

THE CREATION & RE-CREATION OF CARDENIO

Performing Shakespeare,
Transforming Cervantes

EDITED BY
TERRI BOURUS
& **GARY TAYLOR**



**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.”

—Jim Simmons, Producer/Writer of “Shakespeare
Lost/Shakespeare Found” TV documentary
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*.”

—David Carnegie, Emeritus Professor FRSNZ,
School of English, Film, Theatre, and
Media Studies, Victoria University of
Wellington, New Zealand; and co-editor of
*The Quest for Cardenio: Shakespeare, Fletcher,
Cervantes, and The Lost Play*

“Taylor and Bourus’s team brings us closer to the lost *Cardenio* in four ways: they render the forgery hypothesis even less convincing, provide more evidence for Shakespeare’s collaboration, enrich our understanding of Fletcher’s dramatic art, and pay significant attention to the performative dimension.”

—Brean Hammond, Professor of Modern English
Literature, University of Nottingham, UK; and
editor of the Arden edition of *Double Falsehood*

“The most up-to-date collection of essays about Shakespeare’s lost play, with important new work on *Cardenio*’s composition, collaborators, reconstructions, and performances.”

—Valerie Wayne, Professor Emerita, University of Hawaii,
USA; and editor of the Arden edition of *Cymbeline*

“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*

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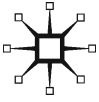
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THE HISTORY OF *CARDENIO* 1612–2012

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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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Gary Taylor: my work on *Cardenio* has been supported for seven years by research grants from Florida State University, and by the financial and human resources of the New York Public Theatre, the Williamstown Festival, the Blackfriars Theatre at the American Shakespeare Center, the Shakespeare Theatre in Washington, DC, the Chicago Shakespeare Theater, Victoria University of Wellington, and Shakespeare's Globe in London. Every member of every cast and crew has contributed to my understanding of the play. But I owe most to David Black and Joe Cacaci (who raised *Cardenio* from the dead and set it on its way), to David Carnegie (for the production and colloquium in New Zealand, and for shepherding *The Quest for Cardenio* to completion), and to Terri Bourus, who undertook the colossal task of opening a new theater with *Cardenio*, and who has taught me more about this play (and theater) than anyone else.

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