (IV.iv.85-88)

Polixenes then offers a counterargument, explaining the art of grafting to his young charge:

> Say there be;
> Yet nature is made better by no mean
> But nature makes that mean. So, over that art
> Which you say adds to nature is an art
> That nature makes. You see, sweet maid, we marry
> A gentler scion to the wildest stock,
> And make conceive a bark of baser kind

> By bud of nobler race: this is an art
> Which does mend nature, change it rather, but
> The art itself is nature. (IV.iv.89-97)

Here, too, the textual emphasis is on mingling, evident in the physical images of striped and dotted flowers, in the seasonal confusion of Perdita's speeches, which evoke "the blasts of January" (IV.iv.112) even as they celebrate the fertile spring, and in Polixenes' use of the words "marry" and "conceive," which unknowingly spotlight Perdita's fraught origins and current, secret relationship with a man she perceives to be above her station. The central botanical metaphor of grafting infuses the very syntax of Polixenes' speech, which is shot through with chiasmus – "nature is made better by no mean / But nature makes that mean" (IV.iv.89-90), "over that art / Which you say adds to nature is an art / That nature makes" – and contrapuntal language: "wild" and "gentler," "baser" and "nobler," "bark" and "bud." If Shakespeare's use of a pastoral setting is a way of inviting his audience to imagine a remote, idyllic world not subject to Sicilia's rules, his emphasis on mixing in this debate affirms the shift towards tragicomedy, a genre known for its wild swings in mood. Bohemia is a place of natural and linguistic fecundity, a "pied" place in which kings and clowns mingle, and both tragic and comic turns of fortune are possible.

Indeed, it is the marital grafting that Polixenes unknowingly alludes to that facilitates Perdita's transition from tragic Sicilian pawn to comically-endangered Bohemian bride. The words "marry" and "conceive" in Polixenes' explanation of grafting – "You see, sweet maid, we marry / A gentler scion to the wildest stock, / And make conceive a bark of baser kind / By bud of nobler race" – extend Shakespeare's botanical metaphor to the human level, as Polixenes uncomprehendingly advocates for the union of high born Florizel with the shepherdess Perdita. Critics such as Tayler have noted that both Perdita and Polixenes are arguing against their own

best interests in this scene – Perdita by rejecting bastards and Polixenes by unwittingly supporting the prince's ill advised affair with a commoner – thus heightening the comedy, the chiasmus, of Bohemia, in which even the rhetorical arts are fluid enough to accommodate two debaters unknowingly arguing against their own best interests. As Leontes' child, Perdita is initially subject to tragic Sicilian rigidity, and true to her unknown Sicilian roots, Perdita spends the majority of IV.iv anticipating the tragic consequences of her deception. In this meta-theatrical context, Perdita's rejection of "piedness" and "streaked gillyvors" can be read as Shakespeare's winking rejection of striped tragicomedy, of the often-dismissed blend of "hornpipes and funerals." Of course, throughout this debate, we, the audience, know that Perdita is by nature royal, and that her marriage to Florizel, if it is not derailed, will reunite the two hostile kingdoms. When it does one act later, Shakespeare seems to be suggesting that his artful inclusion of Perdita's nurture at the hands of shepherds has helped to mend her royal nature, making her a hardier stock than the mentally fragile Leontes, and helping to solidify the bond between the young lovers. It is the love between Perdita and Florizel, themselves stand-ins for Leontes and Polixenes, and for the youthful love of Hermione and Leontes, that redeems this play, and such a love, like the comic ending, comes through the tragicomic mixing of hot house royals with hearty shepherds.

Regardless of Perdita and Polixenes' opinions on gillyvors and intermarriage, the metaphorical mixing that produces such pied results is crucial to the success of *The Winter's Tale*, and, in Guarini's opinion, to all tragicomic works. Shakespeare's exploration of grafting as an artful manipulation of nature underscores his own grafting of comedy onto tragedy in Act IV, and nods to some of the metaphors that Guarini himself used to define and defend the emerging theatrical form of tragicomedy. After explaining the differences between tragedy, a genre he

describes as involving "kings, serious actions, the terrible, and the piteous," and comedy, which concerns itself with "private affairs, laughter, and jests," Guarini asks whether such forms can be unified, then answers his question with reference to both art and nature: "Will it follow from this that, since they are of diverse species, they cannot be united to make up a third poem? Certainly it cannot be said that this is in opposition to the practice of nature, and much less to that of art" (*Compendium* 509). Guarini goes on to defend *Pastor Fido* through a reference to generic grafting: "Now having duly and sufficiently proved that the *Pastor Fido*, in so far as it is a story in which tragic and comic parts are mixed, and in so far as it contains two subjects grafted together in the manner of Terence, is a poem reasonable, properly proportioned, and capable of every artifice that pertains to a well-knit story" (530). Both Guarini and Shakespeare's staged debate emphasize mixing, grafting, and the intertwined roles of art and nature. Like Perdita and Polixenes, Guarini's theoretical justification of tragicomedy as an art form capable of integrating the naturally distinct forms of tragedy and comedy weaves the words "art" and "nature" together: "art, a most prudent imitator of nature, plays the part of the intrinsic principle, and while nature alters the parts after they are united, art alters them before they are joined in order that they may be able to exist together and, though mixed, produce a single form" (512). Reading the staged debate of IV.iv as a nod to the theoretical underpinnings of tragicomedy, I see evidence of Shakespeare's own interest in the mixing of "tragic and comic parts," and in the integration of art and nature to form a new, hybrid genre capable of reaching new audiences in new ways.

This interest in audience is central to both the history of Italian tragicomedy and to *The Winter's Tale*. In his distillation of the debate between Guarini and Denores, Henke contrasts "Denores's Platonic belief that genres are ahistorical essences determined by unchanging philosophical principles" with Guarini's justification of tragicomedy as "a form for its time,"

which "emerges for specific historical reasons in response to the attitudes and sensibilities of new audiences" (*Pastoral Transformations* 23). There is no evidence that Shakespeare read Guarini, but in nodding to the tropes and theoretical underpinnings of the Italian debate over the nature of and need for hybrid forms, Shakespeare once again affirms his interest in hybrid forms as eliciting new forms of audience response.

Laced with terms and metaphors that connect it to Guarini's defense of tragicomedy, the staged debate on the roles of art and nature can also be read as a generic marker of Romance (a genre that I will treat more fully in chapter three), and one which underscores Shakespeare's interest in infusing Sicilian rigidity with Bohemian possibility. In *Shakespeare's Poetics,* Ekbert Faas notes the set piece quality of this debate, explaining how Perdita and Polixenes are mouthpieces for "the current commonplaces of the time" (xix). In *What is Pastoral?* Paul Alpers draws attention to the eclogue-like conditions of this dialogue, and even imagines this exchange "as responsive song, not debate" (221), a trope Sidney would surely approve of. Though they clearly disagree, Perdita and Polixenes do so within a harmonious template, picking up on each other's lines without breaking iambic pentameter. The content of their debate reinforces its controlled form. Doran traces the various incarnations of the art versus nature debate, noting how, on the whole, "although there is a good deal of praise of nature both in considering the composition of poetry and in evaluating the finished product, the nature conceived of is never one undisciplined by art. In fact, a controlled art becomes the means by which nature is revealed" (55). Speaking of *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest*, arguably Shakespeare's two deepest treatments of these themes, Doran notes how nature refreshes but does not replace art: "if nature is the wellspring of refreshment of spirit, it is also not the whole substance of man; the characters always return to the court at the end of the play" (63). Dressed as Flora and speaking for "great

creating nature," Perdita nevertheless conforms to the eclogue form in this courtly exchange, and will soon marry within her social class and return to Sicilia. However, according to the grafting metaphors in this same debate, her pastoral upbringing will infuse Sicilia with a natural tragicomic hardiness, a baser bark necessary for the play to support the brilliantly improbable statue scene of Act V.

KINGS *AS* CLOWNS: MODELING SENTIMENTAL PASTORALISM

In light of the primacy of shepherds in the pastoral (Alpers 28), the most surprising aspect of Shakespeare's exploration of the pastoral is how few actual shepherds appear in IV.iv. Nearly all of the supposed shepherds at the sheepshearing, among them Camillo, Polixenes, Florizel, and even Perdita, are royals in disguise, a fact their dialogue constantly draws attention to. Even Autolycus is not the beggar he pretends to be; we learn quite early that he, too, has defected from the court.

In filling the sheepshearing with disguised royals, Shakespeare seems almost to be mocking the pastoral. Though we, his audience, know we're in the country, we also realize that we are not removed from the courts; indeed, it is here, in the Bohemian countryside, that we have come to solve the problems of the court. The mingling of kings and clowns is nothing new for the author of *King Lear*, but in Bohemia, the corrective influence of a clown such as Lear's fool is vastly expanded; it is the Bohemian setting itself, and the magic it works on its royal characters, that helps to correct the tragic plot Leontes has set in motion. Here in Bohemia, Shakespeare mingles kings and clowns so forcefully that the kings themselves become the

clowns, and, in one extreme case, the princess of Sicilia actually believes herself to be a shepherdess.

So why does Shakespeare make Bohemian pastoralism so transparent? Why surround every legitimate shepherd with an uncomfortable royal in a fake beard? I argue that, in a play designed to lead its audience through a succession of theatrical templates, Act IV's emphasis on disguised royals taking lowly parts helps model a form of sentimental pastoralism, a participatory but inherently limited way of experiencing Bohemian festivity. Shakespeare's emphasis on disguised interlopers helps increase his audience's consciousness of Bohemia's fictionality, allowing us to see the pastoral landscape as a fruitful but temporary escape, a place for experimentation from which we will eventually have to return.

In his exploration of the pastoral, Alpers includes Schiller's distinction between the naïve and sentimental poetry, a concept that I feel is particularly helpful in exploring the difference between IV's authentic clowns and disguised kings. Schiller distinguishes between naïve poetry, that is poetry written by an author in direct alignment with nature, and the sentimental poetry composed by authors removed from such harmonious accord: "In the earlier state of natural simplicity [poetry] is the completest possible *imitation of actuality* – at that stage man still functions with all his powers simultaneously as a harmonious unity and hence the whole of his nature is expressed completely in actuality; whereas now, in the state of civilization where that harmonious cooperation of his whole nature is only an idea, it is…the *representation of the ideal*, that makes for the poet" (Schiller 194, qtd. Alpers 29). In Schiller's view, early poets wrote with and from their connection to nature, while later poets write about nature from a remove. Quoting Schiller, Alpers characterizes his distinction between the naïve and sentimental lenses as they relate to pastoral poetry:

> Naïve poetry is always characterized by simplicity, whatever its subject or emotional level: "since the naïve poet only follows simple nature and feeling, and limits himself solely to imitation of actuality, he can have only a single relationship to his subject" (195). From this single relationship arises our own singleness of feeling as we read Homer and other naïve poets. Sentimental poetry, on the other hand, arouses complex feelings, because the sentimental poet does not realize himself in his relation to actuality: "He *reflects* upon the impression that objects make upon him, and only in that reflection is the emotion grounded which he himself experiences and which he excites in us….The sentimental poet is thus always involved with two conflicting representations [*Vorstellungen*] and perceptions [*Empfindungen*] – with actuality as a limit and with his idea as infinitude; and the mixed feelings that he excites will always testify to this dual source" (196). (Alpers 29-30)

While the naïve poet writes from within a pastoral setting he or she feels at home in, the sentimental poet recognizes that he or she is one step removed from this idyllic world, thus infusing his or her perspective with a sense of longing and mixed impressions. This section explores how Shakespeare's disguised royals model such sentimental pastoralism for his audience, allowing them to experience the joyful possibilities afforded by the sheepshearing, all the while knowing that Bohemia is not their home.

As the counterpoint to the fake shepherds Florizel and Polixenes, the Shepherd serves as a personification of the naïve pastoral mode. Alpers claims the "pastoral register" of the Shepherd is different from that of Perdita or Florizel (210), noting how "the old man's wholehearted insistence that his virgin daughter 'quench [her] blushes' (IV.iv.67) and put herself forth to entertain her guests has the effect of undoing the confusions of insistent entertainment and sexual boldness with which Leontes' tragedy began" (Alpers 210). From his joyful, wholehearted acceptance of the infant Perdita into his family, the Shepherd is consistent in his naïve, comic vision. Speaking to his grown daughter, he instructs her to "bid / These unknown friends to's welcome; for it is / A way to make us better friends, more known" (IV.iv.64-66), a remarkable notion at a feast in which nearly everyone is in some sort of disguise. Even when he is unaware of the facts, the Shepherd speaks the truth. He tells Polixenes that if Florizel, disguised as the swain Doricles, chooses to marry Perdita, "she shall bring him that / Which he

not dreams of" (IV.iv.179-180), and when Polixenes unmasks both himself and his son, the Shepherd immediately responds with "Oh, my heart!" (IV.iv.404). Unlike the rest of the royals, who strategize and worry over their disguises, the old Shepherd is all truth, all naïve pastoral, all heart.

As such, the Shepherd provides a foil for the disguised royals, whose actions remind the audience of Shakespeare's undoubtedly sentimental take on the pastoral. Here, I apply Schiller's distinction between these naïve and sentimental lenses to the characters in IV.iv, and in particular to the "pranked up" (IV.iv.10) royals who populate the sheepshearing. I also argue that the audience's sentimental viewpoint, cultivated by our having witnessed I-III, informs the naïve sheepshearing scene Shakespeare has created. Most significantly, I claim that Perdita's presence in this scene serves as a constant reminder that Bohemia is temporary; the tension in the scene revolves around the audience's knowledge that Perdita, who appears, even to herself, to be a shepherdess, is the princess of a distant kingdom that requires her return. Raised as a shepherdess, Perdita sees herself through a naïve pastoral lens, yet the audience and to some extent the courtly characters recognize her as an embodiment of Schiller's sentimental poetry; we know she doesn't belong among these rustics, and that the queenly part she plays so uncomfortably reflects her truest nature. Though Bohemia provides both haven and elevating fiction, Perdita's presence reminds us that, as in Shakespeare's earlier pastoral comedy *As You Like It*, we must eventually leave the forest.

Though Perdita constantly speaks about her resistance to role-playing, she spends the scene playing multiple parts, the most important of which is unknown to her. It is the Shepherd who pushes the reluctant Perdita into the spotlight, a fact she instantly acknowledges, telling her guests that "It is my father's will I should take on me / The hostess-ship o'th'day" (IV.iv.71-72).

As the reluctant yet queenly hostess, Perdita embodies the paradoxical nature of Bohemia. Throughout the scene, she is both disguised and authentic, a young woman who knows herself to be a shepherdess (indeed, it is this knowledge that makes her love of Florizel so terrifying to her) yet who is so admired that she is constantly compared to royalty. Though Perdita herself is so resistant to role-playing that she even rejects make-up (IV.iv.99-103), she nevertheless radiates queenliness. "Nothing she does or seems / But smacks of something greater than herself, / Too noble for this place" (IV.iv.156-159), Camillo announces. Polixenes echoes this sentiment, saying "she is / The queen of curds and cream" (IV.iv.160-161), and Florizel, speaking directly to Perdita, confesses that "all your acts are queens" (IV.iv.146). These constant references to Perdita's queenliness underscore the necessity of her return to Sicilia, and the audience's sense that we do not belong in Bohemia. While Perdita, Polixenes, Camillo, and Florizel are on edge because they think there is an insurmountable class difference between the lovers, the audience is tense because we know there isn't one; just as Act V's famed statue scene does not involve a statue, the action of IV doesn't involve shepherds at all, a fact that the characters must realize in time for a happy ending. Like all of the royal interlopers except Perdita, we audience members view the scene through a sentimental lens.

Alpers devotes a large subsection of his book to *The Winter's Tale*, explaining how it is the courtly characters whose speech and gestures determine the nature of the pastoral at the sheepshearing:

> The main figures in Shakespeare's Bohemia are all conceived in terms provided by the traditional pastoral. Florizel, Perdita, Autolycus, and Polixenes map out the possible ways in which court personages assume pastoral guise, and each speaks importantly in the character of the shepherd. But in their range and presence they quite dwarf the 'real' shepherds who are their hosts, those whom one would expect – thinking of works like Sannazaro's *Arcadia*, *Il Pastor Fido*, *Diana*, and *Rosalynde* – to populate and determine the character of the pastoral world. (Alpers 221)

In a play that revolves around imagined realities – after all, it is an imagined affair, and a supposed bastard who is not, in fact, a bastard, that set the plot in motion – the notion of a pastoral conceived almost entirely by royals in disguise fits right in. Shakespeare is eager to remind us of the various disguises at work in IV.iv. Confronting the disguised Florizel, the disguised Polixenes asks, "Have you a father?" (IV.iv.370) before swearing on his own costume: "By my white beard" (IV.iv.384). Theirs is the language of masks and performed identities. Upon discovering his son's deception, Polixenes physicalizes Florizel's falseness, characterizing his son as "a scepter's heir, / That thus affects a sheephook" (399-400). This constant attention to disguise, and to the inner royalty of these seeming shepherds, reinforces the audience's experience of the pastoral as a state of mind.

Alpers' thesis is that Act IV provides the play's audience with a "pastoral alternative" (222) to Leontes' claustrophobic court. Alpers describes how "we come to see the courtly pastoralists of Act 4, in themselves and in their relations, as alternatives to the courtiers of Acts 1-3. The pastoralism of Act 4 thus recovers the uses of pastoral encounter; but the encounter takes place not so much between the characters as within the minds of the audience" (221-222). I read this use of the pastoral, and particularly of the sentimental pastoral, as reinforcing the meta-theatrical nature of the play. The sentimentality of sheepshearing, the sense that, like Perdita herself, the audience does not, in fact, belong in Bohemia, opens the door to new possibilities, new plot directions, new roles. Leontes' dramatic control over Acts I through III is so stifling that even the trial of Hermione is predetermined, yet here in the chaos of IV.iv, the audience is suddenly placed at a remove as we watch disguised royals mucking about while peasants interrupt with satyr dances and ballads. Bohemia offers its audience a sense of participatory chaos and meta-theatrical possibility.

WHITSUN PASTORALS AND CAMILLO'S META-THEATRICAL CONJURING

Towards the opening of IV.iv, shortly after greeting the disguised Polixenes and Camillo, Perdita has a sudden, singular consciousness of genre: "Methinks I play as I have seen them do / In Whitsun pastorals," she claims, "Sure this robe of mine / Does change my disposition" (IV.iv.132-134). As I have noted before, this nod to the pastoral is one of only two overt nods to generic templates in the play, the other being the title itself. It is also one of the very few moments in which Perdita seems to enjoy, rather than resist, the process of playing. Righter links this moment to a shift in the drama, noting how Shakespeare "uses here the device of the Whitsun pastoral and Perdita's sudden consciousness of herself as an actress to explain the alteration of the tone in the play" (198). Unlike Leontes' tragic court, the sheepshearing is filled with actors, with characters conscious of their ability to play parts that affect their own fortunes. I look here at a second instance in which Shakespeare seems to articulate his own framing: the theatrical metaphors Camillo evokes as he directs Florizel and Perdita towards safe harbor in Sicilia, for instance his assurance that he will see Perdita and Florizel "royally appointed as if / The scene you play were mine" (IV.iv.573-574). It is my contention that, if Perdita opens this scene with the realization that she is, indeed, a player, Camillo closes it by becoming a director who leads his troupe towards the miracles of Act V.

Upon learning of Florizel's plan to set sail with Perdita, and watching Florizel draw Perdita aside, Camillo turns towards the audience and speaks the language of embedded forms:

> He's irremovable,
> Resolved for flight. Now were I happy if
> His going I could frame to serve my turn,

> Save him from danger, do him love and honor,
> Purchase the sight again of dear Sicilia
> And that unhappy king, my master, whom
> I so much thirst to see. (IV.iv.487-493)

In the face of an immovability that echoes the tragic rigidity of Leontes' court, Camillo turns to framing, the same device that Shakespeare himself uses in IV, in order to solve a host of problems, including Florizel's, Perdita's, and his own. Realizing that his ability to be "happy" depends on how he frames Florizel's impending action, Camillo turns towards theater, and his subsequent speeches evoke theatrical metaphors as he scripts, directs, and even costumes the young lovers for their upcoming roles. "If you may please to think I love the King / And through him what's nearest to him, which is / Your gracious self, embrace but my direction" (IV.iv.501-503), he tells Florizel. Camillo's verbs are theatrical; he instructs Florizel about how to "present" himself and his bride in Sicilia, and focuses particularly on how each are to be "habited" (IV.iv.526). When Florizel asks what pretext he should use when presented to Leontes, Camillo becomes his playwright in a speech that recalls Hamlet's famous instructions to his actors:

> Sir,
> The manner of your bearing towards him, with
> What you, as from your father, shall deliver –
> Things known betwixt us three – I'll write you down,
> The which shall point you forth at every sitting
> What you must say. (IV.iv.538-542)

Camillo arms his charges with the right words and the proper manner, theatrical strategies he knows will assure their good fortune. He is both director and playwright, scripting and envisioning the reunion scene to come.

The bifurcation of *The Winter's Tale* foregrounds characters who, like Antigonus and Mamillius, never escape tragic Sicilia, and those who, like Camillo, cross through space and time to behold both Sicilia and Bohemia, tragedy and comedy, tyranny-induced losses and the joys of a generative forgiveness. Camillo is not limited by gaps in space in time. He can see both sides,

and adapt each situation to suit his needs. Using the same opening line – "Methinks" – that Perdita has just used to recognize her own playing, Camillo conjures a scene to lure the young lovers to his own much-missed homeland: "Methinks I see / Leontes opening his free arms and weeping / His welcomes forth; asks thee there 'Son, forgiveness!' / As 'twere i'th'father's person" (IV.iv.527-530). Here, Camillo supplies Leontes with gestures, lines, and even a character, "th'father's person."

Like all of Shakespeare's most successful characters, Camillo is a player, an actor, and a man capable of change. Theater is his medium.

Through Camillo, Shakespeare frames the return and recovery of Perdita as a theatrical process, one that absorbs and contains the deceptive contributions of Autolycus, from whom he borrows the disguises that will ferry the Prince and Princess back to court. Autolycus is so Bohemian that he is nearly extraneous in Sicilia, yet Camillo's sense of play allows him to be effective in both places, and it is a pleasure to watch him interact in verse with the royals and then, a line later, in prose with Autolycus; indeed, by pressuring Autolycus to trade clothes with Florizel, flexible Camillo becomes the only character in IV who uses Autolycus to his own advantage, rather than the other way around.

Shakespeare presents Camillo's theatrical framing as both powerful and miraculous. Theater gives these characters agency. Rather than being "a feather for each wind that blows" (II.iii.153), as Leontes claims he is in II, or "the slaves of chance and flies / Of every wind that blows" (IV.iv.520-521), as Florizel claims he and Perdita are in IV, shortly before Camillo steps in to help, the characters who learn to play are able to bridge worlds and create their own realities. Speaking to Florizel of his plan, Camillo charts "A course more promising / Than a wild dedication of yourselves / To unpathed waters, undreamed shores" (IV.iv.545-547). He uses

theatrical language to frame and control their experience, and the results energize his young master. After Camillo has promised him safe harbor, a place to marry, and the possibility of reconciliation with his father, Florizel turns to the language of miracles, asking "How, Camillo, / May this, almost a miracle, be done, / That I may call thee something more than man, / And after that trust to thee?" (IV.iv.513-516). It is Camillo's ability to perform, and to direct the performances of his charges, that makes him the hero of this story.

Even reluctant Perdita recognizes Camillo's artistry when she admits "I see the play so lies / That I must bear a part" (IV.iv.623-624), donning her disguise and preparing to lie to Leontes upon arrival in Sicilia. Camillo's playing is neither the tricky deception of Autolycus nor the mindless performance of Leontes' will, and Perdita's sense of play is similarly balanced and redemptive. In fact, Shakespeare's own playfulness informs her punning on the word "bear." Miraculously saved from the bear that devoured Antigonus, Perdita survives to bear a part in a very different sort of production. As Northrop Frye notes, "the element of *play* is the barrier that separates art from savagery" (*Anatomy* 46). A savage bear got us to Bohemia; the bearing of our parts will get us home.

So what does pastoral tragicomedy offer Shakespeare? A generic template that triggers his audience's acceptance of change. Watching disguised royals at the sheepshearing, the audience views Bohemia through a sentimental pastoral lens, all the while becoming more and more conscious of the absurd swings in mood and fortune that this tragicomic universe allows for. It is here that Florizel, Perdita, and Camillo step up and begin to control their own experience, taking new parts and donning yet another set of disguises as they leave, swiftly, for the impossible Bohemian "seaside" (IV.iv.638). This dissertation argues that it is here, too, that Shakespeare's audiences become more active spectators. Watching Camillo frame the return of

the young lovers, Shakespeare's audiences are once again conscious of the many performances within *The Winter's Tale*, and of our own shifting lenses and power to control the drama.

BOHEMIAN FICTIONS: THE INVENTION OF AUTOLYCUS AND THE REJECTION OF ROBERT GREENE

For the first half of *The Winter's Tale*, all of Sicilia suffers from Leontes' crushing, monomaniacal delusion that Hermione has been unfaithful, but in Bohemia, the equal-opportunity dissembler Autolycus embodies the antidote to such a stifling vision. In this final consideration of the contemporaneous prose genres alluded to in Act IV, I consider Shakespeare's rendering of his non-theatrical source material, Robert Greene's *Pandosto: The Triumph of Time*, as well as his creation of Autolycus, whose circulation of ballads and trumpery speaks to the increasing tension between performance and print cultures in the early seventeenth century. I begin by arguing that Autolycus' self-conscious narration of his own tricks links him to the figure of the Medieval Vice and to the rogues in Greene's cony-catching pamphlets. I then argue that Autolycus' role as the embodiment of Greene's rogue pamphlets and circulation of trumpery teaches Shakespeare's audience to reject the dangerous fictions of Bohemia and choose instead to follow Shakespeare back to Sicilia where the real redemption, a redemption Greene and his rogues are not privy to, awaits.

In his narration of his own depravity, Autolycus recalls the Medieval Vice, a character immediately recognizable to Shakespeare's audience. In drawing constant attention to his fake beard and "rags" (IV.iii.45, 47), Autolycus reminds the audience of his own status as a performer of tricks. Speaking directly to the audience, as is his custom, Autolycus sets himself up as the tricksy contrast to the virtuous stock figures common to Medieval morality plays: "Ha, ha, what

a fool Honesty is! And Trust, his sworn brother, a very simple gentleman. I have sold all my trumpery" (IV.iv.576-577). Righter notes how "it was with the brilliant, unscrupulous figure of the Vice that the age-old connection of the actor with the deceiver seems first to have entered English drama" (68). Armed with costumes, wit, and false beards galore, Autolycus the Vice spends IV selling trumpery and misleading shepherds and dairymaids. "I can bear my part," he assures Mopsa, "you must know 'tis my occupation" (IV.iv.277). As the Vice, Autolycus embodies the notion of the actor as dissimulator, the problem of playing multiple disingenuous parts, and, as I will argue here, the necessity of rejecting Bohemia's copious, amoral fictions.

From the moment he announces himself as a con man, Autolycus the Vice begins to train Shakespeare's spectators. He is the character with the closest relationship to the audience – both his audience at the sheepshearing, which I will discuss in the next subsection, and the audience of *The Winter's Tale*. Through his constant asides, he cultivates a direct relationship with his spectators, who watch as he deceives the Clown again and again, all the time commenting, quite honestly, on the machinations of his deceptions. After exchanging garments with Camillo and Florizel, Autolycus famously admits that "this is the time that the unjust man doth thrive" (IV.iv.641-642). Once he learns of Florizel's escape from Bohemia, Autolycus explains his interest in keeping this secret in terms of knavish consistency: "If I thought it were a piece of honesty to acquaint the King withal, I would not do't. I hold it the more knavery to conceal it; and therein am I constant to my profession" (IV.iv.644-649). As the narrator of his own knavery, Autolycus constantly reminds Shakespeare's audience not to believe his delicious fictions.

Though he joyfully deceives all around him, Autolycus is candid with his audience, claiming that he is a "rogue" (IV.iii.85,87), a self-conscious identity that enables him to penetrate the pastoral world. In their introduction to *Rogues and Early Modern English Culture,* Craig

Dionne and Steve Mentz describe how this word, rogue, "began to mediate the clashing social ideals of the age – economic individualism, social mobility, linguistic improvisation, and intimate fraternity" (2). Equipped with unsettling degrees of social, economic, and geographic mobility, Autolycus spends Act IV narrating his spurious origins, constant movement up and down the social ladder, and intention to deceive. "Littered under Mercury" (IV.iii.24) and named for Ulysses' trickster grandfather, Autolycus is "out of service" (IV.iii.14) with Florizel and looking to dupe as many people as he can at the sheepshearing. In *Vagrancy, Homelessness, and English Renaissance Literature*, Linda Woodbridge accounts for the presence of a vagrant within such an idealized setting: "as barn-dwellers and travelers through the countryside, vagrants *are* denizens of a pastoral world; as members of a city thieves' underworld, they are urban sophisticates who prey on the inhabitants of a pastoral world" (159, italics hers). Slippery and ubiquitous, Autolycus speaks directly to an audience eager for an insider's understanding of the threat he poses.

By narrating his own roguery Autolycus alludes to a popular, contemporaneous prose genre: Robert Greene's cony-catching pamphlets. In creating Autolycus, Shakespeare seems to have looked beyond *Pandosto*, which contains no such figure, and towards Greene's 1592 pamphlets, which featured stories with titles like "A Kind Conceit of a Foist performed in Paul's" and "Another Tale of a Cozening Companion, Who Would Needs Try His Cunning in This New Invented Art, and How by His Knavery (at One Instant) He Beguiled Half a Dozen and More." Such titles promised readers an insider's understanding of the increased threats posed by wandering rogues, a knowledge the conspiratorial Autolycus provides through his constant narration. Autolycus reveals his tricks even as he engages in them, ironically counseling the Clown that "there are cozeners abroad; therefore it behooves men to be wary" (IV.iv.240-241).

Indeed, Woodbridge notes that his trick of pretending he's just been robbed in order to elicit the trust of his next unknowing victim is "a variant of a trick found in Greene's *Second Part of Cony-Catching*" (195).

Empson articulates the complex identifications popular rogue pamphlets inspired, noting that "stories of successful cheats are 'merry' because the reader imagines himself as the robber, so as to enjoy his courage, dexterity, etc., and as the robbed – he can stand up to this trick now that he has been told; a secret freedom kept the two from obstructing each other" (64). In his essay "Magic Books: Cony-Catching and the Romance of Early Modern London," Steve Mentz argues that Greene's cony-catching pamphlets served as magical guides to an increasingly urban and unruly London. Like Empson, Mentz notes the double effect of the rogue-pamphlets, which both highlight the increasing dangers and safeguard their informed readers against such pitfalls. Autolycus is indeed a merry instructor, one who intimately cultivates his audience all the while robbing the naïve pastorals blind. Simon Forman's account of *The Winter's Tale* is nearly exclusive in its focus on the pleasures of watching such an inspired con man at work, yet Forman cared enough about the lesson he drew from Autolycus' antics to record it: "Beware of trusting feigned beggars or fawning fellows" (Orgel, *Winter's Tale* 233, qtd. DiGangi 2). Because Autolycus spends IV announcing each of his deceptions, he allows Shakespeare's audience, like the readers of Greene's rogue pamphlets, a double-consciousness: the pleasure of his deceptions, and the moral superiority that came with dismissing his counterfeit fictions.

Shakespeare had personal reasons to link Autolycus with the author of his source material. In 1592, as a University wit annoyed by his country rival, Robert Greene was quick to call out an actor who had disappointed him: "There is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his *tiger's heart wrapped in a player's hide* supposes he is as well able to

bombast out a blank verse as the best of you, and being an absolute Johannes-factotum is in his own conceit the only Shake-scene in a country" (*Groatsworth* 85). Lori Newcomb's *Reading Popular Romance in Early Modern England* details the long, intertwined history of *Pandosto* and *The Winter's Tale*, and how the former achieved wild popularity when first published in 1588, inspiring at least twenty-four editions by 1740, making it one of the only Shakespearean sources that enjoyed contemporaneous acclaim (21). In light of this rivalry, Newcomb reads Autolycus as a stand-in for Greene: "If Autolycus constitutes a demonized author of fictions who is exorcised to make Shakespeare's theatrical magic lawful, he is recognizable as that other infamous, shifting Bohemian, that yarker-out of unconsidered trifles, Robert Greene" (123). Such a link accounts for Autolycus' false beard, itself a reference, in Newcomb's eyes, to "Greene's own bushy beard" (123).

In adapting Greene's pamphlet rogue for the stage, Shakespeare created a character whose self-conscious trickery helps break Leontes' strangle-hold on Sicilia, while also pointing towards the rivalry between Shakespeare and the knavish author of his source material. The antic engine of Act IV, Autolycus serves an important function within the tragicomic vista of Bohemia: he is a character capable of rendering the tragic comic and the comic tragic. Several critics, among them Alpers (215) and Felperin, have noted how "much of the subject matter of Leontes' insane dreams is actually reworked by Autolycus and rendered into harmless fantasy" (Felperin 234). Through his songs, ballads, constant playing of parts, and ceaseless conning of the Clown, Autolycus embodies what Felperin calls the "imaginative fecundity of Bohemia" (235), a land full of fictions. However, just Act IV of *The Winter's Tale* teaches audiences that there is life beyond the confines of Leontes' sterile court, the later scenes in this same act reveal the limits of Autolycus' distracting fictions.

GREENE'S UNSCRUPULOUS READERS

As a character straight out of Greene's popular rogue pamphlets, Autolycus evokes the tricksy rivalry between Shakespeare and his contemporary, as well as the playwright's increasing anxiety about the advent and circulation of print media. This next subsection considers two additional, contemporaneous printed forms, the romance and the ballad, looking particularly at how Shakespeare uses the character of Autolycus as a stand in for Greene's shortcomings. Here, I focus, like Newcomb, on Autolycus the ballad-seller, and provide my own reading of Mopsa and Dorcas as naïve pastorals intended to teach Shakespeare's audience about the limits of Greene's sensationalist fictions. Finally, I consider how Shakespeare's exclusion of Autolycus and, by proxy, Greene, from his final theatrical miracle once again affirms the playwright's privileging of live, redemptive theater over the scandalous, circulating prose that Mopsa and Dorcas are so drawn to.

In the early seventeenth century, as print culture exploded, and as Shakespeare was composing *The Winter's Tale*, England was in the middle of a complex interaction between oral and print cultures, a negotiation that, as Newcomb points out, manifests itself in Shakespeare's later plays through his increasing use of book metaphors and props (140). In *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700,* Adam Fox explores "the literary restructuring of popular culture" (19) in the early modern period, noting the mixing of oral and print cultures as written words began to augment and, by the eighteenth century, even eclipse the spoken (5). By the 1611 premiere of *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare's audiences would have been increasingly connected to print culture in light of contemporaneous "developments in professional journalism, the

emergence of a postal service, and the commercialization of printing" (405), and would likely have encountered one of the four million broadside ballads "produced in the second half of the sixteenth century alone" (409), one of which, *Lowsie is Lucy*, was said to have been composed by Shakespeare himself and circulated orally in Stratford for generations (300). Even large texts found populist distribution. Newcomb discusses how "Romance, that pervasive, enduring, and pleasurable genre, began to drive the work of distinction from the sixteenth century, when London printers began to offer Continental chivalric romances in quarto editions and English authors began to write prose romances specifically for the print market" (8).

Amid this revolution in the way news, stories, and gossip were disseminated, Autolycus emerges as a forerunner: in Newcomb's words, "Autolycus's ballads are the first printed commodities to be sold on the early modern stage in the first public staging of the book market" (124). As preposterous as they are, Autolycus' invented ballads are perfectly interchangeable with contemporaneous titles, for instance 1609's "Strange News out of Kent, of a Monstrous and Misshapen Child, Born in Old Sandwich," 1615's "God's Handiwork in Wonders, Miraculously Shown upon Two Women, Lately Delivered of Two Monsters," and even 1566's "The Description of a Rare or Rather Most Monstrous Fish Taken on the East Coast of Holland" (DiGangi 356, 355). Zachary Lesser's *Renaissance Drama and the Politics of Publication: Readings in the English Book Trade* affirms this reading of Autolycus as a commercial peddler placing books alongside other trinkets. Lesser notes that "in Shakespeare's *The Winter's Tale*, this emergent consumer society enters the pastoral retreat of Bohemian shepherds in the person of Autolycus, the rogue, vagabond, and chapman who carries in his pack not only printed material in the form of ballads, but also gloves, masks, mirrors, jewelry, notebooks, and 'ribbons of all the colours i' th' rainbow' (IV.ii.202)" (26). It is the balladeer Autolycus, more than any

other character in Shakespeare, who embodies the tension between print commodities and stage performance (Newcomb 117).

In this, Shakespeare's first public grappling with the burgeoning populist print market, Autolycus the ballad-seller represents the uses and limits of the muckraking fictions from which his character seems to have emerged. Through Autolycus, Shakespeare presents the roguish ambassador of lowbrow print culture as a stand in for Greene, and as a character who, because he is ultimately eclipsed, and whose ballads curry favor only with the weakest minded at the sheepshearing, helps to, in Stanley Cavell's words, claim "the superiority of theater" over Greene's prose romance (*Disowning Knowledge* 199). Through the invention and superimposition of Autolycus, a ballad-selling character reminiscent of Greene's cony-catching pamphlets, onto a sheepshearing scene drawn from Greene's own prose romance, Shakespeare found a way to engage with Greene's prose while "simultaneously mocking its conventions and appropriating its power" (Newcomb 81).

"My traffic is sheets," Autolycus announces within moments of his arrival on the stage, "when the kite builds, look to lesser linen" (IV.iii.23). This boast, that his thefts are larger than the kite bird's, known to steal smaller linen scraps, is also an allusion to publishing: Autolycus traffics in paper sheets – broadside ballads. The Servant who announces his arrival functions as a carnival barker, and his language establishes Autolycus as the literal embodiment of the ballad, a commodity Shakespeare links to money, song, and the manipulation of the audience: "He sings several tunes faster than you'll tell money. He utters them as he had eaten ballads and all men's ears grew to his tunes" (IV.iv.181-184). Shakespeare connects Autolycus' ballads to clothing and disguise (as well as to his father's profession) as the Servant announces "He hath songs for man or woman, of all sizes. No milliner can so fit his customers with gloves" (IV.iv.188-189).

Autolycus' ballads, like the false finery Perdita wears in this scene, are tailored to suit each customer's longings. Through the Servant's resounding endorsements, Shakespeare also groups Autolycus' ballads with other knick knacks; listed among "ribbons of all the colors I'th'rainbow; points…inkles, caddisses, cambric's, lawns" (IV.iv.199-201), they are but one subset of the con man's "trumpery" (IV.iv.576-577).

This language of toys, trifles, and trumpery pervades Shakespeare's discussion of Autolycus, linking him to *Pandosto*, which Greene himself introduced, in the feminized language of the genre, as a trifle. In his dedication of *Pandosto: or, The Historie of Dorastus and Fawnia*, to the Earl of Cumberland, Greene ceremoniously asks for the pardon of his patron "when you have cast a glaunce at this toy" (*Pandosto, Historie* 13), using a word designed, in Newcomb's estimation, to present his creation as "a sweet for women" (37). Autolycus is the first to link himself to this lowbrow, feminized, literary world, introducing himself as "a snapper up of unconsidered trifles" (IV.iii.25) and announcing the sale of his "toys" (IV.iv.300) as he courts Mopsa and Dorcas, two poor shepherdesses representative of the humble chambermaid consumers of Greene's romances.

In addition to the language of trifles, Shakespeare frames his use of the tropes of popular romance with Mopsa's name as well as a telling reference to the era's increasing appetite for tales that, like *Pandosto*, featured lowly lasses consorting, miraculously, with princes. An unlikely reader, the Shepherd nevertheless refers to these popular tales of sexual scandal the moment he discovers Perdita, who he assumes is the abandoned child of a governess' affair with someone above her station: "Though I am not bookish, yet I can read waiting-gentlewoman in the scape. This has been some stair-work, some trunk-work, some behind-door-work" (III.iii.67-69). Lifted from Sidney's *Arcadia*, which his elaborate dedication to his countess sister

nevertheless dismisses as "but a trifle" (4), Mopsa's name once again affirms the connection between prose romance and "toys" penned by male authors and sold to female readers.

As avid consumers of Autolycus' ballads, Mopsa and Dorcas are hilarious in their naïve and, I will argue, instructive willingness to believe the wrong fictions. The humor from this scene stems from the naïve pastorals' gullibility, from their unquestioning belief in the con man's preposterous songs. Again and again, the Clown and shepherdesses proclaim their enthusiasm. "I love a ballad but even too well," says the Clown, "if it be doleful matter merrily set down, or a very pleasant thing indeed and sung lamentably" (IV.iv.185-187). His chiasmus later gives way to Mopsa's certainty that "print" is always true to life. "I love a ballad in print alife, for then we are sure they are true" (IV.iv.245-246), she exclaims. Confronted by Autolycus' tale of "how a usurer's wife was brought to bed of twenty money-bags at a burden, and how she longed to eat adders' heads and toads carbonadoed" (IV.iv.247-249), Mopsa asks "Is it true, think you?" (IV.iv.250), a question her rival Dorcas, like a chorus, will echo moments later: "Is it true too, think you?" (IV.iv.265). Seeing their willingness to believe such truths, we audience members, superior to these gulls, can feel secure in our discernment. While Autolycus describes Mopsa and Dorcas as "two moles, these blind ones" (IV.iv.771), we audience members, who have watched Autolycus con his way through Act IV, and who are secretly armed with the knowledge of Perdita's origins, a knowledge that escapes even the wisest characters on stage, know to trust our own wider perceptions. Just as Autolycus shows us the limits of amoral falsity, the real shepherds, Dorcas, Mopsa, and the Clown teach the audience about the limits of unquestioning belief.

The ballad that Mopsa and Dorcas select, "Two Maids Wooing a Man" (IV.iv.272), further complicates the themes of commerce and belief Shakespeare has injected into this scene,

revealing how fiction speaks to our innermost desires, yet also affirming the limits of misplaced belief. Like all of Bohemia's fictions, Autolycus' ballads, however ridiculous, are undoubtedly useful art; not only does the shepherdess' selection of *Two Maids Wooing a Man* articulate their own triangulated love of the Clown, it also recalls Leontes' tragic, misplaced jealousy of Polixenes in Acts I through III. True to form, however, Mopsa and Dorcas, though they intuitively respond to "Two Maids," prove amusingly blind to the truth of this particular ballad as it relates to their experience. Upon hearing of the song, Mopsa immediately elicits the help of Autolycus, rather than the Clown, in singing the third part: "We can both sing it. If thou'lt bear a part, thou shalt hear; 'tis in three parts" (IV.iv.274-275). Thrilled by the "truth" of Autolycus' airborne fish and reference to the "fourscore of April" (IV.iv.259-261), Mopsa fails to realize that she's selected a song that perfectly articulates her relationship to Dorcas and the Clown. Shakespeare reinforces this error when, after Autolycus has happily stepped in to play the third part, the Clown, who bears it in real life, interrupts and begs to play it himself: "We'll have this song out anon by ourselves" (IV.iv.291). Mopsa's misguided casting underscores her role as a gullible darling, and though she's adorable, she also embodies a naive approach to Autolycus that Shakespeare is training his audience to reject.

Tellingly, Perdita resists the scandals that compel Mopsa and Dorcas. As unsophisticated gulls, Mopsa and Dorcas function as foils for Perdita, a woman who, though she is constantly dismissed as a "trifle" by unenlightened characters, proves impervious to the base charms of Autolycus, and of Greene. Seeing the Clown buy gift after gift from Autolycus, Polixenes questions disguised Florizel, asking him why he doesn't follow suit. Florizel responds by explaining that "She prizes not such trifles as these are. / The gifts she looks for from me are packed and locked / Up in my heart, which I have given already" (IV.iv.335-337). Unknown

even to her in this scene, Perdita's royal bearing renders her impervious to such trifles, yet over and over again the unenlightened use this word to describe and dismiss her (Newcomb 128). The word "trifle" is used five times in the play, predominantly to refer to Perdita (V.ii.222, 224), who is also dismissed by Polixenes as a "knack" (IV.iv.408), and yet it is Perdita who is most indifferent to Autolycus' roguery, which Mopsa and Dorcas devour. Perdita's royal nature expresses itself as an opposition to misplaced belief that helps instruct Shakespeare's audience. Perdita's queenly resistance to the trifles sold by Autolycus also functions as a queenly resistance to Greene himself. Through Perdita's rejection, Shakespeare dismisses his rival as a seller of trumpery to dairymaids, all the while pushing his own audience towards a final redemption that privileges moral theatricality over printed trifles.

BEYOND AUTOLYCUS

In his enumeration of the overlapping tropes of Italian and English pastoral tragicomedy, Henke highlights "the marginalization of the comic buffoon and the satyr figure" (*Pastoral Transformations* 35). This final section looks at the two methods Shakespeare uses to marginalize Autolycus and with him the prose fictions of Robert Greene. It is my contention that, in adapting Greene's *Pandosto*, Shakespeare substituted his own interest in redemptive live performance for Greene's gossipy sensationalism. A scene that closes with an image of Autolycus being subordinated by the very naïve pastorals he's conned, V.ii confirms that both Autolycus and the prose fictions he represents are no match for the living theater Shakespeare will present in the final scene.

Shakespeare's privileging of a redemptive theatricality over the scandals of Greene is particularly evident in his reworking of *Pandosto*, a popular romance with elements of fortune, sexual danger, and tragic parents redeemed by young lovers, into *The Winter's Tale*, a play emphasizing maturity, growth, forgiveness, and the use of art, particularly embedded artistic genres, to correct nature. Looking broadly at Shakespeare's adaptation of Greene's *Pandosto* reveals Shakespeare's interest in Greene's scope, as well as Shakespeare's substitution of a moral arc for Greene's serialized and compulsively readable scandals. In adapting Greene's popular text, Shakespeare quickly incorporated *Pandosto*'s quick pace, geographical sweep, mix of country and court, central trial scene, and even some potent errors, among them Greene's suggestion of an impossible seacoast. Shakespeare dispensed with the salacious tone and constant intimations of the sexual danger surrounding his Fawnia /Perdita, condensing pages and pages of fraught, secret rendezvous between the shepherdess and her princely lover into a single sheep-shearing scene. Shakespeare also dispenses with most of the incestuous feelings that Pandosto/Leontes feels once his unrecognized lost child returns; the only trace of such recognition is in Paulina's gentle reprimand to Leontes as he looks in awe at the grown Perdita, "Sir, my liege, / Your eye hath too much youth in't" (V.i.225), to which Leontes gently replies "I thought of her / Even in these looks I made" (V.i.227-228), his "her" so obviously Hermione that neither he nor Paulina need to articulate it further. In Greene, the character of Fortune is central, variously thwarting and encouraging the young lovers; though he preserves her as a force in *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare gives most of Fortune's revolutions to Time, suggesting a focus on maturation rather than aimless plot-twists. Shakespeare's biggest departure, though, is his creation of three characters: Autolycus, the representative of Greene's salacious prose fictions; Camillo, a deeply moral amalgam of the sequence of undefined counselors in Pandosto's court;

and Paulina, who, along with her counterpart Camillo, will engineer the final redemption. In creating these characters, the first who, along with Greene's prose work, is enjoyed then dismissed by the arc of the play, and the latter two who, through their Kent-like devotion to the moral wellbeing of Sicilia, create the redeeming theatrical miracles of Act V, Shakespeare injects Greene's source material with a redemptive morality that he links directly to his own brand of theater.

Shakespeare's reworking of the outrageous final page of *Pandosto* provides a fitting example of the tonal differences between the two texts. In Greene's version, after clearing up all confusion about Fawnia's identity, Pandosto/Leontes joyfully sends the happy couple back to Egistus/Polixenes,

> who, hearing this most comicall event, rejoyced greatly at his sonnes good happe, and without delay (to the perpetuall joy of the two young Lovers) celebrated the marriage: which was no sooner ended, but Pandosto, (calling to mind how first he betraied his friend Egistus, how his jealousie was the cause of Bellarias death, that contrarie to the law of nature hee had lusted after his owne Daughter), moved with these desperate thoughts, he fell into a melancholie fit, and, to close up the Comedie with a Tragicall strategeme, he slewe himselfe, whose death being many daies bewailed of Fawnia, Dorastus, and his deere friend Egistus, Dorastus taking his leave of his father, went with his wife and the dead corps into Bohemia, where after they were sumptuouslie intoombed, Dorastus ended his daies in contented quiet. (*Pandosto, Historie* 66)

Within this single sentence we see both the topsy-turvy sweep and mingling of joy and sorrow that Shakespeare preserved in his own adaptation, as well as the seedy scandals – lust, incestuous behavior "contrarie to the law of nature," fits of melancholy, suicide, a "dead corps," and a "sumptuous" entombment – that Shakespeare's ending rejects in favor of a fictional yet miraculous resurrection. The difference is one of both tone and intent. From the very first paragraph, *Pandosto* promises to explore "the infectious soare of jealousie" and recount the title character's "endlesse sorrow and misery" (5). *The Winter's Tale* is not content to end with the

"contented quiet" following a cascade of horrors, and in chapter three I explore how the final act moves Shakespeare's audience towards a redemption that eclipses both Autolycus and Greene.

Tellingly, this final revelation, which occurs in Act V, is one that Autolycus is not privy to. Instrumental in steering the action back towards Sicilia, and in inspiring the storytelling he is known for, Autolycus, and through him Robert Greene, is locked out of the gallery where Shakespeare, through Paulina, performs the play's final miracle. In a scene that provides a stark contrast to Autolycus' joyously proclaimed entrance at the sheepshearing, V.ii, the final scene in which the balladeer appears, leaves Autolycus and his fictions stranded at the gates of the palace. True to form, Autolycus continues to traffic in stories in Sicilia, opening his final scene by asking the first Gentleman for the story of the three miraculous reunions: "Beseech you, sir, were you present at this relation?" (V.ii.1). Locked out of the events witnessed by true Gentlemen, and even by the Shepherd and Clown, Autolycus is the first to inquire about the palace gossip. He goads the Gentlemen into telling the story, then speaks with the audience once the Gentlemen and their miraculous tales have passed by, noting how seasickness and "extremity of weather" (V.ii.92) prevented him from discovering such miraculous secrets on the Prince's ship. The master of ceremonies in IV.iv, Autolycus can utter only excuses by V.ii. As if to add comic insult to injury, Shakespeare then surrounds Autolycus with the Shepherd and Clown, two newly minted gentlemen reveling in their "preposterous estate" (V.ii.113) who now become his benefactors. "Here come those I have done good to against my will" (V.ii.95), Autolycus admits. Naïve to the last, the Clown vows to speak on behalf of Autolycus, subordinating him with his final words: "Come, follow us. We'll be thy good masters" (V.ii.136). The last glimpse the audience sees of Autolycus is of him being pitied, naively forgiven, and led away by the naïve rustics he has conned.

The Clown's final vow to Autolycus - "I will swear to the Prince thou art as honest a true fellow as any in Bohemia" (V.ii.121-122) – provides a perfect characterization of the rogue: as true as any in false Bohemia, he cannot flourish outside of it. Representative of Bohemia's outrageous fictions, Autolycus cannot thrive in a land without Mopsa, Dorcas, and their fellow consumers of lowbrow prose. By the end of IV, Shakespeare has made marvelous use of Autolycus and stolen nearly all he can from Greene. As we will see, Act V of *The Winter's Tale* primarily revolves around the medium of theater, and around actions of Paulina, a noble character who, like Autolycus, has no root in the play's source material. Greene's prose fictions belong in Bohemia, alongside contemporaneous allusions to masque, bearbaiting, and pastoral tragicomedy; Shakespeare's mold-breaking play has one more act.

CHAPTER THREE: MARVELS

In the later half of *The Winter's Tale*, the rigid theatrical templates that dominate the opening acts are supplanted by more adaptable, hybrid forms. In the previous chapter, I explored how Shakespeare embeds contemporaneous genres, subgenres, and entertainments in Act IV; here, I turn my attention to his evocation of fading forms, such as old tales and miracle plays, in Act V. My argument here is that, over the course of *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare replaces the tragic, passive, patriarchal, neoclassical, and courtly Sicilian arts of Acts I through III with the comic, participatory, feminine, romantic, and pastoral forms of Acts IV and V, once again underscoring his play's interest in live, generative arts.

This final chapter is divided into two major sections. In the first, "'Like an Old Tale': Winter's Tales, Miracle Plays, and the Conjuring of Nostalgic, Feminine Wonders," I connect the proliferation of women at the close of *The Winter's Tale* to Shakespeare's embedding of three forms with feminine connotations: the prose romance, which I briefly revisit; old wives' tales, a form created and perpetuated by women at their firesides; and the Marian resonances of a particular brand of mystery play. I look here at how Shakespeare uses these feminine forms to condition his audience's acceptance of Hermione's miraculous return, a restoration engineered by a female celebrant, Paulina, and one that restores Hermione, the longed for, maternal figure,

to her rightful role in the kingdom. My work draws on Jeanne Addison Roberts' exploration of women as representative of the wild in *The Shakespearean Wild: Geography, Genus, and Gender*, as well as on Peter B. Erickson's work with images of "female bounty" (826) and Valerie Forman's exploration of the "'surplus' grace" (20) at the close of *The Winter's Tale* in her book *Tragicomic Redemptions: Global Economics and the Early Modern English Stage*. My argument is original, though, in linking such feminine abundance to Shakespeare's embedding of traditionally feminine forms, and his use of such forms to conjure a generative, participatory mode of spectatorship. Little work has been done on the fascinating conflation of gender and genre at the close of the play, and it is my contention that in staging Hermione's miraculous return, Shakespeare prioritizes fading, feminine forms, particularly the old wives' tale and Marian miracle play, elevating these nostalgic templates just as he elevates the woman who embodies them.

The miracles of Act V depend upon Leontes' rejection of his patriarchal rigidity and acceptance of Paulina as a female celebrant. In the second part of this chapter, "Staging Spectatorship," I describe how the statue scene foregrounds Leontes' role as a reformed spectator, one newly capable of witnessing Paulina's staging of Hermione's return. I then argue that, in staging Leontes' renewed capacity for spectatorship, Shakespeare aims to instruct his audience, restoring our own theatrical faith and willingness to trust in the increasingly implausible spectacles of V.iii. Paying special attention to Shakespeare's use of the word "mock" in this scene, I affirm Shakespeare's emphasis on a redemptive and ultimately comic fluidity, one that, unlike the deathly trial of the opening acts, is participatory, generative, and reliant upon the new form of spectator that Shakespeare's play-long progression of embedded genres has created.

“LIKE AN OLD TALE”: WINTER’S TALES, MIRACLE PLAYS, AND THE CONJURING OF NOSTALGIC, FEMININE WONDERS

One of the many ways Shakespeare differentiates between the stifling, tragic Sicilia of the opening acts and the redemptive Sicilia of Act V is through the abundance of women at the close of *The Winter’s Tale*. In his essay titled “Patriarchal Structures in *The Winter’s Tale*,” Peter B. Erickson notes the images of “female bounty” (826) that proliferate in Act V, while Janet Adelman’s book *Suffocating Mothers: Fantasies of Maternal Origin in Shakespeare’s Plays, Hamlet to The Tempest* notes how, during the moment that Hermione turns away from Leontes and towards her lost daughter Perdita, Shakespeare “opens up a space for the female narrative – specifically the mother-daughter narrative – his work has thus far suppressed” (234). Act V revolves around the interaction of three women who have never before shared the stage and Leontes’ reformed ability to behold and embrace the generative forgiveness that these women represent.

Act V’s reincorporation of “female bounty” is also a rebalancing of the forces of nature and art in the play. Both Erickson and Roberts link women and nature. Erickson describes how female bounty “is analogous to nature, grounded in giving birth and nurturance to infants” (820). Roberts describes “the female Wild, often associated with the malign and benign forces of the green world” (5), and notes how

> Whereas early plays deal with the mating of young lovers – the male’s foray into the mysterious female forest – the later plays focus on the problems generated by having incorporated Wild creatures uneasily into Culture. Once the male is enmeshed with the precariously “domesticated” Wild, emphasis shifts toward fears of unbridled lust, infidelity, infertility, entrapment, intractable virginity, incest, and, above all, the menace of women who are not primarily sex objects but cronelike reminders of death (witches, Lady Macbeth, Goneril and Regan, Volumnia, Cymbeline’s Queen, Paulina, and Sycorax). (18)

In both Roberts' view and Erickson's, Leontes' ability to accept Hermione's return, as well as the commanding council of Paulina, marks the restoration of Sicilia, and the return to a generative, forgiving, feminized peace. Describing "the miraculous change in Leontes as he relinquishes his view of women as degraded and learns to see them as sanctified" (825), Erickson links the restoration of the final Act with Leontes' renewed ability to behold his wife and women in general. For Addison, the incorporation of Paulina's counsel marks Leontes' ability to incorporate a certain wildness, a natural element that his sterile trial once attempted to expel.

Erickson's exploration of gender in *The Winter's Tale* ultimately affirms a patriarchal reading of the play, stating that women and the forgiving bounty they come to represent are ultimately subsumed by the play's patriarchal structure, and that any reading of the play's ending as a simple elevation of the feminine would be "sentimental" (827). My own generic reading of the play, however, points towards this seemingly sentimental conclusion. In doing so, I draw, perhaps ironically, on Erickson's notion that, "in this new kind of art, Shakespeare aligns himself with nature and women; procreation becomes a model for an artistic process that can lead beyond tragedy" (827). If Acts II and III offer an image of Leontes' tyrannical male pageantry, his "art," suppressing the natural progression of Hermione's pregnancy and Perdita's birth, the final acts offer image after image of "female bounty."

My work on the generative genres Shakespeare embeds in the later acts of his play is affirmed by both Henke's and Forman's work on the early seventeenth-century English interest in providential forms. *Pastoral Transformations* contextualizes the theatrical interest in joyful, plenteous resolutions, noting that "to many, James's early years betokened imminent national renewal and prosperity after a dark and anxious time – a suitable context for reconciliatory, providential forms like tragicomedy and the masque that dramatize conflicts only to resolve

them" (30). Forman argues that, at the time *The Winter's Tale* was composed, "new economic practices required the English to reconceptualize loss itself as something productive" (1). Focusing on *The Winter's Tale*, Forman reads Leontes' effort to "redeem the loss of his wife and son," and notes how "in the redemptive formula of tragicomedies, lost or kidnapped wives, daughters, husbands, sisters, brothers, and the like, are found again, and resolution and conclusion are dependent not only on reunions but also on transformations that are significantly also understood to be prosperous, often in the most material, even commercial, sense of the term" (8). Forman characterizes the redemption that closes *The Winter's Tale* as "a 'surplus' grace that not only redeems the play's losses, but also overcompensates for the deficiencies the play attributes to seemingly less profitable and less significant methods of value production" (20). For Forman, such abundance is both economic and theatrical; witnessing the reanimation of Hermione's statue transforms Leontes' losses into "something more valuable: the theater itself" (20). I argue here that Shakespeare's embedding of feminine forms helps create the generative abundance of his closing scene.

OUT OF THE NURSERY: THE ELEVATION OF ROMANCE AND OLD TALES

In my discussion of Bohemian fictions, I looked at the prose romance, and in particular at *Pandosto*, as a rival form dismissed by Shakespeare, but I want to revisit the subject here by arguing for the instructive nature of this feminine genre, linking it to a second, undervalued genre with feminine connotations: the winter's tale. Popular with disenfranchised female readers like Mopsa and Dorcas, the prose romance nevertheless provides an instructive framework for comprehending Perdita's shifting fortunes. Similarly, the winter's tale, a storytelling practice

commonly dismissed as the idle pastime of old women, conjures the nostalgia, intimacy, and longing for matrilineal connection Shakespeare uses to frame Hermione's return. Marginalized as feminine, these forms condition an audience's acceptance of the miraculous mother-daughter reunion at the heart of Act V.

Upon discovering Perdita, the Shepherd refers immediately to romance: "Sure some scape. Though I am not bookish, yet I can read waiting-gentlewoman in the scape" (III.iii.67-68). The Shepherd immediately interprets his experience, and the past of the infant in his arms, as characteristic of prose romance. Not bookish himself, he can nevertheless "read" Perdita's story: a baby conceived under dubious circumstances and condemned to exile. Like the Shepherd, early modern readers of romance knew to expect wild shifts in fortune, journeys to despair and back, tales of beauty brought low and then restored, a wide geographical sweep, and the tension-filled mixing of high and low born characters. Itself a hybrid form, the romance pulled from multiple traditions, Greek and Medieval, Christian and pagan, comic and tragic, and as a result it was unusually flexible, capable of evoking powerful mixed emotions. Born from three faded traditions, Hellenistic prose romances, medieval chivalric literature, and late medieval miracle plays (DiGangi 135), the romance demonstrated what Doran describes as "the late medieval interest in diversity and detail, the medieval interest in story for its own sake," and "the medieval emphasis on rhetoric and style founded on a debased tradition of classical rhetoric" (13), three qualities highly evident in *The Winter's Tale* itself. It is through the amalgamated form of the prose romance that the Shepherd can account for the arc – royal parentage, abandonment, rescue, illicit courtship, and ultimate redemption – of Perdita's story.

The Shepherd's allusion to romance evokes both *Pandosto* and the proliferation of mixed genre texts, such as *The Fairie Queene* and *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, in the 1590s.

Shakespeare drew on the latter for its bears, oracles, images of lovers in disguise, discourses on art and nature, love triangle involving a gormless shepherdess named Mopsa, and even, perhaps, for its dedication, in which Sidney likens his work to an abandoned infant, claiming "I could well find in my heart to cast out in some desert of forgetfulness this child." Sidney's structural juxtaposition of "Acts" and "Eclogues" recalls the mix of drama and intermezzi that characterized the Elizabethan stage, and even his characters, like the gentlemen of V.ii, are inclined to comment on the proximity of tragedy and comedy, as when Cleophilia declares, "I will mingle your comical tunes with my long-used tragical notes" (150), and Pyrocles later explains that "the extremity of joy is not without a certain joyful pain, by extending the heart beyond his wonted limits, and by so forcible a holding all the senses to one object, that it confounds their mutual working" (201), a line that seems to anticipate the teary joys of V.ii, when none can say "if th'importance were joy or sorrow" (V.ii.13-14). Such mingling of joy and pain, "Acts" and "Eclogues," prose and poetry, perfectly characterizes this hybrid prose genre that so fully informs Shakespeare's late plays. Like the imagined reader the Shepherd describes, early modern viewers of *The Winter's Tale* would have rightfully expected a full rotation of Fortune's wheel, as well as all of the ensuing love, separation, anguish, and joy, that such a revolution required.

Shakespeare dismisses Mopsa and Dorcas as naïve pastorals, but not before capitalizing on the prose romance as an instructive generic template through which to comprehend the sweep of *The Winter's Tale*. In *Small Books and Pleasant Histories: Popular Fiction and Its Readership in Seventeenth Century England*, Margaret Spufford notes how, in addition to ballads, Autolycus is a peddler of "all the wares which were so important as courtship gifts, looking glasses, gloves, ribbons all the colour of the rainbow, necklets, bracelets, brooches,

quoifs, stomachers and headgear" (116). Perfectly attuned to his young, female audience, Autolycus provides Shakespeare's audience with an instructive generic referent: a form that, though marketed towards young women, evokes the expectations of magic and mixing necessary for all members of Shakespeare's audience to comprehend the play's final acts.

In alluding to prose romance as he gathers young Perdita to his arms, an embrace Leontes so heartbreakingly refused in the previous act, the Shepherd validates the form as a framework for comprehending Perdita's fantastical story. This defense of the prose romance anticipates the gentlemen's elevation of a second feminine subgenre, the old tale. The only one of Shakespeare's plays named for a sub-genre, *The Winter's Tale* evokes an oral tradition thick with conflicting connotations of femininity, domesticity, intimacy, nostalgia, and fear - connotations I believe inspire Shakespeare's audience to accept Hermione's miraculous return. Perhaps because of their flexibility, these feminine tales, which Shakespeare first alludes to in Act II, ultimately allow the gentlemen of V.ii, as well as their audience, to make sense of the unlikely reunions that Shakespeare's play revolves around. In weaving his "old tale" refrain through the gentlemen's conversation, Shakespeare elevates the winter's tale as yet another feminine genre through which his characters and his audience can make sense of his sprawling play.

Fox describes the "rich and distinctive oral tradition" (174) of the Elizabethan household, one replete with old wives' stories exchanged "around that hub of domestic life and focus of narrative tradition, the winter fireside" (188). The opening lines of II.i establish these domestic connotations, presenting the beloved prince Mamillius joking with his mother and her waiting women, and, in Newcomb's understanding, implying "that Mamillius has learned storytelling from his wet nurse or attendant" (119). Within this feminine, domestic scene, Hermione's request for a "tale" is interspersed with invitations for Mamillius to sit closer:

HERMIONE: …Pray you, sit by us
and tell's a tale.
MAMILLIUS: Merry or sad shall 't be?
HERMIONE: As merry as you will.
MAMILLIUS: A sad tale's best for winter. I have one
Of sprites and goblins.
HERMIONE: Let's have that, good sir.
Come on, sit down. Come on, and do your best
To fright me with your sprites. You're powerful at it.
MAMILLIUS: There was a man –
HERMIONE: Nay, come sit down, then on. [*Mamillius sits.*]
MAMILLIUS: Dwelt by a churchyard. I will tell it softly;
Yond crickets shall not hear it.
HERMIONE: Come on, then, and give't me in mine ear. [*They converse privately.*]
(II.i.22-32)

Mamillius' story, which is so intimate that we audience members do not hear it, begins among women, but even this circle proves too wide. Whispering into his mother's ear, Mamillius personifies the connection Elizabethan audiences would have felt between these old tales and their mother's milk. Even Mamillius' name conjures breastfeeding and matrilineal connection, a connection lost as Leontes' destroys this rich, maternal world, leaving the audience longing for Hermione and the tales she once trafficked in.

As "Old Wives'" and "Winter's" tales, these stories were seen as something to pass the time, words to be exchanged by the least powerful members of the household, after the workday, or after the harvest itself had been completed. Fox describes how, in the 1590s, "John Florio was able to dismiss, as of a piece, 'flim flam tales, old wiues fables, a ribble rabble discourse, idle words, speeches of no worth'" (175). Florio described these tales as worthless, meant to fill the idle time of women. He famously rejected the "'flim flam tale, as women tell when they shale peason', or 'old wiues tales as they tell when they spinne'" as having "'neither head nor foote, nor rime nor reason'" (189). Lady Macbeth also dismisses these feminine ghost stories. When Macbeth believes he sees the ghost of Banquo at his table, Lady Macbeth is incredulous. "O, these flaws and starts –" she swears, "Impostors to true fear, would well become / A woman's

story at a winter's fire, / Authorized by her grandam. Shame itself!" (III.iv.75-79). In titling his play after this sort of tale, Shakespeare gives his audience permission to follow Leontes' lead and dismiss such feminine trifles.

And yet, to dismiss these fireside tales, as Leontes and Lady Macbeth finally come to understand, is to court disaster, a notion echoed by yet another generic connotation: fear. Fox describes the ghosts and apparitions that filled such stories (188), a characteristic that Mamillius underscores when he elects to tell "A sad tale…Of sprites and goblins" (II.i.25-26). Introduced at a moment of safety and maternal connection, such goblins also anticipate Sicilia's escalating horrors. Less than ten lines after Mamillius begins his tale, Leontes interrupts the scene and introduces one of the play's most haunting metaphors:

> There may be in the cup
> A spider steeped, and one may drink, depart,
> And yet partake no venom, for his knowledge
> Is not infected; but if one present
> Th'abhorred ingredient to his eye, make known
> How he hath drunk, he cracks his gorge, his sides
> With violent hefts. I have drunk, and seen the spider. (II.i.39-45)

Here Leontes evokes both medical and sexual threats. Ephraim notes the relationship between "abhorred" and "whore" (50), and connects Leontes' escalating and vulgar accusations to his fear that Hermione's pregnancy is both a badge of and a mask for her potential infidelities. Ephraim explains: "A play comprised of excessive and outrageous 'tales', *The Winter's Tale* suggests too the 'tale' of superfetation" (54), the latter being the early modern belief that a lusty woman might conceive two children by two different men. By Act V, Leontes' infected knowledge has killed Antigonus and Mamillius, and even romantic Florizel's attempts to flatter Perdita inadvertently allude to the threat of rape (IV.iv.27-31); winter's tales are not without their "abhorred ingredients."

Shakespeare's incorporation of this form recalls the twenty-first century campfire ghost story: stories that are something to desire and to fear, a childhood genre at once scary and nostalgic, horrifying and wonderful. Such tales contextualize the reunions the gentlemen describe. Once the slippery balladeer Autolycus asks the First Gentleman if he was present at the latest "relation" (V.ii.1), a chain of reunion stories follows, as the First Gentleman appeals to "a gentleman that haply knows more" (V.ii.15), and this Second Gentleman, seeking confirmation, appeals to a Third Gentleman, noting that "This news which is called true is so like an old tale that the verity of it is in strong suspicion" (V.ii.20-21). The three reunions that the audience has been expecting – between Leontes and Perdita, Leontes and Camillo, and Leontes and Polixenes – are filtered through a shimmering web of rumor and old tales, as the gentlemen constantly evoke the problems of belief and transmission. "Such a deal of wonder is broken out within this hour that ballad makers cannot be able to express it" (V.ii.17-18), the Second Gentleman exclaims, as if to indicate that not even Autolycus' preposterous ballads could account for such courtly miracles. The Third notes that he has "never heard of such another encounter, which lames report to follow it and undoes description to do it" (V.ii.41-43). Such tales undo description, and yet they are the best, and only, description these observers can provide. Relaying Antigonus' death, the Third Gentleman continues by explaining that it was "Like an old tale still, which will have matter to rehearse though credit be asleep and not an ear open" (V.ii.46-47). His words offer a final confirmation of the importance of the form; despite doubts about their credibility, old tales indeed have "matter to rehearse." It is our job, Shakespeare seems to be saying, to open our ears.

Though no gentleman, not even her husband Antigonus, backed Paulina when she so bravely opposed Leontes in II.iii, here the gentlemen lift up, articulate, and affirm the old tale as

a genre in extravagantly beautiful speeches that offer Shakespeare's audience yet another medium through which to filter their experience of his surreal and shifting play. Describing the discovery of Perdita, the Third Gentleman explains the effect of Hermione's story upon her daughter in long, elaborately punctuated sentences:

> One of the prettiest touches of all, and that which angled for mine eyes – caught the water, though not the fish – was when, at the relation of the Queen's death, with the manner how she came to't bravely confessed and lamented by the King, how attentiveness wounded his daughter; till, from one sign of dolor to another, she did, with an "Alas!" I would fain say, bleed tears, for I am sure my heart wept blood. Who was most marble there changed color; some swooned, all sorrowed. If all the world could have seen't, the woe had been universal. (V.ii.62-70)

With these lines, the Third Gentleman endows Perdita's story with a universal sweep, moving from his description of a single, pretty touch out towards the swoons of the court, from his confession that his own "heart wept blood" out towards "all the world." Like the words of the courtiers in I.i, his words have an oracular power; his observation that "Who was most marble there changed color" is both a lovely metaphor and a means of preparing the audience for Hermione's resurrection. In telling Perdita's story with such wonder, the Third Gentleman, like all the gentlemen in this scene, elevates – even resurrects – the winter's tale, returning this lost form, as Hermione herself will be returned in the next and final scene, to a place of prominence.

My argument that Shakespeare uses the gentlemen to reclaim the old tale echoes Henke's theory that the increased status of the shepherds at the close of the play elevates the pastoral as a genre. In including such an extravagant prose interlude in Act V, Shakespeare upgrades the old tales for which his play is named by transporting them from the nursery, where we first heard Mamillius whispering with his mother and maids, to the court, where the gentlemen endow them with the same courtly sophistication that Florizel gave the pastoral at the sheepshearing. In reading *The Winter's Tale* as a play written for the gentlemanly audience of Blackfriars, Henke notes that, "if *The Winter's Tale* is considered in the context of continental tragicomedy, the

transportation of the shepherds to Sicilia (a mythic place of pastoral origins) and their translation into new gentlemen acquires increased significance. Because the shepherds clearly represent the pastoral mode, the raising of their social status elevates the generic prestige of pastoral" (*Pastoral Transformations* 179). Through the gentlemen and the genres that their lines foreground, Shakespeare elevates the flexible and in my contention feminine forms necessary to frame the maternal return of V.iii.

In their reclamation of a feminine form, the gentlemen of V.ii anticipate our final view of Leontes, whose deference to Paulina in V.iii indicates his return to psychological health. And yet, just as Autolycus the peddler of prose romance is shut out of the final scenes, the three gentlemen's prose, while enough to exalt to the wives' tale and to increase the audience's receptivity to wild shifts in fortune, cannot end the play; for that, we need three ladies.

MYSTERY PLAYS, MARIAN MIRACLES, AND THE RESTORATION OF THE FEMININE

Dismissed by Leontes' tyranny in Act III, the three women at the core of *The Winter's Tale*, Hermione, Paulina, and Perdita, return in Act V, and their reconnection, as well as Paulina's ability to check Leontes, marks the generative reinstatement of feminine power and presence in Sicilia. I argue here that Shakespeare's conjuring of Marian images in Act V facilitates this restoration while conditioning his audience's acceptance of the lost, tenderly remembered maternal figure Hermione.

If old wives' tales inform the penultimate scene of the play, the Medieval mystery play informs the next and final scene, in which the audience encounters a miraculous, unanticipated reunion reminiscent of the wild plot twists of such fading, populist entertainments. As the

flowering of print culture began to replace the vibrant orality of the sixteenth century, the Protestant Reformation and simultaneous codification and development of a secular theater replaced the pageant wagons and amateur religious theatricals of the late Middle Ages, allowing Shakespeare, himself the child of a Catholic family, to use this outdated, endangered form to evoke Catholic nostalgia. I argue here that Act V's famed statue scene relies on Medieval mystery and miracle plays to inspire both longing and wonder in Shakespeare's early modern audience.

Critics such as Richard Wilson make much of what they believe to be Shakespeare's encoded Catholicism, but I prefer to treat Shakespeare's evocation of the miracle play as theatrical practice. Just as he draws on the sweep of the prose romance while dismissing Greene's populist sensationalism as indistinguishable from Autolycus' trumpery, here Shakespeare seems to be drawing on the Medieval mystery play not for its role as an evangelical tool but for its ability to account for the wild sweep of the later acts, and to inspire the wonder that Hermione's return to the play requires. If Shakespeare uses the pastoral tragicomedy of IV as a means of eliciting audience participation and acceptance of outrageous shifts in fortune, he embeds references to Medieval miracle plays in Act V in order to condition his audience's acceptance of strange and wide-ranging marvels, including the new possibility of resurrection.

In *The Purpose of Playing: Shakespeare and The Cultural Politics of the Elizabethan Theater,* Louis Montrose connects the "regulation of drama" of the 1570s to the corresponding "process of state formation" (99). Montrose explains how the "royal licensing of a fully professional, secular, and commercial theater in later Elizabethan London was contemporaneous with the effective suppression of the religious drama and the relative decline of local amateur acting traditions" (28). *The Winter's Tale* capitalizes on such suppression, using it to infuse Act

V's evocations of religious drama and Bohemia's roving, amateur theatricals with a particular nostalgia. In Montrose's words, "in a society in which the dominant social institutions and cultural practices were predicated upon an ideology of unchanging order and absolute obedience, an emergent commercial entertainment that was still imbued with the heritage of suppressed popular and religious traditions could address vital collective needs" (39). In her essay "Mariological Memory in *The Winter's Tale* and *Henry VIII,*" Ruth Vanita proves particularly sensitive to the nostalgic, feminine elements of Shakespeare's Marian images. Vanita argues that both *The Winter's Tale* and *Henry VIII*

> mourn the loss of those popular elements of the old religion that imaginatively empowered the powerless, especially women, and that combated the power of the patriarchal family through valorization of fictive kinship and same-sex community. The plays also celebrate these elements of the common culture and reinscribe them into theatrical performances that in many ways replace the cultural power of communal church ritual and practice. (311)

In evoking the Marian miracle play, Shakespeare capitalized on both the generalized hunger for ritual and the particularly feminine resonances of the form.

Shakespeare himself witnessed the early modern movement of performance "from the church to the church porch to the city streets and innyards and finally…the theater" (Berger 119), and echoes of each of these atmospheres appear in Bohemia's raucous entertainments and Paulina's final conjuring. *The Winter's Tale* itself moves from royalty's inner chambers to a public court to the countryside to a "chapel" (V.iii.86), a sequence that seems to go backwards in time, beginning first in a King's chambers, the location of the Jacobean masques, then relocating to an outdoor, public, Bohemian setting, then relocating again to Paulina's gallery. It is my belief that Shakespeare uses this progression, from royally sanctioned pageantry towards outdoor theatricals and finally towards a sacred religious and theatrical space, to render his audiences more receptive; this backwards progression of generic templates leads his audiences towards a

sacred receptivity to the secular wonder he will present in V.iii. That this wonder is orchestrated not by a male priest but by the wise and brassy art collector Paulina only furthers Shakespeare's emphasis on hybridity.

Bohemia's raucous, church-porch theatricals allude to several popular Medieval entertainments, *The Second Shepherd's Play* among them. Lively, amateur, and infused with a pagan spirit of play, the Wakefield script devotes three quarters of its time to the story of a shepherd and his stolen sheep, before focusing on Jesus in the manger, a proportion that residents of Bohemia would surely approve of. In *The Second Shepherd's Play*, a stolen sheep is disguised as a baby, while in *The Winter's Tale* Perdita's adoption by shepherds disguises her from even herself. The very syntax of IV recalls the populist Medieval entertainment: the Wakefield play teems with rhymed references to bairns, starns, tharns, and harns, while Shakespeare's Act III transition from tragedy to comedy revolves, in part, on the movement from a death by bear to the Shepherd's nearly concurrent discovery of "a bairn, a very pretty bairn!" (III.iii.66). By Act IV, Leontes' stiff courts have given way to the outdoor world of roving balladeers, a "gallimaufry of gambols" (IV.iv.308), and, in Perdita's words, "Whitsun pastorals" (IV.iv.133). Such reverberations must have proved particularly moving to audience members who, like Shakespeare himself, retained childhood memories of pageant wagons, Catholic rituals, and fireside tales.

Memories of sprawling Medieval miracle plays may have helped Shakespeare's audience account for the open-air, Bohemian mayhem of Act IV as well as the hallowed revelations of Act V. A popular, representative miracle cycle, *The Mary Magdalene Plays* demonstrate tropes recapitulated in *The Winter's Tale*, among them its scope, physicality, and attempt to stage the miraculous. As a precursor to the geographical range of *The Winter's Tale, The Mary Magdalene*

Plays, like nearly all of the mystery plays, employ a wide range of actual and conceptual settings, beginning, according to the title page, with "PART I, IN 20 SCENES," located "In Rome, Bethany, Hell, Jerusalem, and beyond Jordan," and "PART II, IN 31 SCENES," located "In Marcylle, Hell, Jerusalem, the Wilderness, and Heaven" (*Digby Plays* 53). Shakespeare's progression from sterile Sicilia to the seacoast of Bohemia, from courts to fields and then back into Paulina's gallery, imitates the miracle play's use of wildly heterogeneous settings. Such techniques are augmented by the physicalization of psychology, evident in the use of devils that take possession of and release the characters in the play. Shakespeare's late romances borrow heavily from Medieval techniques for staging the improbable. Part II of *The Mary Magdalene Plays* features a King throwing his dead, pregnant wife overboard, only to discover, years later, that she and the child have miraculously survived (121-127). Read in light of the Medieval miracle play, which used humble means to express impossible events, the bear that appears out of nowhere to devour Antigonus, as well as the stage directions indicating frozen Hermione's reanimation and descent from her pedestal, are in fact quite precedented.

What is unprecedented is Shakespeare's use of this outdated sacred form to frame a secular theatrical miracle. In the absence of a Medieval cosmology, in which all plays, even the raucous Wakefield Master, conclude with the promise of Christian redemption, Shakespeare relies on allusions to Medieval miracle plays to augment the atmosphere of redemption that closes *The Winter's Tale*, a play that ends not in a Bohemian field but in Paulina's "removed house" (V.ii.82). Act V invites us into Paulina's "gallery" (V.iii.10), a space later referred to as a "chapel" (V.iii.86). Shakespeare's final setting is an indoor space, an artistic space known both as a "poor house" (V.iii.6) and for its "many singularities" (V.iii.13), as well as a conjuring space characterized by both "magic" and "majesty" (V.iii.39). Like the resurrection Paulina stages

here, the space is at once sacred and secular, a removed house in which we can "draw the curtain" (V.iii.59, 69, 83) and awake our lost faith.

Like the constantly morphing space in which she operates, Paulina functions as both a religious and secular authority in this scene. If Shakespeare draws on fading Catholic tradition to inject Hermione's reappearance with a sense of wonder, and to underscore her role as a maternal figure worthy of reverence, he also provides her with an intriguing foil: the bossy, morally authoritative ringmaster Paulina, who spends the scene subduing Leontes, venerating Hermione, and testing the unspecified "faith" of the assembled. Neither an abbess nor a priestess, both roles Shakespeare had used before, Paulina is presented here as an art collector, and as such she directs the final moments of the play, cloaking Hermione's rebirth in heavy-handed spectacle: an audience assembled in a temple, the drawing back of a curtain, and even the music of the spheres, conjured by Paulina and echoed in Leontes' description of Hermione's eyes as "Stars, stars" (V.i.68). Like Perdita's Whitsunday pageantry, Paulina's conjuring is both sacred and performative. Named for the apostle Paul, she is the voice of moral authority, but she is only believed when she synthesizes faith *and* art, moral guidance *and* theatrical magic. Her language of Christian redemption evokes the Medieval mystery plays. "It is required / You do awake your faith" (V.iii.94-95), she famously tells her onlookers. Turning to Hermione, she speaks the language of resurrection: "Dear life redeems you" (V.iii.103). The transformation is sacred, but the medium is theater. In stage managing this resurrection, Paulina performs a dual role, functioning as a religious celebrant in the tradition of her namesake Saint Paul, and as a theatrical director, one with the same knack for staging as Camillo, with whom she is so fittingly paired in the play's final moments.

In assuming the role of protector, gallerist, director, and cleric, Paulina contributes to Shakespeare's elevation of the lost feminine in this scene. Throughout the play, Paulina functions as a representative of moral and female authority, one initially resisted but restored to prominence in the final scenes. Paulina dominates V.i and V.ii, reducing Leontes, who spent the first half of the play criticizing her as a loudmouth gossip, to relative silence. By presenting Hermione as a saint to be adored, and, I will argue, as an image of Mary, Paulina conjures a religious reverence while evoking a genre that underscores the restoration of feminine power in this scene.

Though *The Winter's Tale* is absent from *Marian Moments in Early Modern British Drama*, editors Regina Buccola and Lisa Hopkins pay attention to "the ways in which subversive attention to Marian devotion manifested itself on the early modern English stage" (4), and to the sensitivity of "early modern theatergoers living at a short remove from Medieval, Catholic invocations" (4). The image of Hermione – frozen, worshiped, set apart, and revered by the guilty and orphaned – surely would have resonated with an early modern audience. In his preface, Arthur F. Marotti describes the "fabric of religious and folk practices that shaped both public religious ceremonials and private devotion" to Mary, among them "pilgrimages to the shrine of Our Lady of Walsingham; processions; communal Marian devotions within and outside churches; personal reading of (both illustrated and non-illustrated) primers or Books of Hours, recitation of Marian litanies, prayers and poems such as the *Stabat Mater* and the *Obsecro te* and praying of the rosary" (viii), before noting "the portrayal, in the drama and elsewhere, of a certain nostalgia for her immediate cultural presence" (xvi). Once extensively portrayed in Medieval mystery plays, "Mary was literally a theatrical protagonist in a manner still fresh in the memory of many sixteenth century theatergoers" (Buccola and Hopkins 6). In her consideration

of how "*The Winter's Tale* smashes the Catholic idols in order to extract their fascinating power" (217), Julia Reinhard Lupton focuses on Perdita's act of "kneeling before the figure of her mother" as a scene that evokes "the pagan background of Marian iconography" (214). In the face of Protestant attacks on saint worship and the theatricality of the Mass (Platt 28), Hermione's stony, saint-like presence in Paulina's gallery may have exploited the latent, Marian longings of a Catholic audience. Though I don't believe Shakespeare was advocating for a return to saint worship, any more than his reference to a bear might be advertising his interest in bearbaiting, his savvy embedding of techniques lifted from the miracle plays, as well as his decision to frame Hermione as a revered female statue, infuses his final theatrical tableau with a religious reverence.

Harry Berger has written that Shakespeare's "transfer of spectacular elements from props to costume and language produces a shift of attention from the stage to the players, and from the containing world to the characters" (127); as the focal point of V.iiii, Hermione personifies religious, iconic, Marian meaning. In the antepenultimate scene, Leontes evokes "her sainted spirit" (V.i.57). Two scenes later, standing "*like a statue*" (V.iii.20 SD), she appears as an image of motherly love and compassion amid the sacred space Paulina has created. Beholding her, Leontes falls into a state of "silence" and "wonder" (V.iii.21-22), before looking towards his own sins, a sequence of attitudes characteristic of Catholic worship. "Does not the stone rebuke me," he wonders, "For being more stone than it? O royal piece! / There's magic in thy majesty, which has / My evils conjured to remembrance" (V.iii.37-40). Hermione is instantly revered. Falling to her knees, Perdita explains her act of reverence to Paulina before addressing her own "Queen": "do not say 'tis superstition, that / I kneel and then implore her blessing. Lady, / Dear Queen, that ended when I but began, / Give me that hand of yours to kiss" (V.iii.43-47). Within a

hundred lines, Paulina's "poor house" (V.iii.6) has become a "chapel" (V.iii.86), one in which pilgrims gather to pay homage to a famously innocent woman who has lost her son, himself a prince, as a result of human folly.[6]

Speculating about what the image of revered Hermione might have meant to embattled Catholics amid the turmoil of the Protestant Reformation helps to account for the pervasive fear in this scene. Over and over again, Paulina refers anxiously to the lawfulness of her actions (V.iii.96, 105, 111). On three separate occasions, she threatens to "draw the curtain" (V.iii.59, 69, 83), and often apologizes for the effect of the "image" she presents: "If I had thought the sight of my poor image / Would thus have wrought you – for the stone is mine – I'd not have showed it" (V.iii.57-59). If Shakespeare's earlier nods to Medieval miracle plays help to establish the wonder of Hermione's resurrection, his evocation of the corresponding Catholic worship of religious images, icons, and saints helps to account for the dramatic tension of this scene.

Nevertheless, despite these Marian resonances, the wonder of Hermione's resurrection is not wholly or necessarily Catholic. Neither Shakespeare nor Paulina specifies the brand of faith – religious, secular, theatrical – that must be awakened, and Paulina's own brassy presence seems to provide an antidote to any overtly religious reading. Platt details the Elizabethan interest in wonders of all kinds, citing the proliferation of wonder cabinets and museums, the wonder-infused Renaissance portrayals of the natural world (xiii), the "marvelous tradition" of animism and new science (36), the essays of Montaigne and Bacon, which Platt characterizes as spanning both "wonder and inquiry" (36), and the English excitement over the work of Italian theorist

[6] Mamillius' name provides an additional provocation. In 1610, William Crashaw's popular, anti-Catholic publication of *The Jesuites Gospel* cited the worship of Mary's milk first in his list of objectionable Catholic beliefs – "1. That the Milke of Marye may come into comparison with the blood of Christ" (cited in Marotti xv).

Francesco Patrizi, who went so far as to detail the “twelve sources of the marvelous" (xv). Platt connects this cultural interest to the late romances, noting how, “in late Shakespeare, a phase in many ways ushered in by *Pericles*, the audience experiences – and finally enables – the active, dynamic process of wonder” (138). Turning to the end of *Pericles,* Platt notes a “wonder-shift,” arguing that Shakespeare has moved “from a focus on the marvels themselves to the making of marvels,” and that his increasing faith in an audience capable of receiving such plays “reveals a Shakespeare apparently ready to trust – and to rely more upon – the power of the audience to spark the power of wonder” (152). Platt then characterizes *The Winter’s Tale* as “the purest example of a Shakespearean ‘dramatics’ of wonder” (153), dividing the play into two parts, the “Rational” of Acts I through III, and the “Wondrous” final two acts. Platt's reading affirms Shakespeare’s increasing faith in his audience’s comprehension of wonders on stage and off. Where Medieval mysteries concluded with Christian redemption, in *The Winter's Tale*, according to Platt, “wonder is almost unequivocally embraced as a balm to heal the wounds inflicted by an overly rationalistic world” (169). What Paulina requires is the awakening of wonder, and it is wonder, not reason, which provides the sacred correction that Leontes and his audience require.

I believe that what Paulina offers Leontes is what *The Winter’s Tale* offers its audience: the chance to choose wonder. The penultimate scene offers the audience a perfectly logical explanation of the play's final miracle, one that requires no faith of any kind: when the Third Gentleman mentions Paulina’s mysterious statue, the second reveals that Paulina “hath privately twice or thrice a day, ever since the death of Hermione, visited that removed house” (V.ii.81-82). The facts are mundane: after fainting in Act III, Hermione lived, and Paulina has been secretly feeding her, making her art, quite literally, one as “Lawful as eating” (V.iii.110-111). Low and Myhill speak for most scholars of early modern audience reception when they conclude that

“what a spectacle was intended to show and what its spectators ultimately made of it do not coincide with any great regularity” (5). Such caveats aside, my argument here is that, conditioned by Shakespeare’s progression of embedded forms, the latter of which emphasize participatory receptivity and wonder, the audience of *The Winter’s Tale* is encouraged to prefer elevating fiction to rational fact at this juncture.

Platt notes how the withheld reunions of V.ii and visible, unanticipated statue scene of V.iii lay out “the two aesthetic visions that Barbara Mowat calls ‘life as tale’ and ‘life as drama.’ The former presents experience as ‘mediated by the teller, distanced, fixed in past time,’ while the latter presents us life that is ‘immediate, active, present’” (164). Act V’s allusions to winter’s tales and miracle plays channel the audience’s expectations, evoking a reverence and nostalgia so powerful that it inspires his audience to consider a miraculous, rather than a rational, explanation for Hermione’s return, yet *The Winter’s Tale* is not backwards looking: the old forms introduced in Act V condition the audience to accept a theatrical miracle contingent on both the women and feminine genres used to conjure it, and on the reformed reception of a King and his audience.

STAGING SPECTATORSHIP

Hearing the Third Gentleman describe how “the noble combat that twixt joy and sorrow was fought in Paulina” as she discovered the loss of Antigonus and recovery of Perdita, the First Gentleman affirms that “The dignity of this act was worth the audience of kings and princes, for by such it was acted” (V.ii.45-55, 60-61). It is my contention that, by Act V of *The Winter’s Tale*, the royal characters, particularly Leontes, have begun to model theatrical spectatorship – a

critical endeavor in a play so sprawling that characters such as Camillo and Paulina turn to performance as a means of understanding and controlling their own experiences. Here in this final section, after exploring Shakespeare's use of embedded forms to condition the audience of *The Winter's Tale*, I look at how V.iii stages the very act of spectatorship, channeling the belief and rapt attention of its royal audience on stage, and of the actual, living audiences of *The Winter's Tale*. I focus specifically on Hermione, who is framed by the artifice of art, the statue conceit, and presented as art to Leontes, himself a newly capable spectator. Finally, I consider the theatrical implications of the faith awakened by Paulina's conjuring, and how Leontes, serving as a stand-in and guide for the play's audience, becomes the revitalized theatrical spectator that *The Winter's Tale* requires.

In reading V.iii as a primer for and measurement of participatory spectatorship, I build off of Henke's assertion that Shakespeare's later plays demonstrate an increased interest in calibrating the emotional responses of his audience. Henke links the gentlemen's elaborate descriptions of the offstage reunion scenes to Paulina's narration of Leontes' encounter with Hermione's statue, and notes that both the gentlemen and Paulina narrate the emotional responses they witness. Henke argues that, "as a theatrical director, Paulina is intensely focused on Leontes' internal response, in the manner of tragicomedy," then notes how Paulina "continually gauges his response and prepares him for each stage of the spectacle" ("Gentleman-like Tears" 342). In this last section, I extend Henke's interest in the narration of audience response by exploring how the final scene in *The Winter's Tale* stages the act of spectatorship. Like Henke, I, too, am interested in Shakespeare's cultivation of nuanced audience responses at the close of his play, though while Henke ties this interest to tragicomic dramaturgy, my focus is

on how the variety of theatrical forms embedded in *The Winter's Tale*, tragicomedy included, help create the participatory atmosphere of V.iii and all of its attendant wonders.

In the previous section, I considered how embedded forms, particularly those laced with longing, nostalgia, and feminine connotations, such as old tales and miracle plays, prepared Shakespeare's audience for V.iii. Here, I look at the arts Shakespeare foregrounds in his final scene, and on how he awakens both Hermione and his audiences' faith in theater with the final scene's emphasis on "warm life" (V.iii.35). In V.iii, Shakespeare stages an act of spectatorship, thrusting Paulina into the role of director and celebrant (the role Leontes so miserably attempted in II and III); Hermione and, by allusion, Julio Romano, into the role of art itself; and the rest of the assembled royals, particularly the transformed Leontes, into the crucial role of audience. Here, I argue that Shakespeare uses this famous statue scene to dramatize the role of the theatrical audience – foregrounding anticipation, wonder, desire, and the thrill, once Hermione begins to move, of live performance.

BEHOLDING "WARM LIFE"

The sight of Hermione, so unexpected, requires Shakespeare's audience to bear a new sort of witness, watching the action not because it fulfills an expected plot line but because it is something we can hardly imagine or believe. Haunted by Polixenes' escape, Camillo's defection, and the loss of Perdita since III, the play's audience has been expecting the resolution of these plot points, all of which – the return of the trusty servant, the reunion of the two kings, and the recovery of Perdita, and even the fulfillment of the oracle – get resolved off stage and are reported by the gentlemen in V.ii. The audience has no reason to suspect Hermione of being

alive. Nothing but the newly-introduced wish "To see the statue of our queen" (V.iii.10) drives the plot towards Paulina's gallery. By ending his play with an entirely unanticipated vision of Hermione's statue coming to life, Shakespeare dramatizes the act of spectatorship while foregrounding the live arts, converting the wonder generated by his embedding of old tales and miracle plays into a silent awe that surrounds V.iii's presentation of a living person, one much beloved and longed for, as art.

Belief and desire, rather than an actual statue, are at the heart of the statue scene. In placing a supposed statue of Hermione on a pedestal for all to observe, Shakespeare, working through Paulina, invites the audience of *The Winter's Tale* to witness Leontes, Perdita, and the assembled royals in the act of witnessing a statue, a static art form onto which they project their deepest and most impossible desire: to see Hermione live once again. "Your gallery / Have we passed through, not without much content / In many singularities," Leontes tells Paulina as he arrives, "but we saw not / That which my daughter came to look upon, / The statue of her mother" (V.iii.10-14). Amid a gallery packed with "singularities," one reminiscent, perhaps, of the increasing private art collections of the early seventeenth century (Orgel, "Idols" 251), the statue of Hermione serves as the single object onto which Leontes and Perdita project all of their attention, hope, and desire. Though Paulina's collection contents them, it is only Hermione that compels them onward. Within the context of a scholarly study of early modern audiences, Anthony Dawson affirms Hermione's role as the focal point of multiple concentric audiences, arguing that "actorly looking here is enclosed within the fictional circle, not directed outward at the audience, while we, taking our cue from the actors, regard not ourselves, but what the story produces – the moving image of Hermione" (106). Throughout Act V, Leontes speaks almost entirely of Hermione, rarely mentioning his lost son Mamillius; she is the center of his reverence,

and seeing her once more throws him into a rapture that Paulina, Camillo, and Polixenes all comment on. “I like your silence; it the more shows off / Your wonder” (V.iii.21-22), says Paulina, narrating Leontes’ silent transport. Paulina seems almost to tease Leontes in this scene, speaking again and again of the dangers of his fixation. “No longer shall you gaze on’t,” she tells him, “lest your fancy / May think anon it moves” (V.iii.60-61), and later “I’ll draw the curtain. / My lord’s almost so far transported that / He’ll think anon it lives” (V.iii.68-70). In narrating Leontes’ movement from silent wonder to fanciful perceptions of movement to suspicions that the statue might in fact be alive, Paulina evokes the reanimating powers of Leontes’ spectatorship, as if his focus on Hermione’s statue is in fact infusing her form with life.

Leontes’ lines in this scene affirm Shakespeare’s emphasis on the juxtaposition of cold stone and warm flesh, and on the static arts giving way to live performance. “Oh, thus she stood,” Leontes calls when he sees Hermione: “Even with such life of majesty – warm life, / As now it coldly stands – when first I wooed her! / I am ashamed. Does not the stone rebuke me / For being more stone than it?” (V.iii.34-38). He speaks of her breath, her veins, and the movement of her eyes (V.iii.63-65, 67). Inspired by the physicality of Leontes’ lines, the audience, too, begins to look for signs of reanimation.

Allusions to sculpture underscore the play’s emphasis on the transformative power of artistic spectatorship by highlighting the difference between the cool consideration of a fixed object in a workshop and the interactive surprise of live movement. The story of a man transfixed by a statue echoes the story of Pygmalion in book ten of Ovid’s *Metamorphosis*, a widely influential grammar school staple translated into English by Arthur Golding in 1567 and reprinted seven times between then and 1612 (DiGangi 401). Ovid’s description of Pygmalion’s desire for the female statue he has carved is blatantly erotic, and features repeated descriptions of

cold stone becoming live, receptive flesh. Even before Venus intervenes, Pygmalion's belief seems to animate his statue: "He woondreth at his Art / And of his counterfetted corse conceyveth love in hart. / He often toucht it, feeling if the woork that he had made / Were verie flesh or Ivorye still. Yit could he not perswade / Himself to think it Ivory" (X.271-275). Ovid's description of the statue's awakening emphasizes her sudden pliability: "The Ivory wexed soft: and putting quyght away / All hardnesse, yeelded underneathe his fingars, as wee see / A peece of wax made soft ageinst the Sunne" (X.308-310). In Ovid, the emphasis is erotic, even chauvinist: it is the ideal woman's malleability, her ability to embody all of Pygmalion's dreams – unlike the living women whom the sculptor forsook - that makes her so appealing. The Ovidian tale of a man projecting his fantasies onto a statue would likely have resonated with Elizabethan audiences, though Leontes' reaction to Hermione is more reverent than Pygmalion's. While Ovid's emphasis is on the pliability of Pygmalion's idealized lover, Leontes' speech recalls Hermione's tenderness. He invites the statue's reprimand, then remembers the Hermione too yielding to admonish him: "Childe me, dear stone, that I may say indeed / Thou art Hermione; or rather, thou art she / In thy not chiding, for she was as tender / As infancy and grace" (V.iii.24-27). Leontes' lines reveal his desire to interact with Hermione – to touch her, yes, but also to speak with her.

What the Ovidian allusion implies, the Third Gentleman's reference to the Italian sculptor Julio Romano makes explicit. Alluding to Romano as the carver of Hermione's statue, Shakespeare evokes an almost contemporaneous artist – Romano died in 1546 - known for his close imitation of nature. In "'Rare Italian master(s)': Roman art in *Romeo and Juliet, Antony and Cleopatra,* and *The Winter's Tale*," François Laroque notes that Romano would have been known to Shakespeare's audiences for an "epitaph quoted by Vasari: 'Jupiter saw sculpted and

painted bodies breathe and the houses of mortals made equal to those in heaven through the skill of Giulio Romano'" (234). Describing Hermione's statue, the Third Gentleman evokes a craft so powerful that it "would beguile Nature of her custom":

> The princess hearing of her mother's statue, which is in the keeping of Paulina – a piece many years in doing and now newly performed by that rare Italian master, Julio Romano, who, had he himself eternity and could put breath into his work, would beguile Nature of her custom, so perfectly he is her ape; he so near to Hermione hath done Hermione that they say one would speak to her and stand in hope of answer – thither with all greediness of affection are they gone, and there they intend to sup. (V.ii.72-79)

The Third Gentleman's language is the language of performance. The statue, though a static art, has been "newly performed," and the measure of its excellence is that the sculptor almost seems able to "put breath into his work," just as a playwright gives his actors lines. In suggesting that "one would speak to her and stand in hope of answer," the Third Gentleman perfectly anticipates Leontes' own response, which is to stand before Hermione's statue with bated breath of his own asking "What fine chisel / Could ever yet cut breath?" (V.iii.78-79). In his description of Hermione's statue, and in his choice to allude to a contemporary sculptor known for verisimilitude, Shakespeare suggests the physicality of successful art, which, as in this case, seems to have enough breath to satisfy its audience's "greediness of affection."

This balancing of artifice and physicality, fixed statue and hungry spectators, famously recalls the tension between art and nature evoked by Perdita and Polixenes in IV.iv. The statue scene is often interpreted as a counterpart to the bear scene – a recapitulation and reworking of the tension between art and nature that Bohemia introduces, with the bear that devours Antigonus standing for nature and Hermione's awe-inspiring statue embodying art; to this reading I add that, because the scene ends with a live actor stepping down from a stone pedestal to the awe and delight of the assembled, it also suggests that live performance embodies the perfect balance of art and nature.

In *Shakespeare's Theory of Drama*, Pauline Kiernan echoes this interpretation, and notes how, by descending, Hermione breaks free of her artistic tomb and steps out into life: "In a statue, a painting or a poem, the human body *seems* warm, *appears* to move, is *like* life, but the original is absent because its death is the prerequisite for the artist's lively mocking of it. Nature must die, that art might live. The redemption of life means that art must die so that nature might live" (69). Kiernan connects this idea to live theater, an art "which does not turn all that has life, warmth, movement and sensuous presence into a static, silent, sterile image" (71). Within the boundaries of the play, Hermione's statue is so life-like that it gives way to life; viewed by a playwright, Hermione's statue is so life-like that it gives way to a live actor, who begins to move and speak. Forman affirms this reading, arguing that "the value of the statue as a statue (that is, as a pure work of art) gives way to the theatric of its coming to life, which is the mixing of art and life- that is, theater, a medium that depends on the literal embodiment of artistic value" (108). For all of these critics, and for Shakespeare himself, not even Julio Romano's verisimilitude can match live theater's ability to balance art and nature.

Paulina directs the reunion of Hermione and Leontes, coaxing Hermione, the representation of art, to move and Leontes, art's spectator, to perceive. Paulina's repeated references to the "curtain" frame Hermione's resurrection as a theatrical process, while her famous line - "It is required / You do awake your faith" (V.iii.94-95) – invites the audience's wonder. Echoing the theatrical directions Camillo gave the young prince and princess in IV.iv, Paulina stages the reconnection of husband and wife, framing their reunion with a music cue then directing the action with short, powerful commands that both King and Queen silently obey:

> Music, awake her; strike!
> 'Tis time. Descend. Be stone no more. Approach.
> Strike all that look upon with marvel. Come,
> I'll fill your grave up. Stir, nay, come away,

> Bequeath to death your numbness, for from him
> Dear life redeems you. – You perceive she stirs. [*Hermione comes down*.]
> Start not. Her actions shall be as holy as
> You hear my spell is lawful. Do not shun her
> Until you see her die again, for then
> You kill her double. Nay, present your hand.
> When she was young you wooed her. Now in age
> Is she become the suitor? [*Leontes touches her*.] (V.iii.98-109)

Paulina's words as she coaxes Hermione down - "I'll fill your grave up," followed shortly by "Dear life redeems you" – affirm Kiernan's reading; Hermione's stone tomb becomes obsolete the moment she is redeemed by live action. Paulina guides these physical actions, speaking almost entirely in commanding verbs and telling her queen to "Descend," "Come," and "Stir." Turning towards Leontes once Hermione begins to move, she instructs him as one would instruct an audience; he must "perceive," "hear," and "present [his] hand," a word that recalls the "hands" Puck calls for at the close of *Midsummer* while also inviting the physical reconnection that the stage directions confirm. Their reanimation is necessarily simultaneous: Paulina directs the queen and king in one uninterrupted string of commands, inviting Hermione to move towards Leontes in the same breath that she restores his ability to behold her.

Howard Felperin has noted that "The motto for *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* is not art for art's sake (the climax of both plays is the repudiation of art) but art for life's sake" (245), a notion that Leontes' likening of art and the physical act of eating confirms (V.iii.110-111), but I want to introduce an additional element – spectatorship – into this equation. It is only when Hermione is *viewed as art* –with awakened faith spurred by the "greediness of affection" that drives the crowd towards Paulina's gallery – that she can return to life. Shakespeare places the emphasis, once again, on spectatorship – on Leontes' renewed ability to view his wife, and on the presence of Perdita, the long awaited audience for Hermione and the object of her mother's only line in this scene. Viewed by Leontes at her trial, a predetermined pageant in which her husband is so convinced of the devastating outcome that he overturns an oracle to ensure it,

Hermione is condemned to death. Both the outcome of the trial and her reputation are fixed by the King's delusions; in the Queen's words, she has been "published" (2.1.119), her tarnished reputation set down in unalterable print, and we know from Autolycus what Shakespeare thinks of this medium. Three acts later, when Hermione appears on a pedestal for the second time, the referent is not printing but live performance, and, as I argue in the next section, it is Leontes' ability to view his wife as art allows her, finally, to live.

MOCKED BY ART

The focal point of Shakespeare's meditation on dreams, imagination, theater, and the ability to interpret and respond to a succession of theatrical templates, Leontes spends the duration of *The Winter's Tale* in heightened mental states: jealous rage, grief, and, finally, as I will argue here, rapture. More than any other character, Leontes controls the experience of the audience and of his fellow Sicilians; his fury and mistaken view of Hermione devastates Sicilia and sets the plot in motion, his despair permeates his kingdom, and his wonder in the final scene inspires our own. Leontes' fancies are shaping fancies, powerful enough to wreak havoc on Sicilia in the first half of the play, and, ultimately, to provide the audience with a renewed ability to interpret and experience theater in V.iii. In this final section, I read Leontes as a model for the creation of a reinvigorated brand of theatrical spectator, and as the orchestrator, in the play's closing lines, of Shakespeare's final turning towards his audience. I consider Leontes as a reformed, receptive audience member, and read his final calls for further storytelling as Shakespeare's own turning towards his audience, themselves reformed by the progression of

theatrical templates they have experienced, and the transformation of the Sicilian arts that they have witnessed.

The title of this subsection represents my special interest in the term "mock," which wends its way through the late romances – most notably when Pericles is reunited with his own lost daughter Marina, exclaiming "Oh! I am mock'd" (*Pericles* V.i.159). Here, I trace Shakespeare's use of the word "mock" in *The Winter's Tale*, where it comes to signify a hard-won comic fluidity that opens the door to greater miracles. The final scene of the play showcases Leontes' increased ability to be mocked by art – to respond to mimesis with pleasure and acceptance, rather than imposing the rigid, paranoid interpretations of Acts I through III. It is my belief that, in a play that celebrates live performance, the rehabilitation of Leontes' character takes the form of a restored capacity to witness and respond to art.

At the opening of the play, Leontes' court is distorted by rigidity and misinterpretation. The staid Sicilian arts cannot redeem the tragic King, and Leontes remains static throughout Act IV, while his audience travels to comic Bohemia. Having witnessed the embodied theatrical templates Shakespeare alludes to in Bohemia – among them bearbaiting, masque, ballads, and pastoral tragicomedy – the play's audience is liberated from Sicilia's lifeless repetition, and can watch knowingly as the Bohemian exiles, cloaked in Autolycus' disguises and buoyed by Camillo's theatrical fluidity, spend Act V teaching their Sicilian counterparts new responses to art. Ritualized, saint-like performances give way to new perceptions in Act V. Back in Sicilia, Cleomenes assures Leontes that he has "performed / A saintlike sorrow" (V.i.1-2), but Paulina stands firm: Leontes cannot marry "Unless another / As like Hermione as is her picture / Affront his eye" (V.i.73-75). When we first return to unyielding Sicilia, the arts do not yet console; pictures still "affront" and penance only renews pain. When Paulina evokes Mamillius, Leontes

begs her to desist, explaining that "He dies to me again when talked of" (V.i.120). Yet when the newcomers arrive, there is a sense of impending wonder as static pageantry makes way for more evocative, participatory forms. "Thy speeches / Will bring me to consider that which may / Unfurnish me of reason" (V.i.121-123), Leontes admits to the young lovers. Their arrival rouses him, stirring up the past in ways that allow him to once again affect change. Perdita's inadvertent conjuring of the memory of Hermione's beauty softens Leontes, who suddenly agrees to advocate for the young lovers. Soon, Leontes will recognize and accept Camillo *for* his disobedience, once again underscoring his newfound ability to improvise, change, and play.

It is my belief that, just as Shakespeare uses the words "play" and "bear" to ferry us between Sicilia and Bohemia, he uses the word "mock" in Act V to prepare his characters for their homecoming. In *The Winter's Tale*, mocking is first associated with trickery and tragedy, then redefined as a redemptive quality in Act V. When one of Hermione's ladies teases Mamillius by telling the young prince that her eyebrows are blue, he scoffs at her: "Nay, that's a mock" (II.ii.14). Such mockery is close to trickery, embarrassing to children and dismissed by the ill-fated Prince. In Act III, the Clown uses the verb "mocked" to describe the deaths of Antigonus and the Mariners – the last links to Sicilia: "how the poor souls roared, and the sea mocked them; and how the poor gentleman roared and the bear mocked him" (III.iii.86-88). By Act V, all of the characters associated with such mocks – most notably Mamillius and Antigonus – have died, and Shakespeare redefines his term, using it to refer to an imitation that enhances credibility. Describing the statue of Hermione supposedly carved by Julio Romano, Paulina picks up on the language of mimesis, telling her witnesses to "Prepare / To see the life as lively mocked as ever / Still sleep mocked death" (V.iii.18-20), a redemptive repetition of "mock" that echoes the Shepherd's Son's tragic doubling of the term. Just as sleepers mock death by

appearing dead when they are yet living, Paulina's statue will mock life, appearing fixed when she is wonderfully "lively." In this way mockery is a form of affectionate mimesis, an imitation that allows for redemptive revelations. As *Henry V* reminds us, we must mind "true things by what their mock'ries be" (IV.53).

Pericles anticipates this definition of a comic mockery that opens the doors to greater miracles. "Oh! I am mock'd" Pericles says to his long lost daughter Marina when she first reveals her name (V.i.159). Here Pericles is mocked by his good fortune; he cannot believe what has returned to him. Recognizing his wife on her pedestal, Leontes announces his disbelief: "We are mocked with art" (V.iii.68). To be mocked is to be overwhelmed by the miraculous, a condition Paulina affirms through her running commentary on Leontes' increasing fancy and transport, yet it is also to make oneself vulnerable to tricks and deception. Leaning towards the statue of his wife, Leontes cautions "Let no man mock me, / For I will kiss her" (V.iii.79-80). No longer the tyrannical, oracle-overthrowing king of Act III, Leontes is newly vulnerable to art and love. He is capable of engaging with the statue, of instantly forgiving Paulina's sixteen years of deception, of embracing his friend and his bride together, of being mocked.

Paulina's resurrection of Hermione, an act that mocks the king in an effort to restore his moral balance, proves a *coup de theatre* that redeems all who behold it, particularly Leontes. Seeing the statue, he immediately proclaims that "There's magic in thy majesty, which has / My evils conjured to remembrance" (V.iii.39-40). Here, mockery is once again comic, not the tragic mockery of whispering servants and bears and waves, but the corrective mockery of disbelief and play. Paulina is continuously on guard against accusations of black magic, a jab that threatens to make an outcast of her, but her guardedness is unnecessary. Restored to health, Leontes sees this new, artistically-induced "affliction" as one that "has a taste as sweet / As any

cordial comfort" (V.iii.76-77). By Act V, Leontes and his audience are willing to be mocked, willing to let theatrical machinations redeem human errors, and willing to embrace a vision of art and nature so integrated that the King himself proclaims "If this be magic, let it be an art / Lawful as eating" (V.iii.110-111). Here Leontes once again positions art and nature, not to mention Sicilian legal rituals and the Bohemian feasting evoked by Perdita in IV.iv, in perfect balance.

There is no need to report such restoration to the state, as there is at the close of the major tragedies; through the reunion of Hermione and Leontes, all of Sicilia has witnessed and been redeemed by theater – by the many references to dramatic templates embedded within the play, and by the act of playing. So sound is this artistic balance that by Act V, Shakespeare's characters have begun to convert their own experiences – savage deaths, prodigal returns, and the resurrection of a lost, beloved wife – into performances. The final moments of *The Winter's Tale* revolve around storytelling. Hermione's single speech in V.iii, directed at her lost daughter, echoes her early invitation to Mamillius - "Pray you, sit by us / And tell's a tale" (II.i.22-23) – as she asks for her daughter's story: "Tell me, mine own, / Where hast thou been preserved? Where lived? How found / Thy father's court?" (V.iii.124-126). The play ends with the promise of future stories. Hermione promises Perdita an explanation for her own preservation, hinting at what "thou shalt hear" (V.iii.126). Exiting the stage, Leontes once again speaks a language of performance as he moves his courtiers not towards a wedding, but towards a place where they can exchange stories without haste. Turning towards the evening's master of ceremonies, Leontes says

> Good Paulina,
> Lead us from hence, where we may leisurely
> Each one demand an answer to his part
> Performed in this wide gap of time since first
> We were dissevered. Hastily lead away. (V.iii.153-157)

The final lines of the play evoke the language of theater, of each "part / Performed" since the characters were first separated from each other. For Leontes, as for Shakespeare's audience, the only way to make sense of *The Winter's Tale* is to tell stories and "demand" answers, to become generous performers and engaged spectators.

In *Second World and Green World: Studies in Renaissance Fiction-Making*, Harry Berger describes the doubling of theatrical worlds in Renaissance drama, arguing that many plays, Shakespeare's included, invite the audience to escape first into the second world of the theater, and then to join the characters as they themselves escape into a "green" world – the forest of *Midsummer*, say, or Bohemia. Such doubling doubles the experience of return at the conclusion of the play, as first the characters and then the audience return to their points of origin, to Athens and Sicilia, and also to the world outside the theater. In Berger's words, "this withdrawal from life to fiction [as seen in Sidney] is seen as fulfilled in a return to life which has two aspects: a return to the image of life within the play world of art and a return to life itself at the end of the fictional experience" (8). Having returned to Sicilia from Bohemia, the audience of *The Winter's Tale* must finally return from the restored Sicilia into our own lives, walking back out into real time, a process that Leontes' final lines seem to prepare us for.

Berger describes this process as bittersweet, noting how the audience of the late romances seems hesitant to leave the fictions they've witnessed – a notion that might account for Leontes' double request that Paulina "Lead us from hence" and then "Hastily lead away" – yet in repeatedly turning, as they do, out towards the world, Leontes' closing lines offer a final cue to the audience. Just as Hermione's stepping down from her pedestal indicates that the statue that Leontes and his audience of kings and princes have gathered to see is no longer beholdable, Leontes' final cue to the actors to leave the stage marks the end of Shakespeare's own fiction,

leaving his audience to their own parts "Performed in this wide gap of time." His final lines nod to both theater and to life as lived off stage, in spans that do not conform to the theatrical unities that *The Winter's Tale* so happily flouts. Righter has noted that in both *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* Shakespeare begins "blurring the distinctions between art and life" (192), a notion we see clearly as the world of *The Winter's Tale* dissipates, leaving the audience to contemplate both the trajectories of the play's characters and their own actions across time.

CONCLUSION:
ART, NATURE, AUDIENCE

With *The Winter's Tale*, Shakespeare throws down a dramatic gauntlet, defying theater's most treasured conventions – genre categorization, Ben Jonson's unities, even our basic beliefs about which characters are living and dead – and placing his faith in his audience's ability to behold "warm life." One need only look at Puck and Rosalind's epilogues to know that this turning towards the audience is not new; what is new is *The Winter's Tale*'s increasing experimentation with, and trust in, its audience's ability to make meaning. Once all geographical and temporal unities break down in Act III, *The Winter's Tale* requires its audience to invest in the final miracle; without our faith – in theater, in wonder, in happy endings - the final acts are impossible.

Such faith works two ways. I have argued here that, in this very late play, Shakespeare anticipated an audience capable of responding to a sequence of embedded theatrical and non-theatrical forms meant to elicit increasingly participatory modes of spectatorship. Though modern critics can only speculate about early modern reception, the forms embedded in *The Winter's Tale* suggest a progression: from the rigid, passive observation elicited by courtly pageantry, to the shifting expectations conditioned by pastoral tragicomedy, and finally towards the interactive meaning making on which Medieval miracle plays and the wonders of Act V

depend. As staged by both Paulina and Shakespeare, Hermione's return to the play is a triple resurrection, restoring Hermione to her rightful place as Queen, Leontes to health and receptivity, and the audience's theatrical faith. However, just as one can read Paulina's threats to draw the curtain on Hermione's statue as a piece of stagecraft, one can also interpret these threats as indicative of her own doubts about the King's reception. For the miracle to work, both the spectator and the playwright must put their theatrical faith in each other.

Reliant on the audience's faith, *The Winter's Tale* constantly elevates interactive forms of spectatorship. By reading *The Winter's Tale* as a succession of generic templates, we see more clearly which forms Shakespeare privileges and rejects. In each of the three major phases of the play – Sicilia, Bohemia, and the final integration of the two – Shakespeare rejects a fixed art form in favor of a living one. In Sicilia, the fixed trial of Hermione serves as the culmination of Leontes' tragic rigidity, while Hermione's pregnancy provides the key to the happy resolution of the play: the beloved heir Perdita. In Bohemia, Shakespeare dismisses Greene's tracts and prose roguery, as personified by Autolycus, while elevating Camillo's theatrical adaptability, his ability to assume disguises and direct the playing of parts, which facilitates Perdita's return to her home country. Back in Sicilia, Shakespeare famously rejects the rigidity of Hermione's statue in favor of the living Hermione, and the living arts. Comparing the distorted pageantry of the early Sicilian acts with the wonders of Act V, we see Shakespeare rejecting the tyrannical, controlling visions of Leontes in favor of the participatory marvels of V, and dismissing the rigid, patriarchal forms, such as the show trial, with generative, feminine forms such as winter's tales.

Henke's work affirms this emphasis on hybrid and generative forms, noting that, in Shakespeare's later plays, "the fate of genres, or kinds, is intimately connected with that of families." Henke notes how both the movement of the plot, and the ultimate marriage of Perdita

and Florizel, unites the “two separate kinds” represented in the play, “Siclian tragedy and Bohemian pastoral,” and “rejoins the two family-kingdoms and promises future offspring that will solidify the generic, familial, and political union (*Pastoral Transformations* 197). My own reading goes beyond the tragic and pastoral templates, and the restored political relationship between the two Kings, that Henke’s study revolves around. Though I echo Henke in noting the play’s emphasis on generative unions, my wider consideration of Shakespeare’s embedded genres leads me to consider both the merging of the two kingdoms and the rebalancing of gender and gendered forms in the play’s final act. I read the reunions at the end of the play as underscoring Shakespeare’s emphasis on the merging of theatrical forms and genres, and on his attempt to reanimate his audience.

In chapter two, I considered Perdita and Polixenes’ debate over gillyvors as one of the ways that Shakespeare grafts comedy onto tragedy. Here, I want to return to the famed debate of IV.iv, reading it one final time as a validation of live performance. It is important to note that Perdita and Polixenes’ debate is itself a part of a larger performance by Perdita, one that emphasizes the ages and aging of her audience, and the animating power of theater. Perdita presents Florizel and the young Shepherdesses with “flow’rs o’th’spring that might / Become your time of day” (IV.iv.113-114). Her emphasis is on liveliness – on flowers, on her spectators, on “time of day.” Moments after Perdita offers her flowers to Florizel, he worries about the implications of such a gift, asking if the flowers will make him look “like a corpse,” but Perdita’s ensuing lines affirm her emphasis on reanimation:

> No, like a bank for Love to lie and play on,
> Not like a corpse’ or if, not to be buried,
> But quick and in mine arms. Come, take your flowers. [*Giving flowers*.]
> Methinks I play as I have seen them do
> In Whitsun pastorals. Sure this robe of mine
> Does change my disposition. (IV.iv.129-135)

Her playful words instantly convert the image of a corpse to that of lovers in the grass, and the moment she presents her flowers, she immediately shifts to a consideration of playing, pastorals, and costume. Ironically delivered by one of the more reluctant performers in the play, Perdita's evocation of the power of live performance anticipates Hermione's resurrection, her return from "corpse" to "quick," and links the art and nature debate to the play's exploration of theater.

In both Perdita's performance at the sheepshearing and Hermione's descent from the pedestal in Act V, Shakespeare emphasizes an art capable of reviving and even changing the nature of the audience. Perdita's presentation of flowers at the sheepshearing flatters the youth and liveliness of her beloved spectators. One act later, Paulina's presentation of Hermione affirms this emphasis on liveliness, and challenges Leontes to view his wife as a transformed, healthy spectator. Staged by Shakespeare, Hermione's resurrection also requires a transformed audience, one newly open to marvels. In the later acts of *The Winter's Tale*, art and nature continually refresh one another, a notion echoed by the circular logic of Polixenes' description of grafting: "This is an art / Which does mend nature – change it, rather – but / The art itself is nature" (IV.iv.95-97).

It is my contention that in Act V, the self-consciousness of the audience, one created through Shakespeare's embedding of a sequence of increasingly interactive generic templates, finally connects art and nature, making the living audience a part of the artistic performance. Just as a living actor animates the "statue" Paulina presents, the audience's theatrical faith reanimates the play, providing *The Winter's Tale* with its culminating miracle. In the circular debate over the primacy of art or nature, Shakespeare, being Shakespeare, always chooses art, but in *The Winter's Tale*, it is an art dependant on nature, on the real-time responses of the living audience. In the same way that Perdita's return infuses the Sicilian court with a bit of Bohemian wildness

and Shakespeare's allusions to winter's tales and Marian miracles instill Act V with a generative, feminine wisdom, so the live audience infuses *The Winter's Tale* with its own faith in theatrical resurrection, thus playing "nature" to the play's "art." In the middle of his debate with Perdita, Polixenes declares that "Nature is made better by no mean / But nature makes that mean. So, over that art / Which you say adds to nature is an art / That nature makes" (IV.iv.89-92). Like Polixenes' chiasmus-filled lines, which graft the terms "art" and "nature" on to each other until they cannot be teased apart, the relationship between the play and the audience, between art and nature, is interactive.

If one of the most affecting strains in *The Tempest* is Prospero's divestment of his arts, the breaking of his staff and drowning of his book, *The Winter's Tale*, composed shortly before, can perhaps be viewed as the opposite: a gathering of magical forces, a marshalling of centuries of theatrical tropes, from oracles and miracle plays to London's contemporaneous interests in bearbaiting, masque, and tragicomedy, arranged in an order that creates maximum wonder. Commonly grouped with the late romances, with their "coiled intensity" (Palfrey 266) and emphasis on magic, *The Winter's Tale* can also be read as an ars poetica, placing it within a line of plays that deliberately consider the uses of theater: *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Hamlet,* and *The Tempest*. In no other play does Shakespeare embed so many generic templates, and in no other play does he present such an optimistic view of the power of theater to redeem human folly. The image of Prospero as a stand in for an increasingly vexed Shakespeare is well known; how hopeful, then, to temper this image with a consideration of *The Winter's Tale* as a late-career marshalling of theatrical marvels, an outrageous investigation of how far an audience is willing to go for a comic ending, and a journey to the outer limits, the Bohemian coastline, of theatrical possibility.

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