

PRAISE FOR *THE CREATION AND RE-CREATION OF*  
*CARDENIO: PERFORMING SHAKESPEARE,*  
*TRANSFORMING CERVANTES!*

“Gary Taylor and Terri Bourus make Shakespeare come alive with such enthusiasm, you’d swear the Bard himself was sitting in the room with them. Meticulous and passionate scholars, they don’t shy away from questioning long-held theories and testing them—not only through extensive research—but also through the crucible of live performance. It does not surprise me that they would tackle the reconstruction of *Cardenio* or that Gary would take some twenty years to do it. When they’re done, *Cardenio* will certainly stand as a testament to how painstaking line-by-line scholarship can combine with academic imagination to create pure joy.”

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about *The History of Cardenio*

“This persuasive book should put to rest nearly three hundred years of debate over the lost King’s Men play of 1613. *Cardenio* was indeed a Fletcher/Shakespeare collaboration, based on episodes from Cervantes’ bestseller *Don Quixote*. Lewis Theobald was not a forger: his 1727 adaptation *Double Falsehood* does derive from *Cardenio*. With meticulous scholarship and creative theatrical acumen the editors assemble a formidable case, and also triumphantly publish for the first time Taylor’s ‘unadaptation’ of *The History of Cardenio*.”

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School of English, Film, Theatre, and  
Media Studies, Victoria University of  
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“Taylor and Bourus’s collaboration pairs textual studies and theatrical practice, literary analysis and performance studies, detective work and hypotheses scientifically tested with mathematical precision. Taylor’s careful excavation of Fletcher and Shakespeare’s language from Lewis Theobald’s *Double Falsehood*, Bourus’s thoughtful direction of the resulting script—two decades in the making—and the incisive analyses provided by all hands in these pages make of Fletcher and Shakespeare’s labor of love lost a *Cardenio* found.”

—Regina Buccola, Associate Professor, Roosevelt University,  
USA; and co-editor of *Chicago Shakespeare Theater:  
Suiting the Action to the Word*

THE CREATION AND RE-CREATION  
OF *CARDENIO*

PERFORMING SHAKESPEARE,  
TRANSFORMING CERVANTES

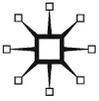
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THE HISTORY OF *CARDENIO* 1612–2012

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The first event was a production of *The History of Cardenio*, performed in a new theater at the IUPUI Campus Center. Those six performances could not have happened without the dedication, creativity, and months of hard work by the talented actors, musicians, and crew of Hoosier Bard Productions; to each of them we extend our undying gratitude. Completion of the new theater was made possible by a large gift by an anonymous donor, who had a particular passion for live classical theater. Of the many people who helped to make this happen, we want especially to thank IU President Michael McRobbie, IUPUI Chancellor Charles Bantz, Tralicia Lewis (interim director of the Campus Center), Brian Fedder (light and sound technician), the IU Alumni Foundation, Women's Studies, and the departments of English, Communications, History, Philosophy, and World Languages.

The second event was an academic colloquium ("*The History of Cardenio: Spain and England, Then and Now*"). This colloquium tried to redress the balance of previous scholarship on *Cardenio* by soliciting work on Cervantes (as in chapters 1–4 of this book), Fletcher's relationship to Cervantes (as in chapters 5–8), and Fletcher's collaboration with Shakespeare (as in chapters 9, 10, and 13); because it coincided with the last weekend of performances, it also focused on issues of performance (as in chapters 12–16). Partial funding was provided by the office of the Vice-Chancellor of Research, Uday Sukatme. Much of the work of organizing the conference was done by our colleagues and staff in the New Oxford Shakespeare center at IUPUI: editors Francis X. Connor and Sarah Neville, research assistant Cassie Mills, and work-study student Tiffany Plourde. All the participants of the colloquium enriched our work on this volume, including Joe Cacaci, Suzanne Gossett, Christopher Marino, and Paul White.

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Some richer hand than ours requite you all.

TERRI BOURUS  
GARY TAYLOR

## ABBREVIATIONS

- Ardila                   Ardila, J. A. G., ed. *The Cervantean Heritage: Influence and Reception of Cervantes in Britain* (London: Legenda, 2009).
- Bourus, “Stages”       Bourus, Terri. “‘May I Be Metamorphosed’: *Cardenio* by Stages.” *Quest*, 387–403.
- Chartier                 Chartier, Roger. *Cardenio between Cervantes and Shakespeare: The Story of a Lost Play* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).
- CSI Shakespeare*       *CSI Shakespeare*, WFYI Indianapolis, producer and writer Jim Simmons, original broadcast November 1, 2012, Comcast Xfinity and DVD and rebroadcast by American Public Television as “Shakespeare Lost/Shakespeare Found.”
- DF*                       *Double Falsehood*, ed. Brean Hammond (London: Arden Shakespeare, 2010).
- Doran and Álamo       Doran, Gregory, and Antonio Álamo. *Cardenio: Shakespeare’s “Lost Play” Re-Imagined* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2011).
- Doran, *Lost*             Doran, Gregory. *Shakespeare’s Lost Play* (London: Nick Hern Books, 2012).
- DQ*                       *The History of the Valorous and Wittie Knight-Errant, Don Quixote Of the Mancha*, trans. Thomas Shelton (London, 1612).
- Fletcher*                *The Dramatic Works in the Beaumont and Fletcher Canon*, gen. ed. Fredson Bowers, 10 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966–1996).
- Fuchs                    Fuchs, Barbara. “Beyond the Missing *Cardenio*: Anglo-Spanish Relations in Early Modern Drama,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 39 (2009): 143–59.
- Hammond                Hammond, Brean. *DF* (introduction and commentary).
- McMullan                McMullan, Gordon. *The Politics of Unease in the Plays of John Fletcher* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1994).

- Middleton            Middleton, Thomas. *The Collected Works*, gen eds., Gary Taylor and John Lavagnino (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007).
- Quest*                *The Quest for Cardenio: Shakespeare, Fletcher, Cervantes and the Lost Play*, ed. David Carnegie and Gary Taylor (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
- Shakespeare        Shakespeare, William. *The Complete Works*, gen. ed. Stanley Wells and Gary Taylor, rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).
- Stern 2011          Stern, Tiffany. “The Forgery of Some Modern Author? Theobald’s Shakespeare and Cardenio’s *Double Falsehood*,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 62 (2011): 555–93.
- Taylor, “History”   Taylor, Gary. “A History of *The History of Cardenio*.” *Quest*, 11–61.
- THOC                Fletcher, John, William Shakespeare, and Gary Taylor, *The History of Cardenio* (1612–2012).

FOREWORD: MR. FLETCHER. &  
SHAKESPEARE. [& THEOBALD]

*Roger Chartier*

The first contribution of this collection of essays—based upon a colloquium held in Indianapolis in April 2012—is to establish that Theobald was neither a liar nor a forger. He spoke the truth in his edition of *Double Falsehood*, published in December 1727, when he asserted on his title page that he possessed an old manuscript play “written originally by W. Shakespeare.” His own intrigue deals with the drama of “love stories,” in the plural, “built upon a novel in *Don Quixot*.” This “novel” tells of Cardenio, the young Andalusian lover of Luscinda, with whom he has exchanged a vow of marriage. Cardenio is betrayed by his friend, Fernando, a duke’s son, who—although betrothed to Dorothea, the daughter of rich peasants—falls deeply in love with Luscinda and marries her. Nevertheless, all’s well that ends well since, after many scrapes, regrets, and pardons, the couples first avowed to one another reunite.

As Theobald notes in the first edition of *Double Falsehood*, “unbelievers” have cast doubt on his assertions. Far from being “a dear relick” left by Shakespeare, “a Remnant of his pen,” could this play, supposedly “revised and adapted” by Theobald, be nothing more than a forgery? Or rather, even if the manuscripts mentioned by Theobald were authentic, shouldn’t the attribution really go to Fletcher, not Shakespeare, since even Theobald admits that Fletcher’s “style and manner” are evident in the play? Or perhaps, in accord with Edmund Malone, we should attribute the work neither to Shakespeare nor to Fletcher but to Massinger?

For over fifteen years, textual critics have followed various clues to answer these questions. On the one hand, Jonathan Hope detects the presence of a seventeenth-century text within Theobald’s piece. His contention rests on the frequent use of the “unregulated” auxiliary verb “do” in that text. On the other hand, Richard Proudfoot, Brean Hammond, and MacDonald P. Jackson discern the presence of Fletcher based on the presence in the play of contractions and “feminine endings” that characterizes his style. Their uneven distribution in the text would confirm Walter Graham’s detection (in a foundational article published in 1916) of two distinct expressive styles in *Double Falsehood*.

Drawing on “the evidence of the [digital] machine,” Gary Taylor and John V. Nance have established the presence of two layers of text in the play published in 1727. One is eighteenth-century, solely attributable to the pen of Theobald, and the second is seventeenth-century, attributable to Shakespeare and Fletcher. This finding results from the systematic computerized analysis of parallels between the verses, phrases, and word associations encountered in *Double Falsehood* and the same formulations in the works of Theobald, Fletcher, and Shakespeare. The search for parallels that occur among no other playwrights enables us to discern with certainty what belongs to each of them, not only in verse but also in prose. How pleasing to note that the comparison of parallel passages in different plays was one of the methods Theobald expressly demanded in his 1733 edition of the *Works of Shakespeare*: “I have constantly endeavored to support my Corrections and Conjectures by parallel Passages and Authorities from himself, the surer Means of expounding any Author whatsoever.” Theobald would have undoubtedly profited immensely from the textual databases of our day—while regretting that their exploitation undermined his first attribution to Shakespeare alone.

The conclusions reached by Gary Taylor have multiple consequences. They should put an end to doubts arising from Moseley’s “entry” in the Stationer’s Register (September 9, 1653) establishing his “right in copy” for a play listed as “The History of Cardenio by Mr. Fletcher. & Shakespeare” [*sic*]. Of course, those prior suspicions were legitimate, given the uncertainties of the attributions in the entries in the Register at the time. Taylor’s evidence authorizes the excision from the text of *Double Falsehood* of the fragments attributable to Theobald and without parallel to any other dramatist of the seventeenth century. It is thus possible to propose a plausible reconstruction of the play as performed at court in the winter of 1612–1613 (and possibly composed in the summer or autumn of 1612 according to bibliographical evidence established here by David L. Gants, which situates publication of Shelton’s translation of *Don Quixote* in middle to late spring of 1612). Following Taylor’s discoveries, the recovery of the lost play should respect the linguistic possibilities and the theatrical conventions of the era as well as the contemporary collaboration of the two playwrights who worked jointly on two other plays: *All Is True* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. More difficult is the “reconstruction” of the experiences of the first spectators of the play. As Elizabeth Spiller suggests, many of them—like Cardenio and Alonso Quijano in Cervantes’ history—had read *Amadis de Gaula* and understood Fletcher and Shakespeare’s *Cardenio* through remembering the pleasures and dangers of such reading.

The attention given to Fletcher is the second original contribution of this book. This was the right path to follow all along, as it should be remembered that Fletcher is named first in the “entry” for *The History of Cardenio* in the Register of the Stationers’ Company. Moreover, Fletcher was far more familiar with Spanish texts than Shakespeare, commencing with Cervantes, and that influence turns up in one fashion or another among nine of Fletcher’s

own plays. Finally, from the very beginning of its performances, the play adapted by Theobald appeared to some viewers to be the work of Fletcher, in whole or part. However, during the last fifteen years *Cardenio's* return to stage, to literary criticism, and to publication has largely effaced Fletcher's presence to the profit of Shakespeare, whose name alone suffices to justify any quest for the long-lost play. The contributions assembled here by Joyce Boro, Huw Griffiths, Christopher Hicklin, and Vimala Pasupathi happily correct that distorted perspective.

They do this by forcing us to reconsider what we thought we knew about Fletcher, especially his hispanophilia. Four of Fletcher's plays studied here were inspired by Cervantes: *The Coxcomb*, based on *La novela del Curioso impertinente* (read aloud in *Don Quixote*); *The Chances* and *Love's Pilgrimage*, drawn respectively from *La novela de la Señora Cornelia* and *La novela de las dos doncellas* (both included in the *Novelas ejemplares*); and *The Custom of the Country* (where one encounters the characters of Ladislao and Transila from *Persiles y Sigismunda*). In each case, Fletcher apparently worked from a translation of Cervantes's work. Whence the two questions raised by Gary Taylor and Steven Wagschal: did Fletcher (and Shakespeare) read *Don Quixote* in its original language or (more likely) in Shelton's translation? And did Theobald instead use for his own contributions to *Double Falshood* the Spanish editions of *Don Quixote* (1611 and perhaps 1662), or the 1687 translation by John Phillips, all of which he owned?

In any case, as the textual analyses show, even if Fletcher was an attentive reader of Cervantes, he still appropriated with invention and originality the plot lines of the originals and subordinated them to his own dramatic preferences. Thus we see that the role of the protagonist is typically given to one or more male figures who become "author-characters" in the tale. A new accent falls on tensions linked to female sexuality contrasted with the stock figure of the "clever maiden in love." These essays stress also Fletcher's representation of different forms of masculinity, as manifest in martial values, libertine cynicism, or courtly love.

This last focal point permits further reevaluation of a prominent theme in plays written by Fletcher, either alone or in collaboration: the brutal destruction of a perfect friendship between two young men, often expressed in terms of erotic union, and ruined by the passion they share for the same woman. That is the story of Palamon and Arcyte in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, of Memnon and Polidor in *The Mad Lover*, and of Fernando and Cardenio in *Don Quixote* (renamed Henriquez and Julio in *Double Falshood*). This theme is well known and, as Jeffrey Masten shows, interconnects the dramatic plots, the homo-social lifestyle of some playwrights, and collaborative writing especially when shared by two authors. But in this relation between lived experiences and staged works, one should not forget the parody Fletcher develops in some of his plays, *The Coxcombe* for example, where the ideal of a perfect amity between two men is rendered ridiculous, and discarded. The chivalric rhetoric of male friendship is merely dangerous, or laughable, since it is so opposed to contemporary

social conventions demanding respect for rank and for the matrimonial links between families and clans.

The third original contribution of this book stems from its close connection to a new production of *The History of Cardenio* in Indianapolis in 2012. After professional readings or student performances of the play in various forms and venues, Terri Bourus' new staging made visible and audible Gary Taylor's most recent reconstruction of the once lost play. The playbill presented this as "The *History of Cardenio*, By William Shakespeare & John Fletcher, Inspired by Cervantes' *Don Quixote*, Recreated by Gary Taylor, Directed by Terri Bourus." As noted in the essays by Terri Bourus, Gerald Baker, and Ayanna Thompson, new connections developed here between theatrical practice and scholarly inquiry yield unprecedented intellectual opportunities for experiment and research. Brought to the stage with the constraints inevitably imposed by a particular theaterspace, a particular cast, and a finite university budget, this "recreation" by Gary Taylor reveals acutely the difficulties once encountered by Fletcher and Shakespeare and then later by Theobald when they sought to compose a play drawn from *Don Quixote*. The greatest challenge, then and now, is to link the "novel" of Cardenio with the "history" of Don Quixote. *Double Falsehood* avoided that difficulty by simply ignoring Don Quixote, Sancho, and their companions. But was that also happening in 1612–1613? Gary Taylor remains convinced that the comic exploits of Don Quixote constitute the "sub-plot" of a play that appears too short in its state as *Double Falsehood*. This is despite the arguments insisting on the troubles that would have been caused by a chivalric parody circulating contemporaneously with the death of Prince Henry, a figure deeply attached to the crusading ideals of knightly virtue. But Taylor may be right, especially given the choice made by other playwrights contemporaneous to Fletcher and Shakespeare who also staged versions of the novel of Cardenio. In Guillén de Castro's "comedia" *Don Quijote de la Mancha* and in the French plays by Pichou and by Guérin de Bouscal, Don Quixote is present, as a comic counterpoint to the sentimental novel. Gerald Baker's interpretation of Thomas Roe's allusion to "the various fortunes of Don Quixote" in a letter he sent to Elizabeth in 1630 reinforces the hypothesis that Don Quixote appeared in Fletcher and Shakespeare's play, if we accept that Roe referred to *The History of Cardenio*.

There remains the theatrical difficulty of integrating the two plots—much more challenging for an author and director today, who must confront the Quixote myth, the centuries-long accretion of a distinct and complex persona. The dramatists of the seventeenth century could more easily place in the margins of their plays an earlier version of that character, reduced to the role of a "*gracioso de comedia*" or extravagant jester. Just as in the music that might accompany the unfolding of the plot, the risk here becomes a Spanish exoticism, certainly seductive but far too easily stereotyped (as in the flamenco music utilized by Greg Doran in his version of *Cardenio* for the Royal Shakespeare Company, here analyzed by Carla Della Gatta). As Borges

would have said, one doesn't need "professional Spaniards" to make or to get the Hispanic references.

Theater experience—or, as Terri Bourus puts it here, live theater as itself a "research discipline"—clarifies with greater acuity than mere reading the tensions, historic and dramatic, of a play. This is certainly the case with the marriage scene between Fernando and Luscinda. *Double Falsehood* gets round the difficulty it poses by interrupting the nuptials before the sacramental vow is pronounced. The priest has not done his work, and Don Bernard declares: "Let the Priest wait." In 1612–1613, did Fletcher and Shakespeare do the same? Or were they more loyal to *Don Quixote*, where the two young people are actually twice married: once by the priest in Luscinda's house, but also before (to another spouse) through the binding promises of marriage exchanged between Luscinda and Cardenio and between Fernando and Dorotea. In Cervantes, this double marriage forms the main spring of the plot, because Dorotea and then Cardenio can hope for an annulment of the never-consummated union between Fernando and Luscinda. But this double marriage created a real inconvenience for seventeenth-century playwrights, especially if they were Catholics. They sought to avoid the theological problem either by weakening the sacramental force of a marriage promise (held to be a solemn, irrevocable engagement in traditional definitions of marriage prior to the Council of Trent), or by interrupting the ceremony uniting Luscinda and Fernando before the exchange of vows before a priest. Gary Taylor has had to confront the same problem faced by Guillén de Castro, Pichou, and Theobald.

There is another serious challenge: Fernando's sexual liaison with Dorotea. In *Don Quixote*, this is treated as an exchange of vows made before sacred images of the saints and the Virgin, as well as in the presence of a human witness, the "*doncella*" of Dorotea. After carnal consummation of the verbal union, Fernando confirms the matrimony with a ring that he places on the young woman's finger. This scene is not shown in *Double Falsehood*, merely evoked in passing by a Henriquez already in love with Leonora. He himself introduces the supposition of a sexual violation ("Was it a rape then?"). But he immediately challenges that definition: "True, she did not consent; as true, she did resist; but still in silence all. 'Twas but the coyness of a modest bride/ Not the resentment of a ravish'd maid." Any staging of this encounter has to navigate in one way or another between two extremes. Moreover, as stressed by Lori Leigh, even a decision to leave this (or any other) action unstaged produces an "unscene," a narrative that itself creates a particular perception of the story. Once again, the exigencies of staging oblige reconsideration of multiple texts, all sedimentary and contradictory, that have communicated to us the history of Cardenio. As Ayanna Thompson demonstrates, this necessity acquires an even greater edge for modern audiences when a "reconstruction" like Taylor's introduces an element not present in either *Double Falsehood* or *Don Quixote*: an identification of Violanta/Dorotea as "a mixed-race country girl," designated in the play as a "gypsy," "Egyptian," or "half-black" woman.

The Indianapolis experiment, in its modernity, sends us back to the conditions that regulated the representation of theatrical works in England over the period 1576–1642. Rewriting *Double Falsehood* to recover the text as written by Fletcher and Shakespeare, cleansed of Theobald's anachronistic varnish, means that Gary Taylor is, in effect, rewriting himself. His *History of Cardenio* printed here differs from the text performed in 2012, which itself varied from eight other versions read or staged between 1992 and 2011. Collaborations across time and space, constant revisions, the sheer malleability of the text shaped his writing habits just as they governed those of Fletcher, Shakespeare, and Theobald.

As the work of Terri Bourus demonstrates, material constraints in the theater and in representation itself reproduce today the same challenges confronted by seventeenth-century troupes of actors. Thespians must make the best use possible of all simple stage devices in public amphitheatres, like the Globe, with their projecting platforms and their galleries, and in the private halls, like the Blackfriars, with their indoor, rectangular, artificially lighted spaces. They must excite the imagination of audiences without recourse to imposing sets or heavy stage machinery. Representation onstage, yesterday and today, is the fundamental test through which the text must pass, constantly reworked as the rehearsals and performances unfold just as in Gary Taylor's *History of Cardenio*. It is the staging that manifests the real force of the play (as in the potent scene of Luscinda's and Fernando's marriage), as well as its inherent difficulties (as in the dense and complex denouement, demanding great visual and dramatic invention).

Plays are made to be performed. That's what Renaissance dramatists reiterated in their admonitions that served, paradoxically, also to justify editions solely destined for reading. Their conventional rhetoric, however, was doubly correct. First, it made stage production the essential measure by which to judge any play's effectiveness. But it also permitted spectators who became readers—and readers who were never spectators—to encounter in their reading a trace, partial but real, of the acting and the emotions such vivid performances inspired. The same may be said for this book, which displays all the traces of a vibrant colloquium and a fine production.

Trans. by  
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