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Dryden's Adaptations of Shakespeare

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DRYDEN'S ADAPTATIONS OF SHAKESPEARE

A Thesis

Presented to

the Faculty of the Graduate School

University of Richmond

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

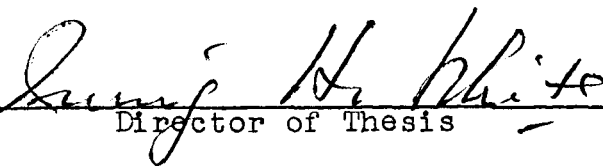
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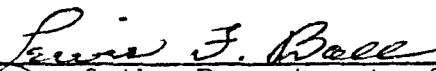
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PREFACE

Allardyce Nicoll says of the adaptations in the Restoration period that "probably nowhere better than in these adaptations can we find the key to the whole dramatic productivity of the period. Nowhere better can we find expressed the likes and the dislikes of the time."¹ Sir William D'Avenant is given credit for continuing the theater--with private performances--during the Interregnum; and, in the early years of the Restoration, his is the most important name associated with the theater. John Dryden early in his career as a dramatist collaborated with D'Avenant in theatrical productions, the most important being the adaptation of Shakespeare's The Tempest as a comedy.

It is the purpose of this study to discuss Dryden's adaptations of Shakespeare's The Tempest, Antony and Cleopatra, and Troilus and Cressida. As a background for this study, Restoration drama will be discussed from the standpoint of the following criteria: relationship to Elizabethan drama; Restoration audiences, theaters, and fashion; adaptations, primarily of Shakespeare; D'Avenant, Dryden, and heroic drama; and finally, English opera in the

¹Allardyce Nicoll, A History of English Drama, 1660-1900, I, fourth ed. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1952), p. 171. Cited hereafter as Nicoll, Drama, I.

Restoration period. The first of the five chapters in this discussion will be concerned with the items listed above. Succeeding chapters in order will discuss Dryden's adaptations of Shakespeare's The Tempest, Antony and Cleopatra, Troilus and Cressida, and in a summary chapter some critical conclusions will be given. In chapters two, three, and four dealing with the plays of Shakespeare which Dryden adapted, the discussion will be concerned with the theme of the plays, the structure, the plot, major and important minor characters, and imagery, and it will close with a critical summary.

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CHAPTER I

Restoration Drama

E. J. Burton claims that Restoration drama has the "same vitality and sincerity as the early [Elizabethan] drama, but it is the theatre, rightly or wrongly . . . of a minority, a drama of class and party."² Such elements as bloodshedding, rioting, and unnatural sex relationships are reflections of the works of such later Elizabethan dramatists as Shirley, Ford, and Webster. Indeed Nicoll sees that Restoration comedy, on the other hand, owes its "greatest debt to the drama produced in England from the time of Jonson to that of Shirley;"³ and Jonson's "classically inclined style, rich powers of observation, humorous types and satiric tendencies assuredly made strong appeal to the later seventeenth-century audience."⁴ It is, however, "not in the written drama, but the conditions of its presentation"⁵ that we find evidence of a new and different English drama.

²E. J. Burton, The British Theatre: Its Repertory and Practice, 1100-1900 A. D. (London: Herbert Jenkins, 1960), p. 141.

³Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 181.

⁴Ibid., p. 182.

⁵George Henry Nettleton, English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century (1642-1780) (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1921), p. 40.

One large factor in the development of drama in the Restoration period is the theater itself. From the time that the theaters were officially closed in 1642, "Puritan sentiment prevailed among the middle classes, and the theatre was shunned by them"⁶ because of the connection with Charles II and the licentious influence prevalent in his gay court--the influence of France, Spain, and Italy upon him. There were only two theaters open in London from 1660-1682--those of Sir William D'Avenant and Thomas Killigrew--and due to the merger of these two, there was only one open from 1682--to 1695.⁷ Audiences were very small, and plays were presented to select private audiences.

Actresses were introduced on the English stage for the first time in the Restoration period. A Mrs. Coleman played Ianthé in D'Avenant's The Siege of Rhodes in 1656.⁸

The habitual employment of actresses on the Restoration stage may . . . be held to have influenced a drama which bent its energy largely to a licentious comedy of intrigue, and which speedily found ways to whet interest by the presentation of plays given wholly by actresses and by copying tragedy with epilogues whose coarseness was accentuated in a woman's mouth.⁹

⁶Allardyce Nicoll, The Development of the Theatre: A Study of Theatrical Art from the Beginnings to the Present Day (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1946), p. 169.

⁷Ibid.

⁸Ibid.

⁹Nettleton, p. 42.

Since the audience was small--and no doubt most of the audiences were made up of the same people over and over again--most of the actors and actresses became known personally to the patrons, thus making way for "type" characters to develop in the theater. Nicoll cites Sandford for the lead role in tragedy and Nell Gwyn for the part of a merry woman, and dramatists had these characters in mind when they wrote for the stage.¹⁰ "Scenic and other theatrical novelties"¹¹ had their effects in differentiating the Restoration theater from the Elizabethan.

Restoration comedies are a reflection of the licentiousness of the Restoration era. Wendell says "there are traces of wit in them still, and of ingenuity; but there is no lingering trace of the poetry--of the lyric grace, of the old romantic spirit and beauty."¹² Nicoll stresses the audience's demand for plays reflecting "their own gay immoral lives" and sees the comedy of manners as "faithfully reproducing the upper-class wit, licentiousness and social ideals of the time."¹³

¹⁰Nicoll, Development of the Theatre, p. 169. This much is not new, however; for Shakespeare wrote parts for Will Kemp and James Burbage, and others had done the same thing.

¹¹Nettleton, p. 40.

¹²Barrett Wendell, The Temper of the Seventeenth Century in English Literature (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1904), p. 337.

¹³Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 89.

The Restoration period, reacting to harsh demands of Puritanism and to the foreign influence of the French court--as reflected in the Restoration court of Charles II--became an extremely corrupt period, in which the people fed on riots, gay times, frills, and trivia. "These excesses, both in life and in letters, are facts."¹⁴ It is perhaps significant to note that the people of the Restoration era were willing to face the facts regarding life, and those who did pretend had the dubious honor of being unmasked in the form of satire by their none-the-less noble fellow citizens. Wendell describes this dealing in facts, however sordid, as an attempt "to assert a state of things approved by common-sense."¹⁵ Common sense is the dominating "temper" of the seventeenth century.

Restoration dramatists showed a strong desire for adapting the works of other dramatists, and the works of no writer were more adapted than were those of Shakespeare. Nicoll attributes these adaptations to "the pseudo-classic criticism of the time . . . [and] the changing conditions of the stage."¹⁶ In many instances the Restoration writers,

¹⁴Wendell, p. 336.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 338. The italics are mine.

¹⁶Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 177.

as Mellers says, "destroyed the values" of the work adapted without replacing them with new values.¹⁷

Shakespeare's tragedies were especially liked for their heroes, settings, and scenes of pathos; the histories were used (though not many) for "political parallels;" the early comedies were too romantic, and the later ones presented problems in plot complication--it is the realistic comedies which were adapted. Some of these adaptations include: comedies, The Tempest, by D'Avenant and Dryden, Much Ado about Nothing with Measure for Measure, by D'Avenant; histories, Henry VI, Part 2, by John Crowne, Richard II by Nahum Tate; tragedies, Romeo and Juliet by Howard, and another adaptation by Otway, King Lear (with a happy ending) by Nahum Tate, Antony and Cleopatra by Dryden, Troilus and Cressida by Dryden, and Macbeth (an opera) by D'Avenant.¹⁸

Objections to Shakespeare's comedies have already been mentioned, but there are other objections to his plays, viz., his language, the "too-great realism of his heroes," his "lack of poetic justice," and the "universal calamities which overwhelmed good and bad alike."¹⁹ D'Avenant, for

¹⁷Wilfrid Mellers, Harmonious Meeting: A Study of the Relationship between English Music, Poetry and Theatre, c. 1600-1900 (London: Dennis Dobson, 1965), p. 215.

¹⁸Nicoll, Drama, I, pp. 172-176. See p. 175 for a detailed account of the critical lines followed by the adapters of Shakespeare's plays.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 175.

example, to make Shakespeare's language clear, has Macbeth say, after he has killed Duncan:

No, they wou'd sooner add a Tincture to
The Sea, and turn the Green into Red--²⁰

whereas in Shakespeare we read:

No, this my hand will rather
The multitudinous seas incarnadine,
Making the green one red.
(II,ii,61-63)²¹

D'Avenant achieves a clarity of language, but in doing so the poetic emotional effect is lost. "The multitudinous seas" expresses so much more than "The Sea," and the effect of the whole speech is lost when "this my hand" is left out, or rather replaced with "they wou'd sooner add a Tincture." Such are the Restoration adaptations!

So far, no mention has been made of the foreign, particularly French, influence on the Restoration writers. While it is true that Corneille's tragedies influenced Restoration tragedy, and Molière's comedies influenced the comedies of that period, "the dominant influence on English drama during the interregnum and the opening years of the Restoration period was . . . , English."²² In the latter part

²⁰Ibid., p. 176.

²¹William Shakespeare, in G. B. Harrison, editor, Shakespeare: Major Plays and the Sonnets (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1948). All quotations from Shakespeare's plays will be taken from this source.

²²Nettleton, p. 43.

of the Restoration period, from 1678-1700 and after, the foreign influence, of the classics in particular, was more evident in the writings of English dramatists.²³

The heroic drama, to which attention is now given, has been called that which is "most characteristic of all the Restoration theatrical species."²⁴ Notable in this type of drama are its settings, usually foreign countries, its characters, taken out of their own countries and made to live in "the world of heroic ardour and of dauntless courage,"²⁵ and its attachment to a historical background. Of most importance in the heroic drama are the names of D'Avenant and Dryden.

D'Avenant, "the first introducer of heroic motives" in Restoration drama, lacked "fulness of plot and variety of characters."²⁶ He was not, therefore, the successful playwright that Dryden was. Dryden adopted the rhymed couplet for heroic drama, though not everything in rhymed couplets is heroic, nor is all heroic drama strictly written in rhymed couplets only. Condemning Dryden's dramas for failing as examples of poetry, Wendell, nevertheless,

²³See Allardyce Nicoll, Drama, I, pp. 49-50, 141-171 for various types of Restoration drama and foreign influence on Restoration dramatists.

²⁴Ibid., p. 84.

²⁵Ibid., p. 131. For a list of "conditions, symptoms, and effects of heroical love," see Scott C. Osborn, "Heroical Love in Dryden's Heroic Drama," PMLA, LXXIII (1958), 480-490.

²⁶Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 103.

sees Dryden's dramas as

the most copious and respectable examples of the passing fashion which attempted to replace the dead conventions of Elizabethan tragedy by something more like the splendid artificialities of classical tragedy in France.²⁷

The Indian Emperor employing the heroic couplet in a serious drama "established Dryden's position as a dramatist."²⁸

Nicoll's comment on the Restoration, as an age that was "debilitated" and "distinctly unheroic,"²⁹ is challenged by Fujimura; who attempts to show, by citing such men as the Duke of York, Rochester, John Dryden, and Pepys, that there was as much heroism in the Restoration as in any other age.³⁰ Fujimura's own conception of heroism in the Restoration is that "the struggle between love and honor is strongly naturalistic."³¹ He attributes the popularity of heroic plays to their background, patterned on "the classical and Renaissance epic," and they employ "novelty, surprise, and spectacular scenes," all of which interest audiences.³²

²⁷Wendell, p. 347. The italics are Wendell's.

²⁸Nettleton, p. 55.

²⁹Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 88.

³⁰Thomas H. Fujimura, "The Appeal of Dryden's Heroic Plays," PMLA, LXXV (1960), 37.

³¹Ibid., p. 39.

³²Ibid., p. 38.

Jean Gagen discusses the dual theme of love and honor in heroic drama primarily from the standpoint of showing that dual forms of honor are based on the Renaissance humanist conception of honor. Honor "had an outer form as well as an inner essence. In both senses honor was inseparably linked with virtue. In its inner aspect, honor was the love of virtue; in its outer it was the regard of virtue."³³ Gagen sees Dryden's heroes and heroines committed, by the close of the play, to "concepts of love and honor which have a real, though romantically exaggerated, ethical content."³⁴ If the characters in Dryden's plays express "naturalistic" views of love and honor, these views are juxtaposed with "idealistic" ones.

Scott C. Osborn takes the other half of the love and honor theme, love, in heroic drama, and shows Dryden using two theories of love: the old, established traditional Platonic theory and the newer humors theory, which expresses "love as a malady, a passion caused by a distemper of the bodily humors."³⁵ In this presentation Osborn declares that "the sensible soul takes precedence over the rational soul, and the lover is not morally responsible for his conduct."³⁶

³³Jean Gagen, "Love and Honor in Dryden's Heroic Plays," PMLA, LXXVII (1962), 209.

³⁴Ibid., 208-209.

³⁵Scott C. Osborn, "Heroical Love in Dryden's Heroic Drama," PMLA, LXXIII (1958), 480-490.

³⁶Ibid., 484.

Dryden's chief male character in all his heroic plays is subject to this "passion over reason" predicament, though Osborn, like Gagen, finds that the hero in the end "recognizes the superior claims of virtue, duty, and honor."³⁷

Heroic drama and its master, John Dryden, held sway in the Restoration theater from 1670 to 1677. From several of Dryden's plays can be gathered some of the reasons for the success of his heroic drama. In Tyrannick Love (1670) for the first time there occur "those notorious rants" which characterized heroic drama. This the audience demanded.³⁸ In the play Maxim, having stabbed Placidius and sat on him, stabs him a second time and says:

And shoving back this Earth on which I sit,
I'll mount, and scatter all the Gods I hit.
(V,1,p.465)³⁹

"Honour hardly enters into the actions of the hero, but sways the lives of the lesser characters."⁴⁰ Thus, in The Indian Queen (1663/64) Montezuma, enraged because his love is not accepted, offers freedom to Acacis, his enemy and

³⁷Ibid., 490.

³⁸Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 113.

³⁹John Dryden, The Works of John Dryden, III, Walter Scott, ed. (Edinburgh: William Patterson, 1883). All quotations from Dryden's works will be taken from this edition, hereafter cited as Dryden, Works. The most recent edition of Dryden, which has only two volumes published to date, is Edward Niles Hooker, and H. T. Swendenberg, Jr., editors, The Works of John Dryden (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956).

⁴⁰Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 111.

captive, who is too honorable to accept his freedom in this manner. The sequel to this play, The Indian Emperor (1665), was very popular because of such stage devices as magic caves, prisons, cannon roars, and added "scenes of stress, and struggle, glutting to the full this new taste in the audience for spectacle and for show."⁴¹

According to Nicoll The Conquest of Granada by the Spaniards (1670) vindicates the heroic drama as a whole and Dryden in particular. There is beautiful poetry within the play, and the critical matter accompanying it is very important--the Essay of Heroique Plays and the Defence of the Epilogue.⁴² Mellers summarizes the heroic drama in this way:

The moral core and the sense of stylization were lacking, and when dramatists attempted the heroic, it was from disillusioned wishful-thinking, rather than from conviction. If we are not in truth heroic, we can put up a show of heroism: so the Tragic Hero will evoke admiration, not compassion. Even the conflict between Love and Duty was less important than the display of simulated emotion it could give rise to. From this point of view Restoration tragedy was essentially a public art.⁴³

Dryden's heroic drama was probably justifiably burlesqued in 1671 by the Duke of Buckingham in The Rehearsal.

Opera, the final section of this chapter on Restoration drama, is defined by John Downes in his Roscius Anglicanus

⁴¹Ibid., p. 113.

⁴²Ibid., p. 114.

⁴³Mellers, p. 203.

as "a play with 'machines.'"⁴⁴ Nicoll says that "anything indeed that was slightly more musical than ordinary and possessed an additional supply of airs appears in Restoration times to have gained for itself the title of opera."⁴⁵ The Siege of Rhodes (1656) by William D'Avenant is considered the first English opera.⁴⁶ It will be recalled that in this play an actress, Mrs. Coleman as Ianthe, appeared for the first time on the English stage. D'Avenant seems to have disguised his intention of keeping the drama alive during the years of the Interregnum, for he describes the play as "a Representation by the Art of Prospective in Scenes, And the Story sung in Recitative Musick."⁴⁷

The peculiar features of the English opera are seen in such effects as elaborate costumes, fancy stage designs, ingenious mechanical apparatuses, changes of scenery, music, and songs and dances. "While the heroic tragedy treated of distant oriental realms with a sham historical background, the opera dwelt on mythical episodes and with entirely fanciful scenes."⁴⁸ English opera may be traced back to the

⁴⁴Burton, p. 144.

⁴⁵Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 132.

⁴⁶Donald Jay Grout, A Short History of Opera, I, second ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1965), p. 136.

⁴⁷Nettleton, p. 21.

⁴⁸Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 135.

English Masque of Ben Jonson, and it was not until after the seventeenth century that Italian opera influenced that of England.⁴⁹ D'Avenant had worked with masques and was apparently suited to working with operas. His adaptation of Shakespeare's Macbeth (1664-1673) was an opera, and in collaboration with Dryden he adapted Shakespeare's The Tempest (1667), later presented by Thomas Shadwell as an opera (1674). This adaptation will be dealt with in chapter two of this paper.

Other operas in the Restoration period include: Henry Purcell's Dido and Aeneas, adapted from Nahum Tate's heroic tragedy, Brutus of Alba; Purcell's The Fairy Queen, based on Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream; John Blow's Venus and Adonis (1684/85); and John Dryden's The State of Innocence and Fall of Man (1674), based on John Milton's Paradise Lost.⁵⁰

The English opera proved to be popular with Restoration audiences, and each successful production tended to influence other writers to attempt opera. The many devices used in the opera productions proved to be successful, and the influence is seen "upon the regular drama, so that tragedy shows a new and increasing reliance upon spectacular effects."⁵¹

⁴⁹Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 132.

⁵⁰Grout, p. 139; and Mellers, p. 204.

⁵¹Nettleton, p. 41.

In summary, it may be said that, while the tragedies of blood revenge and unnatural sex relationships of such Elizabethan dramatists as Ford and Shirley had their effect on Restoration dramatists, the theater and its patrons, reacting to the austere Puritanical restrictions during the Interregnum, had even greater effect on the drama of the Restoration period. The audience demanded, and the dramatists gave, scenic splendor, gay costumes, machines, music, song and dance, and smutty suggestive speeches to the characters in the dramas. If the time was one of unprecedented licentiousness, it may also be declared an era when people looked at facts as facts without the coloring of romantic idealism. Heroic drama and opera introduced some new ideas into English drama. The rhymed couplet became the vehicle for serious drama; the parts of heroes and heroines alike were verbose, and almost consciously, bombastic. Adaptation of popular earlier dramas reached its pinnacle during the Restoration, and Shakespeare provided the source for more revisions of dramas than any other dramatist. Especially well-liked were his heroes and his settings, but his comedies were either too romantic or had too improbable plots for the Restoration theater-goers.

CHAPTER II

Dryden's The Tempest, or, The Enchanted Island (1667)

In 1667 John Dryden and Sir William D'Avenant adapted The Tempest (1611) of William Shakespeare as a comedy entitled The Tempest, or, The Enchanted Island. This play is the first of three adaptations of Shakespearean plays by Dryden; and, since it is the concern of this study to deal with Dryden as an adapter of Shakespeare, the order of treatment of the plays will follow the chronological order of Dryden's plays.

There has been much controversy over the contributions of the adapters, Dryden and D'Avenant, as to what each contributed to the writing of The Tempest. Even more controversy exists over the Shadwell operatic version of The Tempest (1674) based on Dryden and D'Avenant's version. For the purposes of this study, and in order not to obscure the main objective--a consideration of The Tempest, or, The Enchanted Island as an adaptation of Shakespeare's The Tempest--the traditional view of the editors of Dryden will be followed. That view, reflected also by Hazelton Spencer,⁵²

⁵²Hazelton Spencer, Shakespeare Improved (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), pp. 201-209. Spencer says that "Shadwell's changes are not extensive." p. 204. Detailed changes by act and scene are pointed out by Spencer.

holds that D'Avenant suggested the part of a man who had never seen a woman, revised Dryden's writing, suggested the part of the comical sailors, and that the inclusion of sea language is his; that Dryden did most of the writing of the drama is also affirmed. It is accepted, too, after a careful comparison of the text in Sir Walter Scott's edition, revised by George Saintsbury, with the edition of Montague Summers which follows the 1701 folio of the original Dryden-D'Avenant version,⁵³ that there are not sufficient changes in the Shadwell operatic version to justify treating it as a new or essentially different play.

⁵³Montague Summers, editor, Dryden: The Dramatic Works, II (London: The Nonesuch Press, 1931), pp. 145-229. See also Montague Summers, editor, Shakespeare Adaptations (London: Jonathan Cape, 1922), pp. xi-xlix. Summers goes into the matter of the editors of Dryden who use the 1674 Dryden-D'Avenant-Shadwell opera; and he credits D'Avenant with the authorship of the 1667 comedy, saying that "Dryden's actual share in the work seems to have been of the smallest [amount]." p. xli. As Summers points out, the Scott-Saintsbury edition contains the Shadwell operatic version; see Saintsbury, in The Works of John Dryden, II, pp. 103-104. For a discussion of Thomas Shadwell's authorship of the opera The Tempest see W. J. Lawrence, The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies (New York: Russell and Russell, Inc., 1963), p. 196. Four articles in RES comment on this controversy: George Thorn-Drury, "Some Notes on Dryden," RES, I (1925), 327-330; also, III (1927), 204-208. D. M. Walmsley, "Shadwell and the Operatic Tempest," RES, II (1926), 463-466; also III (1927), 451-453. Two articles in ELH also pertain to this controversy: Charles E. Ward, "The Tempest: A Restoration Opera Problem," ELH, XII (1946), 119-130; also, William M. Milton, "Tempest in a Teapot," ELH, XIV (1947), 207-218. Milton summarizes the earlier articles before drawing his conclusions in favor of Shadwell's authorship of the operatic Tempest.

The final word on the authorship of this much discussed play is taken from Dryden himself in the Preface to The Tempest:⁵⁴

Give me leave, therefore, to tell you, reader, that I do not set a value on anything I have written in this play, but out of gratitude to the memory of Sir William Davenant, who did me the honour to join me with him in the alteration of it.

After giving credit to D'Avenant for suggesting the man who had never seen a woman, Dryden confesses "That from the very first moment it so pleased me, that I never writ anything with more delight."⁵⁵

Controversial matters aside, it is the purpose of this chapter to discuss Dryden's adaptation of Shakespeare's The Tempest. Points of interest around which the discussion will center are the following: the theme of reconciliation, the setting in the Mediterranean Sea and on an island in that sea, the structure, the plot--showing how Prospero maneuvers people and events to bring about the separations of the various groups and their eventual repentance and reconciliation (in Dryden's play this involves additional action to take into account the presence of another woman who has never seen a man and a man who has never seen a

⁵⁴Dryden, Works, III, pp. 105-106.

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 106.

woman), the characters--both on the island and from the ship--the dominant imagery of sound, and critical opinions.

In the opening scene of both plays the shipwreck brings concern from nobleman and sailor alike for their apparently inevitable loss of life. Shakespeare records the emotional outbreak just before the crash in this manner:

(A confused noise within: "Mercy on us!"
 --"We split, we split!"--Farewell my
 wife and children!"--"Farewell, brother!"
 --"We split, we split, we split!")
 (I, i, 64-66)

Dryden has Alonso bid farewell to his son, Ferdinand, with the words "Hark! farewell, my son, a long farewell!" (I, i, p. 116). Stephano closes the scene with "She strikes, she strikes! All shift for themselves." (I, i, p. 117).

The beginning of reconciliation comes with repentance, as Dryden's Alonso tells Gonzalo:

No act but penitence can expiate guilt!
 (II, iv, p. 146)

Alonso and Antonio both confess to their guilt of usurping the dukedoms of Prospero and Hippolito, and, to their knowledge, the murder of these two men (Hippolito at the time he and Prospero were sent to sea from Milan was just a boy). Antonio summarizes for Alonso their position of guilt and loss:

You to the waves an infant prince exposed,
 And on the waves have lost an only son.
 I did usurp my brother's fertile lands,
 And now am cast upon this desert isle.
 (II, iv, pp. 146-147)

Shakespeare has Ariel confront Alonso, Sebastian, and Antonio, who prepare to eat the food left by Prospero's spirits. It is from the lips of Ariel that Alonso is reminded of his sin against Prospero and the loss of his son, Ferdinand, in return. Alonso speaks:

Oh, it is monstrous, monstrous!
 Methought the billows spoke, and told me of it,
 The winds did sing it to me, and the thunder,
 That deep and dreadful organ pipe, pronounced
 The name of Prosper. It did bass my trespass.
 Therefore my son i' the ooze is bedded, and
 I'll seek him deeper than e'er plummet sounded,
 And with him there lie mudded.

(III,111,95-102)

When Shakespeare's Prospero learns from Ariel the penitent condition of Alonso and Antonio, he declares that his plans are accomplished.

The rarer action is
 In virtue than in vengeance. They being penitent,
 The sole drift of my purpose doth extend
 Not a frown further.

(V,1,27-30)

Dryden's Prospero begins his reconciling of the various groups on the island at the time of Ferdinand's wounding of Hippolito. This reckless action on the part of Ferdinand leads Prospero to further aims of revenge--the death of Ferdinand; and it is only after Ariel brings the healing ointment for Hippolito's wound that the forgiveness and final reconciliation take place.

Alonso speaks to Prospero:

Let it no more be thought of;
 Your purpose, though it was severe, was just.

In losing Ferdinand, I should have mourned,
But could not have complained.

(V,ii,p.216)

And Antonio confesses:

Though penitence,
Forced by necessity, can scarce seem real,
Yet, dearest brother, I have hope my blood
May plead for pardon with you: I resign
Dominion, which 'tis true, I could not keep,
But heaven knows too, I would not.

(V,ii,p.216)

To which Prospero replies:

All past crimes
I bury in the joy of this blessed day.

(V,ii,p.216)

Shakespeare uses blank verse in The Tempest with a mixture of prose, especially in the scenes with the sailors and Caliban. Ariel sings several songs in good verse, such as "Full fathom five thy father lies" (I,ii,397-403), and "Where the bee sucks" (V,i,88-94). Dryden also uses a mixture of blank verse and prose, and he has some of the scenes end with a rhyming couplet. Hippolito speaks to Dorinda on the occasion of the first meeting of each with one of the opposite sex (except for Prospero and Miranda, of course). He says in parting from Dorinda:

He said our meeting would destructive be,
But I no death, but in our parting, see.
(II,iii,p.145)

Dryden employs the songs used by Shakespeare, and in the 1674 operatic version there is included a new song, which Nicoll calls "a masterpiece,"⁵⁶ "Ye subterranean winds."

⁵⁶Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 134. See II,iv,pp.150-151.

Shakespeare's The Tempest is one of the shortest of his plays, yet it "distils the poetic essence of the whole Shakespearian universe."⁵⁷ Gonzalo indicates the setting as the Mediterranean Sea when he remarks that they are returning from "the marriage of the King's [Alonso's] fair daughter Claribel to the King of Tunis." (II,1,69-70). Summers says that Dryden "represents Alonso as returning from Portugal, where he has very Christianly fought the Barbary foe."⁵⁸ This is not stated by Gonzalo to be the present voyage on which they are shipwrecked. He says that Alonso and Antonio have shown their repentant attitude by their "late voyage into Portugal." (II,iv,p.146).

Due to the additional stage directions several scenes (notably I,i; I,ii; V,iii), the added songs, and the Neptune masque (V,iii), Dryden's play is longer than that of Shakespeare. The additional scenes for the comic intrigues of the drunken sailors with Caliban and Sycorax, and the added characters, Dorinda and Hippolito, also increase the length of the adapted Tempest.

Shakespeare observed the unities of time and place in The Tempest, and only the Antonio-Sebastian plot against

⁵⁷G. Wilson Knight, The Shakespearian Tempest (London: Oxford University Press, 1932), p. 247.

⁵⁸Summers, Dryden, II, p. 145.

Alonso and Gonzalo "mars the unity of action."⁵⁹ It may be debated as to whether Dryden's play does or does not observe the unities, for much of the comic action between the drunken sailors and Sycorax and Caliban is carried on without much concern for the central plot of Prospero's revenge. Yet, on the whole, the action does seem to be one, for these low characters are part of the same company as those nobles from the ship and Prospero's group on the island; and their efforts to organize a government on the island are intended to produce a comic effect without seriously interfering with the main plot. If, however, the unity of action in Shakespeare's play is marred by the plot against Alonso, it may be considered that the line of action followed by the comic characters is indeed a separate line of action.

With the exceptions of the additional characters, Hippolito and Dorinda, the added comic scenes with the sailors, and the additional songs, the plot of Dryden's The Tempest follows the essentials of the plot of Shakespeare's drama. The treatment of the plot of The

⁵⁹Hazelton Spencer, The Art and Life of William Shakespeare (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1940), p. 376. Cited hereafter as Spencer, Art and Life.

⁶⁰For easy reference to the plot of Dryden's plays which are discussed in this paper, appendices are provided following chapter five.

Tempest, therefore, will be limited mainly to those sections which show the essential differences in the action of the two plays.⁶¹

In act one we are introduced to the men aboard ship, which is shortly to be wrecked, and the people on the island, whither the shipwrecked people are bound. Dryden's Ferdinand grieves for his father's loss as "a thousand deaths," (I,i,p.116), and Alonso grieves for his "subjects' loss" in Ferdinand. (I,i,p.116). Dryden's Prospero has been on the island fifteen years, three years longer than Shakespeare's, but Prospero's account of his life as Duke of Milan is the same in both plays, even to the "Thou attend'st not" and "Dost thou still mark me?" (I,ii,p.119). This "tedious exposition" is the chief defect in Shakespeare's play.⁶² Miranda does not meet Ferdinand in Dryden's play until III,v. Prospero grants the request of Dryden's Ariel (for Milcha):

I have a gentle spirit for my love,
Who twice seven years has waited for my freedom:
Let it appear, it will assist me much.
(I,ii,p.125)

Miranda and Dorinda discuss "that thing/Which you have heard my father call a man" (I,ii,p.128).

⁶¹Similar treatment will be given to the adaptation of Troilus and Cressida, or, Truth Found too Late. All for Love, however, is more of a new play than an adaptation, and its plot will receive fuller treatment.

⁶²Spencer, Art and Life, p. 376.

The second act of Dryden's Tempest is somewhat rearranged from that of Shakespeare, but notable here are several omissions from the earlier drama. The whole of Shakespeare's first scene is missing, with the exception of the discussion of Alonso and his associates of the drowning of Ferdinand; the comic scene with Gonzalo; Gonzalo's speech on ideal government; Sebastian, Adrian, and Francisco; and the Antonio-Sebastian plot against Alonso and Gonzalo are all missing. Almost completely lost, and certainly out of place, is the remark by Antonio to Alonso in the following act when he tells Alonso:

Do not for one repulse forego the purpose
Which you resolved to effect.
(III,iii,p.159)

Here the comment pertains to Alonso's remaining steadfast in his purpose to find Ferdinand alive, but in Shakespeare it is a continuation of the plot to murder Alonso.

Perhaps Shakespeare's Gonzalo, in his speech on an ideal government suggests to Dryden's comical sailors--Stephano, Mustacho, Ventoso, and Trinculo--the idea of a government on the island. Stephano wishes to be duke because he is "master at sea" (II,1,p.132). Trinculo will have none of this government by Stephano and he is declared "a rebel" by the others (II,1,p.134). Caliban approaches Trinculo at this point, cursing Prospero with infections from "fogs, fens, [and] flats" (II,1,p.134). He worships Trinculo as a god and offers to bring his sister, Sycorax,

to be Trinculo's wife. In Shakespeare's play Trinculo finds Caliban hiding, supposes him to be dead, and hides from the storm under Caliban's coat. In this odd position Stephano finds what he believes to be a "monster of the isle with four legs" (II,ii,67), and here Caliban offers his worship to Stephano.

Hippolito, and, in their turn, Miranda and Dorinda receive instructions from Prospero to avoid the opposite sex. The essence of his advice to Hippolito is that "nature made nothing but woman dangerous and fair" (II,ii,p.139). His advice to Miranda and Dorinda reflects the coarseness of language which the Restoration audiences apparently gloried in. Prospero says to his daughters:

You must not trust them, child: No woman can
come near them, but she feels a pain, full
nine months.

(II,ii,p.140)

Dorinda and Miranda discover Hippolito in his cave, and Dorinda converses with him and lets him touch her hand. Naturally they fall in love.

Early in act three Shakespeare's Ferdinand is working for Prospero to prove himself worthy of Miranda. This scene is not found in Dryden, who begins this act with Ferdinand's wandering around and Prospero's counsel to Miranda and Dorinda after they have seen a man. To Miranda he promises to show another man, "the full-blown flower" (III,ii,p.153), and his advice to Dorinda concerning

Hippolito is to "use him ill, and he'll be yours for ever" (III,ii,p.157). Upon Ariel's arrival Prospero expresses grief at the sorrowful condition in which Alonso and his companions are found. Dryden does not present the drunken sailors in this act. Shakespeare's sailors--Stephano and Trinculo--and Caliban, the half-monster, are drunk, and they plot to kill Prospero. Caliban gives directions for procedure, and cautions them "first to possess his books" (III,ii,100), in order to destroy Prospero's magic arts. Ariel leads Ferdinand, in Dryden's play, to Prospero and Miranda, and here, as in Shakespeare (I,ii), "at the first sight they have changed eyes" (III,v,p.170). Trying his hand at enlightening Hippolito on the subject of women, Ferdinand has to give up; for Hippolito is too much a creature of Prospero's island to understand that one man has only one woman as his companion. Indeed it is news to him that there are more than one woman in the world, and he exclaims:

I will have all
Of that kind, if there be a hundred of them.
(III,vi,p.177)

Ferdinand leaves Hippolito, whose "simplicity" is such that Ferdinand, at this time, cannot be angry with him or jealous of him.

Act four is devoted to the lovers and the drunken sailors. In Shakespeare's play Miranda is given to Ferdinand to be his wife. Prospero prepares a wedding masque for the

young couple,⁶³ and Ferdinand is so pleased he wishes to "live here [for] ever" (IV,1,122). Remembering the plot against his life by Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo, Prospero cuts short the masque, and he and Ariel leave in order to subdue his enemies. At the end of this part of the action Prospero is able to say:

At this hour
Lie at my mercy all mine enemies.
(IV,1,263-264)

Dryden's lovers do not fare as well. Jealous of the kind treatment that Miranda--on orders from Prospero--shows Hippolito, Ferdinand remarks:

It is too plain: Like most of her frail sex,
She's false, but has not learned the art to hide it.
(IV,1,p.182)

Miranda confesses to Prospero that "at second sight/A man does not appear so rare a creature" (IV,1,p.183). Granted that Ferdinand has faults, Miranda would "see him often" (IV,1,p.184), in order to discover them all. Dorinda is disgusted with Hippolito for desiring other women and tells him to go "Away! I will not have you touch my hand" (IV,II, p.185). Ferdinand and Hippolito prepare to settle their dispute over Miranda, whom Hippolito wishes to claim in addition to Dorinda; but before they do so, the drunken sailors, with Caliban and Sycorax, declare a truce in their

⁶³This play was performed as a part of the festivities at the wedding of Princess Elizabeth, the daughter of King James I, in 1611. See G. B. Harrison, Shakespeare: Major Plays and the Sonnets, p. 1001.

squabbles. Mustacho speaks for all concerned when he asks for "peace, and the Butt"⁶⁴ (IV,iii,p.191), but the six of them get drunk and fight each other. Following this action, Hippolito is wounded, and in place of Shakespeare's gathering of the groups for the final reconciliation, Dryden has new disruptions take place--Miranda and Dorinda vow never to share a bed together again, and Prospero declares that "Ferdinand shall die" (IV,iv,p.203).

Shakespeare's Prospero proves to be as good as his word: "this rough magic/I here abjure . . . I'll break my staff, . . . I'll drown my book" (V,1,50-51,54,57).

Gathered altogether, and forgiven, the group--with the exception of the drunken sailors and Caliban--hears Gonzalo summarize the happenings of the day:

In one voyage
Did Claribel her husband find at Tunis
And Ferdinand, her brother, found a wife
Where he himself was lost, Prospero his dukedom
In a poor isle, and all of us ourselves
When no man was his own.
(V,1,208-213)

Dryden's final action resolves itself more slowly. Ariel saves Hippolito's life with "weapon-salve" (V,1,p.210), and the four lovers are united--Hippolito and Dorinda, Ferdinand and Miranda. The drunken sailors, with Caliban and Sycorax, find their way to Prospero's cave in time to join the others for the Neptune masque presented by Prospero.

⁶⁴An almost proverbial phrase in the Restoration period. See Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, p. 200.

In both plays Caliban renounces the drunken sailors whom he has followed; Prospero bids farewell to Ariel, and to the audience he commends the play.

Discussion of characterization in The Tempest becomes involved and difficult with Dryden's additional innocent man and woman, his changes in the sailors--he omits three and adds two new ones, and Caliban's sister-monster, Sycorax. In order to simplify the treatment of characters, several characters will be discussed in a group: Gonzalo, Alonso, Antonio, and Sebastian; and Stephano, Trinculo, Ventoso, Mustacho, Caliban and Sycorax. Other characters may be treated in pairs: Miranda and Ferdinand, with Dorinda and Hippolito; and Ariel and Milcha. When the adaptation is compared with the original, Prospero is the single character who bears individual treatment.

Prospero appears in full possession of his magic art from the first scene on the island. He is "Renaissance man aiming at the control of Nature and the passions."⁶⁵ In Shakespeare's play Prospero informs Miranda:

I have with such provision in mine art
So safely ordered that there is no soul,
No, not so much perdition as a hair,
Betid to any creature in the vessel.
(I,ii,28-30)

By comparison Dryden's Prospero is plain, matter-of-fact, and lacking in care. He speaks:

⁶⁵Mellers, p. 221.

I have so ordered;
 That not one creature in the ship is lost:
 (I,ii,p.117)

The difference in the two Prosperos is clear from the description of the loss of the dukedom, for while Dryden's Prospero "was wrapped with secret studies" (I,ii,p.119), Shakespeare's was:

The prime Duke, being so reputed
 In dignity, and for the liberal arts
 Without a parallel.
 (I,ii,72-74)

In both plays Prospero plans to match Miranda and Ferdinand. Shakespeare's Prospero, observing the young couple, says:

It goes on, I see,
 As my soul prompts it.
 (I,ii,419-420)

Hippolito, observed by Miranda, gets in the way of Prospero's plans in Dryden's play, and he tells Miranda:

I feared the pleasing form of this young man
 Might unawares possess your tender breast,
 Which for a nobler guest I had designed.
 (III,ii,p.153)

Prospero presents Miranda to Ferdinand and Dorinda to Hippolito, but the presentation of his daughters is vastly different in spirit in Dryden's play from that of Shakespeare's. In this earlier drama Prospero offers Miranda to Ferdinand as "a third of mine own life" (IV,i,3). After presenting them with a wedding masque, calling upon Juno, Ceres, Iris, and other spirits, Prospero discourses on life, in what is one of the finest passages in all of

of Shakespeare's plays.⁶⁶ To the young lovers he says:

Our revels now are ended. These our actors,
As I foretold you, were all spirits, and
Are melted into air, into thin air.
And, like the baseless fabric of this vision,
The cloud-capped towers, the gorgeous palaces,
The solemn temples, the great globe itself--
Yea, all which it inherit--shall dissolve
And, like this insubstantial pageant faded,
Leave not a rack behind. We are such stuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a sleep.

(IV,1,148-158)

No mention of this is made by Dryden's Prospero, who, after the lovers are reconciled to each other, presents Dorinda and Miranda to Hippolito and Ferdinand. To his daughters he says:

You Miranda, must with Ferdinand,
And you, Dorinda, with Hippolito,
Lie in one bed hereafter.

(V,11,p.217)

Shakespeare's Prospero has to attend to Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban, who have planned to kill him. He will "plague them all" (IV,1,192) with pinches and cramps, and he and Ariel chase them out with a pack of hounds. Prospero embraces the King and bids him and his party "a hearty welcome" (V,1,111). Gonzalo, he calls "noble friend . . . whose honor cannot/Be measured or confined" (V,1,120-122). Antonio is addressed twice: once, while Ariel's charm still has him foggy, Prospero calls him "brother mine" (V,1,75),

⁶⁶Margaret Webster, Shakespeare Without Tears (Connecticut: Fawcett Publications, Inc., 1942), p. 221. Miss Webster suggests that Prospero's speech is a good ending for the play.

and says, "I do forgive thee/Unnatural though thou art" (V,i,78-79). After the spell wears off, he calls him "most wicked sir" (V,i,130). To Antonio and Sebastian, whose plot against Alonso is known to Prospero, he remarks in an aside:

But you, my brace of lords, were I so minded,
I here could pluck His Highness' frown upon you,
And justify you traitors.

(V,i,125-128)

Prospero's final action, after telling the story of his life, is to provide a safe journey for all to Naples. He plans to "retire me to my Milan, where/Every third thought shall be my grave" (V,i,311-312).

While Dryden's Prospero meets Alonso's party at an earlier time--after the stabbing of Hippolito--than does Shakespeare's, the meeting is brief and unpleasant for all concerned. Antonio feels "shame" and Alonso "wonder" as Prospero confronts them and charges Ferdinand with murder (IV,iv,p.202). Prospero boldly tells them that he sent for Alonso "to have the sudden joy of seeing him [Ferdinand] alive/And thus the greater grief to see him die" (IV,iv,p.203). After Hippolito is cured, Prospero is happy for Ferdinand, Alonso, and all concerned that "Kind heaven decreed it otherwise" (V,ii,p.216). Without making out a case against Alonso and Antonio, Prospero forgives "all past crimes" (V,ii,p.216). As in Shakespeare, Dryden's Prospero wishes to tell "my story" and then provide "calm seas, and happy gales" for a safe return. (V,ii,p.219)

Miranda is the picture of innocence in the earlier drama, and she shows great concern for the "poor souls" (I,ii,9) on the ship caught in Prospero's tempest. Dryden's Miranda, however, shows some fear of the storm but is easily calmed by Prospero, and it is she who calms Dorinda's concern for the "great creature" when "his belly burst in pieces" (I,ii,p.128). Upon seeing Ferdinand, Shakespeare's Miranda calls him "a thing divine" (I,ii,418), and Ferdinand calls her "the goddess/On whom those airs attend!" (I,ii,421). Dorinda and Miranda, in Dryden's play, see Hippolito in his cave, and he appears to be a "goodly thing, . . . a tame man" (II,iii,p.142). Dorinda and Hippolito, warned by Prospero, are both charmed by and afraid of each other. Dorinda's "I'm told I am a woman" and Hippolito's "I was informed I am a man" (II,iii,p.143) confirm each other's suspicion, indicate Prospero's powers, and provide a comic effect. Dryden's Miranda does not meet Ferdinand until later, and the scene is largely Shakespeare's (III,v,pp.169-173).

Shakespeare's Ferdinand has to work piling logs for Prospero to prove his worthiness of Miranda. He describes her as "created/Of every creature's best" (III,1,48), and declares to her:

I,
Beyond all limit of what else is the world,
Do love, prize, honor you.
(III,1,71-73)

Miranda cries for joy, and Prospero, unseen by these two, describes their meeting as a "fair encounter/Of two most

rare affections!" (III,i,74-75). Miranda answers Ferdinand's profession of love:

Hence, bashful cunning!
And prompt me, plain and holy innocence!
I am your wife, if you will marry me.
If not, I'll die your maid.

(III,i,81-84)

The action just described does not occur in Dryden's play. It is worth noting that Dryden's pairs of lovers are involved in more action than Shakespeare's Ferdinand and Miranda, mainly because of the additional characters, Hippolito and Dorinda. Mention has been made of Ferdinand's jealousy of Hippolito and their sword fight, in which Hippolito is wounded.⁶⁷ Miranda does visit Ferdinand in the prison in which Prospero keeps him, but here she provokes Ferdinand by requesting him to "love one for my sake" (IV, i,p.181), meaning Hippolito, and further goads him with "do you scruple/To grant the first request I ever made?" (IV,i, p.181). No wonder Ferdinand calls her "false" (IV,i,p.182).

Miranda and Ferdinand in Shakespeare's The Tempest are playing chess when Alonso and his party arrive. Ferdinand rejoices that the seas are merciful in delivering his father alive on the island, and Miranda, never before exposed to so many men, exclaims:

Oh, wonder!
How many goodly creatures are there here!
How beauteous mankind is! Oh, brave new world,
That has such people in 't!

(V,i,181-184)

⁶⁷See pp. 27-28 of this paper.

This natural and beautiful expression of Miranda's sounds very strange on the lips of Dryden's Hippolito (the first two and one-half lines) and Dorinda (the last line and one-half) at the appearance of Alonso and his party. Hippolito, Dorinda, and Miranda are more than comic characters when they discuss finding children "in the fields" (V,ii,p.217). They are characters who use coarse and smutty language. Ferdinand, to his credit, has sense enough to take Hippolito aside to "instruct" him regarding women (V,ii,p.218). Shakespeare's innocent couple suffer in the hands of Dryden.

Shakespeare's Prospero describes Alonso as "an enemy/ To me inveterate" (I,ii,121-122), and Antonio as "thy false uncle" (I,ii,77)--speaking to Miranda--but Gonzalo he describes as "a noble Neapolitan" (I,ii,161). Dryden's description is essentially the same. Alonso, Gonzalo, Antonio, and Sebastian--the latter is not in Dryden--move about the island in search of Ferdinand. Sebastian tells Alonso, "You may thank yourself for this great loss" (II,i,123), but Gonzalo reproves Sebastian because "you rub the sore/When you should bring the plaster" (I,ii,138-139). Gonzalo gives a discourse on the ideal government, which would "excel the Golden Age" (II,i,168). Sebastian and Antonio plan to kill the sleeping Alonso and Gonzalo, to free Antonio from "the tribute" he pays Alonso and to make Sebastian King of Naples (II,ii,293). Antonio shows his worth when Sebastian questions his conscience:

Twenty consciences,
That stand 'twixt me and Milan, candied be they,
And melt ere they molest!

(II,ii,278-280)

Sebastian is good at playing follow the leader, for he tells Antonio, "Thy case, dear friend/Shall be my precedent" (II,ii,291-292). Ariel's "awake, awake!" (II,ii,305), sung in Gonzalo's ear, saves the King.

The above action is missing from Dryden, who places Alonso's party at the mercy of devils in the form of Pride, Fraud, Rapine, and Murder, which recount Alonso's and Antonio's sins. Alonso echoes Antonio in being left "all unmanned" (II,iv,pp.147-149). In both plays these weary men are provided with a feast which disappears before the men can eat it, but only in Shakespeare does Ariel address the "three men of sin" (III,iii,53), and reprove them for their wrongs to Prospero. Gonzalo does not hear Ariel, but he correctly diagnoses the effect of the speech on Alonso, Antonio, and Sebastian--they are suffering because of past sins.

Their great guilt,
Like poison given to work a great time after,
Now 'gins to bite the spirits.

(III,iii,104-106)

The later characterization of these men has been treated in the section of this paper dealing with the theme of the play.⁶¹

⁶⁸For their final reconciliation with Prospero, see pp. 18-20 of this paper.

The minor comic characters in the play have been mentioned in various places throughout this discussion. Probably the best selection to use in describing them is the scene (Shakespeare II,ii--Dryden II,i) in which these characters meet for the first time. Shakespeare begins the scene with Caliban cursing Prospero for making his spirits bite and pinch him. Trinculo discovers Caliban hiding from him and says, "He smells like a fish" (II,ii,26). Creeping under Caliban's coat, Trinculo says, "Misery acquaints a man with strange bedfellows" (II,ii,4041). Stephano, drunk, comes in singing "The master, the swabber, the boatswain, and I" (II,ii,48), and discovers the monster with four legs. Stephano, Alonso's butler, and Trinculo, his jester, enter into some comic capers, completely confusing Caliban, who mistakes Stephano for "a brave god" with "celestial liquor" (II,ii,121). Stephano has the wine from the ship hidden in a cave, and becomes the leader of the group because he controls the liquor. Caliban is called a "mooncalf" (II,ii,139), and Stephano "the man i' the moon" (II,ii,142). Caliban will show them where the island's secrets are. He sings his freedom song, signifying that he has left Prospero's service:

'Ban, 'Ban, Cacaliban
 Has a new master.--Get a new man.
 Freedom, heyday! Heyday, freedom! Freedom,
 heyday, freedom!
(II,ii,188-191)

Dryden changes the characters somewhat, adding Ventoso and Mustacho, and giving a somewhat separate status to

Trinculo, the boatswain, whom Caliban worships, instead of Stephano. Stephano, Master of the ship, Mustacho, his mate, and Ventoso, a mariner, drink wine and cry over their lost wives. Ventoso proposes "a government", for then "heaven will drive shipwrecks ashore to make us all rich" (II,1,p.131). Trinculo enters drunk and sings the song given to Stephano in Shakespeare's play. He has escaped upon "a butt of sack" (II,1,p.133), and offers a drink to his friends. Trinculo will have no part of Stephano's rule of the island and declares himself a duke who "will make open war whenever he meets thee" (II,1,p.134). Caliban now enters cursing Prospero, and Trinculo gives him some wine, whereupon Caliban offers to "kneel to him" (II,1,p.135). In addition to showing Trinculo the secrets of the island, Caliban offers to lead him to his sister, who is "beautiful and bright/As the full moon" (II,1,p.136). The scene closes with Caliban's freedom song.

For all practical purposes Ariel may be discussed with little attention to Milcha, who does not appear in Shakespeare's play. In both plays he is a constant companion to Prospero, most of the time invisible to everyone else. Ariel is a spirit that has been freed by Prospero from the "cloven pine" (I,1i,277) in which Sycorax--the mother of Caliban and Sycorax--had bound him. For this favor he has served Prospero through the years; two days' service remain before he is to be freed. In Dryden's play Ariel requests that his love,

Milcha, be allowed to help him. For bringing together Ferdinand and Miranda, Shakespeare's Prospero tells him:

Delicate Ariel,
I'll set thee free for this.
(I,ii,441-442)

Dryden has it as "dear Ariel" (III,v,p.170).

We see that Ariel is efficient in his work, for Prospero commends him (in Shakespeare) for his speech to Alonso and his followers: "Of my instruction hast thou nothing bated/In what thou hadst to say" (III,iii,85-86). Dryden furnishes a good example of Ariel's efficiency, too, and this time Ariel acts without Prospero's orders. Ariel tells Prospero that he has "unbidden, this night . . . flown/O'er almost all the habitable world" (V,i,p.209). His purpose has been to get a potent salve to cure Hippolito's wound. Dryden gives to Ariel a speech at the end of act four that begins:

Harsh discord reigns throughout this fatal isle,
At which good angels mourn, ill spirits smile.
(IV,iv,p.206)

He goes on to summarize the state of affairs for all parties on the island. Perhaps this is a counterpart to Shakespeare's Ariel in the speech to Alonso's party (III,iii,54-82).

Ariel sympathizes with Alonso and his companions in their predicament, telling Prospero, "If you now beheld them, your affections/Would become tender" (I,i,18-19). In the fight between Hippolito and Ferdinand, Ariel does not

intervene; the only time this happens in either play, his reason being that he "was forbidden/By the ill genius of Hippolito" (IV,iv,p.199).

Prospero's final task for Ariel, before setting him free, is to provide a calm sea and good wind for the trip back to Milan. Both plays record it almost exactly. In Shakespeare, Prospero says:

My Ariel, chick
This is thy charge. Then to the elements
Be free, and fare thou well!
(V,i,316-318)

And in Dryden:

My Ariel, that's thy charge! Then to the elements
Be free, and fare thee well.
(V,ii,p.219)

Ariel, like the other characters, has a direct connection with Prospero from beginning to the end of The Tempest, and if Prospero does not always control the action of the other characters, he at least has Ariel around to keep tabs on them for him.

The consideration of imagery in The Tempest will be brief. While there may be in this play "many of our main elements of imagery,"⁶⁹ the dominant imagery is that of sound. Caroline Spurgeon comments that "the play itself is an absolute symphony of sound, and it is through sound that its contrasts and movement are expressed, from the clashing

⁶⁹Knight, Shakespearian Tempest, p. 262.

discords of the opening to the serene harmony of the close."⁷⁰
 There are sounds of winds blowing, music playing, water roaring, and men crying and shouting.

In the opening scene in which Alonso's ship is in danger of crashing, sounds from the sea and the ship are many and varied. From the ship's crew are heard such sounds as "yare, yare! Take in the topsail" (I,1,7), "Lower, lower! Bring her to try with main course" (I,1,37-38), and "Lay her ahold, ahold!" (I,1,52)--all shouts of direction to the crew from the Boatswain. The passengers shout excitedly: "All lost! To prayers to prayers! All lost!" (I,1,55), and "Mercy on us!" "We split, we split!" "Farewell my wife and children!" (I,1,63-65). From the stage directions we learn of "a tempestuous noise of thunder" (I,1). Other passages describe what is taking place, with such as "the master's whistle" (I,1,8), "the storm" (I,1,15), and "this howling" (I,1,39). Surely, this is a noisy beginning. These references are all to Shakespeare's play. In the same scene from Dryden's play there are similar sounds, and a few different expressions may be pointed out. "Boy! Boy!" (I,1,p.112), "Yaw, yaw, here master;" (I,1,p.112), "Cheerly, good hearts!" (I,1,p.113), and "Hands down! Man your main capstern" (I,1,p.113), are all cries from the ship's crew.

⁷⁰Caroline F. E. Spurgeon, Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Teaches Us (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1936), pp. 300-301. Miss Spurgeon's book serves for references to many passages of imagery within the play.

Stephano, the Boatswain, shouts orders: "Cut down the hammocks!" (I,i,p.114), "Is a-weigh!" "Haul cat," "Aft, aft, and loose the mizen!" "Port hard, port!" (I,i,p.115). For the most part Dryden is not concerned with Shakespeare's imagery, and the discussion may center on the earlier drama while pointing out omissions or changes by Dryden.

Prospero describes their journey to Miranda:

There they hoist us,
To cry to the sea that roared to us, to sigh
To the winds, whose pity, sighing back again,
Did us but loving wrong.

(I,ii,148-151)

This is omitted by Dryden's Prospero. Ariel describes the panic which he caused aboard ship: "Dreadful thunderclaps" (I,ii,202), Neptune's "bold waves tremble" (I,ii,205), and Ferdinand cried, "Hell is empty/And all the devils are here" (I,ii,214-215). Only the last of these remarks is recorded by Dryden.

In the comic scene, omitted in Dryden, in which Prospero and Ariel send hounds after Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban, there are the noises of hunters and dogs. Prospero and Ariel call out: "Hey, Mountain, hey!" "Silver! There it goes, Silver!" "Fury, Fury! There, Tyrant, there! Hark, Lark!" (IV,i,56-58). Knight mentions tree imagery in connection with Ariel in the "cloven pine" (I,ii,277).⁷¹ Prospero further threatens to "rend an oak/And peg thee in his knotty

⁷¹Knight, Shakespearian Tempest, p. 261.

entrails" (I,ii,294-295), if Ariel complains again. These are references to minor imagery in the play.

As a critical conclusion to the study of The Tempest, a generalization concerning the two plays may serve as a point of departure. Shakespeare's last play, a popular play in the theater,⁷² is in "some sense the loveliest, of the plays."⁷³ Regarding Dryden's adaptation of it, however, The Tempest "may fairly be called the worst, as it was the most successful of the Restoration alterations prior to 1700."⁷⁴ Because the "sense is royal" and "we feel that we are greater than we know,"⁷⁵ Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch prefers The Tempest to any of Shakespeare's other plays. The theme of reconciliation is seen as "enclosing and transcending all his [Shakespeare's] past themes."⁷⁶

In Dryden's play the popular comic scenes with the drunken sailors, particularly the Duke Trinculo scenes, satirize "the Republican parties."⁷⁷ Summers gives full credit to D'Avenant for achieving this success with the

⁷²Summers, Shakespeare Adaptations, pp.xl-xli.

⁷³Webster, p. 217.

⁷⁴Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, p. 203.

⁷⁵Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch, cited in F. E. Halliday, Shakespeare and His Critics (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., Ltd., 1949), pp. 473-474. Other works to which he prefers The Tempest are: the Odyssey, the Æneid, the Divine Comedy, and Paradise Lost. (The italics are Quiller-Couch's.)

⁷⁶Knight, Shakespearian Tempest, p. 263.

⁷⁷Nicoll, Drama, I, p. 175.

comical sailors, who "have a racy humor and zest in no way derivative from Shakespeare."⁷⁸

Shakespeare's simple plot in the hands of Dryden becomes more complicated, if it is more humorous; and, in the scenes with the young lovers, coarse language replaces the lovely, romantic verse of that innocent pair in the original play. Hazelton Spencer gives this excellent summary of the plot:

Given a situation which only a romantic delicacy could treat vigorously without indecency, and in charge of that situation an absolute master of genteel smut like John Dryden--and of course the baseless fabric of that cloud-capped vision of Shakespeare's melted into thin air, like the insubstantial pageant we rejoice he made it.⁷⁹

In the adapted Tempest Prospero is less the master of affairs than in the original play. Stephano rivals him comically, as duke of the island, and even Ariel acts without Prospero's complete guidance of his actions. The comic characters are more in number with the addition of Ventoso, Mustacho, and Caliban's sister Sycorax, who is the source of much of Trinculo's coarse and smutty humor. Gonzalo is still called "noble" by Prospero, but he is reduced from his role as philosopher and commentator in Shakespeare. In both plays Caliban, only half-human, is "the one unregenerate

⁷⁸Summers, Shakespeare Adaptations, p. xlix.

⁷⁹Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, pp. 203-204.

person on the island."⁸⁰ Just the opposite of Miranda, who learns through her experiences, Caliban has not learned from Prospero. "Since Miranda is life untainted but already suffering, while Caliban is Original Sin, it is inevitable that he should attempt to ravish her."⁸¹ Dryden's Antonio seems to be a more serious penitent than Shakespeare's, or at least, Prospero does not call him an "unnatural" brother in this version. In both plays Alonso is convincing in his repentance. Mellers remarks that Prospero, "far more than Alonso and Gonzalo, learns humility."⁸² He is obviously referring to Shakespeare's Prospero, for Dryden's magician leaves the impression that another Ferdinand-Hippolito duel would bring out just as much wrath again as it did this time.

The mention of Hippolito calls for one final remark on the characters. Adolphus Ward states that the D'Avenant-Dryden Tempest is a

deplorable aberration of which already the Prologue seems to convey a premonition; for it begins with some justly celebrated lines in praise of Shakespeare, and ends with some frank ribaldry apropos of the performance of a boy-character (doubtless Ariel) by a woman.⁸³

⁸⁰Mark Van Doren, Shakespeare (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1937), p. 324.

⁸¹Mellers, Harmonious Meeting, p. 171.

⁸²Ibid., p. 180.

⁸³Adolphus William Ward, A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne, III (London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1899), p. 352.

This is obviously an error, and the boy-character portrayed by a woman is none other than Hippolito. Summers lists five women by name who played the part of Hippolito and gives the dates of performance of The Tempest with each listing.⁸⁴

Victor Hugo interprets The Tempest as "the supreme dènouement, dreamed by Shakespeare for the bloody drama of Genesis. . . . At the close of the piece, when the poet, touched by emotion, throws Antonio into the arms of Prospero, he has made Cain pardoned by Abel."⁸⁵ A present day critic sees "trouble in the truth that any interpretation, even the wildest, is more or less plausible."⁸⁶ Shakespeare may be presenting a picture of the world as a place that is "not simple," or he may be saying that the world, as The Tempest, is "what we all take it to be."⁸⁷

⁸⁴Summers, Dryden, II, pp. 148-151.

⁸⁵Victor Hugo, in Horace Howard Furness, editor, A New Variorum Edition of Shakespeare: The Tempest, eleventh ed. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1920), p. 308.

⁸⁶Van Doren, p. 322.

⁸⁷Ibid., p. 323.

CHAPTER III

Dryden's All for Love, or,
The World Well Lost (1668)

Dryden's All for Love, or, The World Well Lost (1668), an adaptation of Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra (1607), is the second of the three adaptations for consideration in this paper. The theme is that of love opposed by honor. In the structure of his play Shakespeare traversed the whole Mediterranean world, but Dryden's action is contained in the Temple of Isis in Alexandria. The plot of both plays is concerned with events in the lives of Antony and Cleopatra, leading up to and culminating in their deaths; but Dryden limits his account to the events of the last day of Antony's and Cleopatra's life. Much of what we learn of Shakespeare's main characters comes from the lips of the many lesser important people. Dryden limits the number of characters considerably and employs the forces of Ventidius and Dolabella, on the one hand, to win Antony's support in war and Alexas and the serving girls, on the other hand, to win Antony's affections for Cleopatra. In the imagery of food, the sea, power, light, and the vastness of the world there are found significant comments upon the theme of love and honor. The critical summary and conclusions complete the

To which Cleopatra answers:

Excellent falsehood!
(I, i, 40)

The structure of the two plays is very different. Historically the story covers the period from about B. C. 40 to B. C. 30. Shakespeare has his action extend over twelve days with as much as forty days intervening between acts.⁹⁰ Antony and Cleopatra is Shakespeare's longest play, forty-two scenes in all; and, as Van Doren says, "our attention is constantly shifted from one to another portion of the single scene which is the earth."⁹¹ All the world which was known to Plutarch is described in his narrative and in Shakespeare's play--Rome, Egypt, Syria, the whole Mediterranean world. Dryden, in order to conform to the unities of time, place, and action, began his play shortly after the battle of Actium, thus, dealing with the last two acts, mainly, in Antony and Cleopatra. In act two of All for Love, however, Antony recounts events prior to the battle of Actium which are a part of the earlier action in Antony and Cleopatra. These will be discussed in the events of the plot later in this paper.

Smith says that the unity of time is the thing which "controls the differences from Shakespeare's play in subject,

⁹⁰Furness, Antonie and Cleopatra, p. 387.

⁹¹Van Doren, p. 269.

and characterization, and pace, and color."⁹² Dryden makes the action take place within one day's time and cuts out a large list of the characters who appear in Antony and Cleopatra.

In the Preface to All for Love he says:

The Unities of Time, Place and Action [are] more exactly observ'd, than, perhaps, the English & Theater requires. Particularly, the Action is so much one, that it is the only of the kind without Episode, or Underplot; every Scene in the Tragedy conducting to the main design, and every Act concluding with a turn of it.⁹³

In the use of the heroic couplet Dryden was a master; it was he who "set the fashion of the heroic play; he was alone truly eminent in it."⁹⁴ In All for Love, however, he uses blank verse, following Shakespeare. Dryden was not slavish in his imitation of his chosen author, as he maintains in the Preface to All for Love; but he says of himself in following Shakespeare:

In my Stile I have profess'd to imitate the Divine Shakespeare: which that I might perform more freely, I have dis-incumber'd my self from Rhyme. Not that I condemn my former way, but that this is more proper to my present purpose.⁹⁵

Since Shakespeare begins in Antony and Cleopatra at an earlier time in the lives of his hero and heroine, the

⁹²David Nichol Smith, John Dryden (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1950), p. 41.

⁹³Dryden, Works, V, p. 327.

⁹⁴Felix E. Schelling, English Drama (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., 1914), p. 246.

⁹⁵Dryden, Works, V, p. 339.

discussion of the plot will begin with his account. In Egypt Antony and Cleopatra pledge their mutual love to one another. Philo, one of Antony's friends who are discouraged because of his lascivious attentions to Cleopatra, describes him as:

The triple pillar of the world transformed
Into a strumpet's fool.

(I,1,12-13)

Learning of the death of Fulvia, his wife, Antony departs for Rome. Cleopatra mourns for him and would "sleep out this great gap of time" (I,v,4) that Antony is away from her. It is in Rome that another view of Antony is shown; here he assumes full command of his military and governmental responsibilities, being one of the Triumvirs who rule Rome. The "noble Antony" (II,ii,14), stands before Caesar and demands to know what his "being in Egypt" (II,ii,35) is to Caesar. Their quarrel almost leads to a separation when Agrippa, Caesar's friend, suggests a marriage between Antony and Octavia, Caesar's sister, to help smooth things out. Agrippa says:

To hold you in perpetual amity,
To make you brothers and to knit your hearts
With an unslipping knot, take Antony
Octavia to his wife.

(II,ii,127-129)

Dryden, however, has Antony repeat this marriage "deal" as he rehearses events of the past, just prior to the battle with Caesar's forces in Egypt after the defeat at Actium. Antony says:

To set the World at Peace, I took Octavia,
 This Caesar's Sister; in her pride of youth,
 And flow'r of Beauty did I wed that lady.
 (II,1,p.371)

In Shakespeare's play shortly after the wedding, Antony determines:

I will to Egypt,
 And though I make this marriage for my peace,
 I' the East my pleasure lies.
 (II,111,37-39)

On Pompey's galley a party is given which turns out to be a drunken brawl. Menas, Pompey's friend, proposes to kill Lepidus, Antony, and Caesar and make Pompey the sole ruler of the world. To this Pompey replies in words which show his true colors:

Ah, this thou shouldst have done,
 And not have spoken on 't! In me 'tis villainy,
 In thee 't had been good service. Thou must know
 'Tis not my profit that does lead mine honor,
 Mine honor, it. Repent that e'er thy tongue
 Hath so betrayed thine act. Being done unknown,
 I should have found it afterward well done,
 But must condemn it now.

(II,vii,79-86)

Cleopatra learns of Antony's marriage to Octavia, whom he has taken to his home in Athens. After beating the messenger who brought this news Cleopatra sends him back for a description of Octavia. She learns that Octavia is low-voiced, a widow about thirty years old, who has a low forehead and round face, and "she creeps" (III,111,22). This delights Cleopatra! The great battle between Antony and his allies and Caesar's forces develops near Actium. Cleopatra urges Antony to fight the battle at sea, and

Canidius, recognizing Antony's weakness, says of this decision:

So our leader's led,
And we are women's men.
(III,vii,69-70)

In the midst of battle Cleopatra turns her ship back toward Egypt, and Antony follows her as the horse follows a mare, to paraphrase Enobarbus.⁹⁶ The victorious Caesar tries to secure Cleopatra's friendship, and he suggests that she either kill Antony or turn him away from Egypt. Cleopatra ponders this proposal, while Antony remains in Alexandria a defeated man, bitterly dejected and shamed. Enobarbus, loyal friend of Antony until this point, places the entire blame for defeat on Antony, a man

that would make his will
Lord of his reason.
(III,xii,3-4)

After Antony's defeat Enobarbus seeks "some way to leave him [Antony]" (III,xii,201), and he goes over to Caesar's camp. In fact, almost all of Antony's friends reject him. Even the god Hercules, "whom Antony loved/Now leaves him" (IV,iii,16-17).

In such a pathetic condition Antony is found in the Temple of Isis in the opening scene of Dryden's play. Both Shakespeare and Dryden tell of the battle which follows Actium, in which Antony leads the Egyptian forces--in All

⁹⁶Shakespeare, in G. B. Harrison, ed., Shakespeare: Major Plays and the Sonnets, p. 888.

for Love it is the twelve legions under the command of Ventidius, Antony's Captain--to victory over Caesar. Antony had issued his challenge to Caesar for a man to man fight to decide who would rule the empire; and in Antony and Cleopatra the offer is laughed at by Caesar, who says:

He . . . dares me to personal combat,
Caesar to Antony. Let the old ruffian know
I have many other ways to die, meantime
Laugh at his challenge.

(IV,1,3-6)

In Dryden's play Antony tells of this challenge in his discussion with Ventidius:

Ventidius: I heard, you challeng'd him.

Antony: I did, Ventidius.
What think'st thou was his answer? 'twas so tame--
He said he had more ways than one to dye;
I had not.

(II,1,pp.364-365)

All for Love deals with the events of Antony's last day of life. In the ensuing action, Antony is shown as he is pulled back and forth, first towards battle with Caesar leading Ventidius's legions, and then toward Cleopatra and love, as he is charmed and swayed by Alexas, Cleopatra's eunuch. The action hinges on two events. In a last-ditch effort to win Antony to his task of fighting Caesar, Ventidius brings Octavia and her two daughters, and Antony's friend Dolabella to Egypt. Reconciliation is effected between Antony and Octavia, and then Cleopatra meets Octavia for an exchange of epithets.

(Octavia coming up close to her): I would view nearer
That face, which has so long usurp'd my right,

To find th' inevitable charms, that catch
Mankind so sure, that ruin'd my dear Lord.

Cleopatra:

I, you do well to search; for had you known
But half these charms, you had not lost his heart.
(III,i,p.393)

The second event proves to be too much for Antony; and that is the manipulation of Dolabella by Ventidius and Octavia on the one hand, and Alexas and Cleopatra on the other. Sent by Antony to tell Cleopatra that he will depart from Egypt, Dolabella gives a false account of Antony's message. He relates harsh words of denouncement to Cleopatra, but then confesses it was to further his own suit of love. Cleopatra had made up to Dolabella, on the advice of Alexas, to cause Antony to be jealous. Ventidius overhears part of the conversation between Cleopatra and Dolabella and sees him take her hand, and he and Octavia relate this to Antony. Even though both Cleopatra and Dolabella tell Antony the truth about the situation, he drives them away from his sight. So moved is he at the thought of Cleopatra's betrayal that Octavia, sensing his real love, leaves Antony for good.

At this point of despair for all those surrounding Antony and Cleopatra, the Egyptian fleet joined forces with Caesar's men. Both plays deal with essentially the same material from this point on. Cleopatra retires to her monument, and Antony receives a false report of her death. Shakespeare's account has Cleopatra send word of her death

to Antony, but Dryden's account has Alexas giving the false news without Cleopatra's knowledge. Antony, in despair over having lost both the world and his love, gives up all resistance and takes his own life. Again Shakespeare and Dryden are similar in treating this event; only Eros is with Antony in Antony and Cleopatra, and Ventidius in All for Love.

Antony asks his friend to stab him as a last kindness, and Eros replies:

Turn from me then that noble countenance,
 (Antony turns)
 Why, there then. Thus I do escape the sorrow
 Of Antony's death. (Kills himself)
 (IV, xiv, 85, 93-94)

And Ventidius:

Pray turn your face.

Antony: I do: strike home be sure.

Ventidius: Home, as my Sword will reach. (Kills himself)
 (V, 1, p. 429)

Seeing that his friend has shown himself a noble Roman in dying by his own hand, Antony falls on his sword, but does not die instantly.

A somewhat different manner is used by both dramatists in relating Antony's death. Shakespeare has him die in act four, reserving the whole of the fifth act for Cleopatra and her death. Diomed comes into the temple in search for Antony, just after the latter has fallen on his sword. Cleopatra, fearing Antony would take his life when he heard of her death, sends Diomed to prevent this from happening, but he is too late. There is yet life in Cleopatra's lover,

and he is borne away to her monument. After a final kiss Antony dies in Cleopatra's arms with these parting words:

A Roman by a Roman
Valiantly vanquished. Now my spirit is going
I can no more.

(IV,xv,57-59)

In All for Love Cleopatra leaves her monument when it is learned that Alexas has falsely reported her death to Antony. Fearing what Antony will do, she arrives just after he has fallen on his sword. His parting words are:

--This one kiss--more worth
Than all I leave to Caesar. (Dies)
(V,1,p.432)

The death of Cleopatra and her serving women, Iras and Charmian, is the final significant action described in both plays. Having come to Antony in All for Love, Cleopatra determines to die as his wife and, like a Roman, by her own design. She crowns the head of Antony with laurel, which signifies that he is a hero in his death, and dresses herself like a goddess, in order to meet Antony as he first saw her on the river Cydnos. She applies the asp with these words:

Welcome, thou kind Deceiver!
Thou best of thieves; who, with an easie key,
Dost open life, and, unperceiv'd by us,
Ev'n steal us from our selves: discharging so
Death's dreadful office, better than himself,
Touching our limbs so gently into slumber,
That death stands by, deceiv'd by his own Image,
And thinks himself but Sleep.

(V,1,p.435)

Shakespeare's earlier account of her death is similar, but he includes a touch of humor--not found in Plutarch or used by Dryden--with the clown who brings the asps hidden in a

basket of figs. Setting down his basket he says:

I wish you all joy of the worm.
(V,ii,261)

And Cleopatra, applying the asp, after she has prepared herself with robe and crown, says:

Come, thou mortal wretch,
With thy sharp teeth this knot intricate
Of life at once untie.
(V,ii,305-308)

Soldiers enter the monument and find Cleopatra dead.

Plutarch, Shakespeare's main source for this play, records their arrival this way:

One of the soldiers seeing her, angrily said unto her: "Is that well done, Charmian?" "Very well," said she again, "and meet for a princess descended from the race of so many noble kings:" she said no more, but fell down dead hard by the bed.⁹⁷

Shakespeare's account states that a guard enters the monument, and, finding Cleopatra dead, he says to Charmian:

What work is here! Charmian, is this well done?

Charmian answers:

It is well done, and fitting for a Princess
Descended of so many royal Kings.
Ah, soldier. (Dies)
(V,ii,328-331)

Dryden has Cleopatra in the palace at the time of Antony's death, and she remains there for her final moments of life. Serapion, Priest of Isis, and Alexas enter and find Cleopatra dead; and it is Serapion who asks Charmian

⁹⁷Walter W. Skeat, Shakespeare's Plutarch (London: Macmillan and Co., 1892), p. 227.

the question, "Is this well done?" (V,i,p.436). Charmian answers:

Yes, 'tis well done, and like a Queen, that last
Of her great race: I follow her. (Dies)
(V,i,p.436)

In treating the characters in the two plays, more attention will be given to the hero and the heroine, Antony and Cleopatra. The minor characters, especially Ventidius and Dolabella--who share far more of the action in Dryden's play than in Shakespeare's--have somewhat different roles in All for Love; e.g., Enobarbus does not appear at all in Dryden's play, and Ventidius is Antony's closest friend and critic.

Antony, the first character for consideration, is shown from the opening scenes of both plays to be in a state of physical decline and political unimportance. Old, he has sacrificed Rome and the empire--which has not been completely lost yet--for Egypt and the love of Cleopatra.⁹⁸ Shakespeare treats the soldier-lover Antony sympathetically; he is "orator, soldier and debauchee."⁹⁹ The realist, Antony, sees himself as he is (in Shakespeare), and he is man enough to let Caesar's messenger see him in his weakened condition, also.¹⁰⁰ In Rome with Caesar and Lepidus, it is the diplomat,

⁹⁸Harley Granville-Barker, Prefaces to Shakespeare, I (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1946), p. 423.

⁹⁹W. J. Courthope, A History of English Poetry, VI (London: Macmillan and Co., 1911), p. 178.

¹⁰⁰Granville-Barker, p. 424.

Antony, who controls things.¹⁰¹ Even when Caesar accuses him of lying and Lepidus gets excited, Antony remains calm as he says:

No, Lepidus, let him speak.
The honor is sacred which he talks on now,
Supposing that I lacked it.

(II,11,84-86)

Content to patch up the quarrel with Caesar, Antony agrees to marry Octavia. Almost immediately after his show of force with the world rulers, Antony is overcome by sensuous desires and declares his "business" in Rome will be but a means to the end of keeping peace with Caesar. He determines to return to Egypt, no doubt influenced by the soothsayer's report to him that Caesar's "fortunes shall rise higher" (II,111,16) than Antony's. Perhaps the battle at Actium shows the dual nature of Antony as well as any scene in the play. The disgraced soldier who forsook his fleet is the most celebrated lover in the world. Defeat in the one brings highest victory in the other. Cleopatra begs Antony's pardon for leading him away from battle, but he tells her:

Fall not a tear, I say. One of them rates
All that is won and lost. Give me a kiss,
Even this repays me.

(III,x1,69-71)

Dryden's Antony sounds like an old man in his second childhood, with a pretty young wife to cheer him. To

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 427-428.

Ventidius, who asks Antony whether he plans to fight Caesar or not, Antony replies:

Go! Whither? go from all that's excellent!
 Faith, Honor, Virtue, all good things forbid,
 That I should go from her who sets my love
 Above the price of Kingdoms. Give, you Gods,
 Give to your Boy, your Caesar,
 This Rattle of a Globe to play withal,
 This Gu-gau World, and put him cheaply off:
 I'll not be pleas'd with less than Cleopatra.
 (II,i,p.376)

In comparing this Antony with Shakespeare's, Campbell says, "A queen, a siren, a Shakespeare's Cleopatra alone could have entangled Mark Antony whilst an ordinary wanton could have enslaved Dryden's hero."¹⁰²

Oddly enough, in his death Antony attains a measure of the prior greatness which he had achieved as a world ruler and is reconciled to his lover. His, then, is the victorious death of a Roman lover, who sacrifices the rule of a kingdom for the rule of a Queen's heart. Van Doren, discussing Shakespeare's Antony, says that "the virtues of Antony cannot be dramatized because they are one virtue and its name is magnanimity."¹⁰³ Comparing the two Antonies Sir Walter Scott says:

The majesty and generosity of the military hero is happily expressed by both poets; but the awful ruin of grandeur, undermined by passion, and tottering to its fall, is far more striking in the Antony of Shakespeare.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰²Furness, Antonie and Cleopatra, p. 475 (T. Campbell).

¹⁰³Van Doren, p. 278.

¹⁰⁴Walter Scott, in The Works of John Dryden, V, p. 308.

Cleopatra is a powerful queen and lover in both of the plays under discussion. From the beginning of his play Shakespeare pictures her as a strumpet, a whore, whom Antony has taken as his Egyptian mistress upon the death of Julius Caesar. It is in Egypt with Antony that the first picture of her is given. When news comes of the death of Antony's legal wife, Fulvia, Cleopatra remarks:

Now I see, I see,
In Fulvia's death how mine received shall be.
(I,iii,64-65)

Antony, in his remark to Enobarbus, gives us a hint of her natural character when he says:

She is cunning past man's thought.
(I,ii,150)

And cunning she is, indeed; for shortly after Antony's remark about her, and unknown to him, Cleopatra sends Charmian to search for Antony and tells her to

See where he is, who's with him, what he does.
I did not send you. If you find him sad,
Say I am dancing; if in mirth, report
That I am sudden sick. Quick, and return.
(I,iii,2-5)

Ruthless and possessed of a terrible temper, Cleopatra drags by the hair the messenger who brings word of Antony's marriage to Octavia. At Actium it is she who makes the decision, which Antony carries out, to fight Caesar on the sea rather than on land. However, her love for Antony is not to be questioned. After the defeat at Actium it is Cleopatra and the thought of Caesar possessing her that spark Antony to victory on the following day; "I and my sword will

earn our chronicle" (III,xii,175). While her creative purpose to dominate Antony is so successful that he is destroyed at Actium, the Antony she re-makes is one in whom war and love are perfectly fused; and "these wars for Egypt" are the only ones worthy of the great reputation which he had.¹⁰⁵

B. Ten Brink has said of Cleopatra that she is a "courtesan of genius, . . . practiced in all the arts of seduction."¹⁰⁶ She charms information out of Dolabella and lies to Caesar about her wealth.¹⁰⁷ Much of what is learned about Cleopatra comes from the account of others, and nowhere do we get a better description of Cleopatra than from the account of her visit to Antony in the famous barge scene on the river Cydnus. Plutarch's account reads this way:

Her barge in the river of Cydnus; the poop whereof was of gold, the sails of purple, and the oars of silver, which kept stroke in rowing after the sound of the music of flutes, howboys, cithernes, viols, and such other instruments as they played upon in the barge. And now for the person of her self, she was laid under a pavillion of cloth of gold of tissue, apparelled and attired like the goddess Venus, commonly drawn in picture: and hard by her, on either hand of her, pretty fair boys apparelled as painters do set forth god Cupid,

¹⁰⁵Michael Lloyd, "Cleopatra as Isis," in Shakespeare Survey, Vol. 12, Allardyce Nicoll, ed. (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1959), p. 89.

¹⁰⁶Furness, Anthonie and Cleopatra, p. 494 (B. Ten Brink, Five Lectures on Shakespeare, p. 90).

¹⁰⁷Granville-Barker, p. 444.

with little fans in their hands, with the which
they fanned wind upon her.¹⁰⁸

Shakespeare gives this account of Cleopatra to Enobarbus,
Antony's friend, who relates to Agrippa the details of the
first meeting between Antony and Cleopatra. Enobarbus tells
Agrippa:

The barge she sat in, like a burnished throne,
Burned on the water. The poop was beaten gold,
Purple the sails, and so perfumed that
The winds were lovesick with them. The oars were
silver,
Which to the tune of flutes kept stroke and made
The water which they beat to follow faster,
As amorous of their strokes. For her own person,
It beggared all description. She did lie
In her pavilion, cloth of gold of tissue,
O'er picturing that Venus where we see
The fancy outwork nature. On each side her
Stood pretty dimpled boys, like smiling Cupids,
With divers-colored fans, whose wind did seem
To glow the delicate cheeks which they did cool,
And what they undid did.

(II,ii,196-210)

Dryden, however, has Antony relate his own first meeting with
Cleopatra to Dolabella, who had been with him at the time,
and who was himself smitten with Cleopatra. Antony begins:

Her Gally down the Silver Cydnos row'd
The Tackling Silk, the Streamers wav'd with Gold,
The gentle Winds were lodg'd in Purple sails:
Her Nymphs, like Nereids, round her Couch, were plac'd;
Where she, another Sea-born Venus, lay. . . .
She lay, and leant her cheek upon her hand,
And cast a look so languishingly sweet,
As if, secure of all beholders hearts,
Neglecting she could take 'em: Boys, like Cupids,
Stood fanning, with their painted wings, the winds
That plaid about her face: but if she smil'd,
A darting glory seem'd to blaze abroad:
That mens desiring eyes were never weary'd;
But hung upon the object:

(III;1,pp.383-384)

¹⁰⁸Skeat, pp. 174-175.

Cleopatra's nobility and courage are best reflected in her death.¹⁰⁹ She chooses to die "of the high Roman fashion" (IV,xv,87), and Goddard says that the Cleopatra of act five in Shakespeare is a new Cleopatra. Her false report of her own death causes Antony to take his own life, and yet he does not chide her. This is the determining factor in Cleopatra's final change, which culminates in her death. She becomes a Roman, "not an Imperial Roman like Caesar, but a noble Roman"¹¹⁰ like Antony. Spencer says she has the best death scene (in Shakespeare's play) given to a woman, and one of the best of all tragic figures. The play Antony and Cleopatra is "chiefly her play."¹¹¹

The main difference between the Cleopatra of Shakespeare and the one of Dryden seems to be that in All for Love Cleopatra is no longer the dark "Egypt," who is also the "serpent of the old Nile" of Shakespeare's play. Rather, she is a woman in love.¹¹² And while the Cleopatra of Dryden's tragedy is "tenderly beautiful,"¹¹³

Shakespeare's Cleopatra is like one of those graceful and fantastic pieces of antique Arabesque, in

¹⁰⁹Granville-Barker, p. 447.

¹¹⁰Harold C. Goddard, The Meaning of Shakespeare (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1951), pp. 584-586.

¹¹¹Spencer, Art and Life, pp. 341-345.

¹¹²Courthope, p. 418; Spencer, Art and Life, p. 341.

¹¹³Furness, Anthonie and Cleopatra, p. 501 (Mrs. Jameson, Characteristics of Women, p. 120).

which all anomalous shapes and impossible and wild combinations of form are woven together in regular confusion and most harmonious discord.¹¹⁴

Octavia, sister of Caesar and wife of Mark Antony, is a minor character in both dramas. Yet, since she is Antony's wife and legally stands in the way of his relationship with Cleopatra, her part has significance. Described by Mecaenas as "beauty, wisdom, and modesty" (II,ii,246), and by Antony as "the swan's down-feather" (III,ii,48), Octavia is to serve as the bond of peace and friendship between Antony and Octavius Caesar. It is the shrewd and cynical Enobarbus who observes that:

The band
That seems to tie their friendship together will be
the very strangler of their amity.
(II,vi,128-130)

Cleopatra stands opposed by Octavia, the symbol of virtue,¹¹⁵ and Dryden goes so far as to have Octavia appear in Egypt where, after winning Antony to herself, she meets Cleopatra face to face. Calling this "the greatest error in the contrivance"¹¹⁶ of the play, Dryden concedes that the pity evoked for Octavia and her children took from the compassion he had reserved for Antony and Cleopatra. To justify his inclusion of this episode, Dryden says that Octavia thought she had won Antony, and Cleopatra was not afraid

¹¹⁴Ibid.

¹¹⁵Ibid., p. 505.

¹¹⁶Dryden, Works, V, 327.

to battle with her; "for after all, though the one were a Roman, and the other a Queen, they were both Women."¹¹⁷ On this point Shakespeare has Cleopatra discuss in act five her plight as a captive of Caesar; and she says that she will not be held at Caesar's house:

Nor once be chastised with the sober eye
Of dull Octavia.

(V,ii,54-55)

Enobarbus is loyal to Antony after Actium, something even Canidius, Antony's Lieutenant General, is not able to be. But Enobarbus's tragedy is that "of a cynic mind coupled with a soft heart."¹¹⁸ He does see further into events and consequences than other characters, as is evident from his prediction concerning the marriage of Antony and Octavia.¹¹⁹ It is Antony's generosity to him after his betrayal of Antony that breaks Enobarbus's heart and causes him to commit suicide. He gives us his own epitaph:

O Antony,
Nobler than my revolt is infamous,
Forgive me in thine own particular,
But let the world rank me in register
A master leaver and a fugitive.

(IV,ix,18-22)

In the play by Dryden Enobarbus does not appear at all.

Since Dolabella and Ventidius both act as friends of Antony, they will be discussed together. In Shakespeare's

¹¹⁷Ibid.

¹¹⁸Granville-Barker, p. 452.

¹¹⁹See Antony and Cleopatra, II,vi,128-130.

play Ventidius appears in only one scene, as victor in Syria over the Parthians. Dryden may have taken a hint from Shakespeare's Ventidius for the character by that name in All for Love. In Antony and Cleopatra Ventidius tells Silius:

Who does i' the wars more than his Captain can
 Becomes his Captain's Captain. And ambition,
 The soldier's virtue, rather makes choice of loss
 Than gain which darkens him.
 I could do more to do Antonius good,
 But 'twould offend him, and in his offense
 Should my performance perish.

(III,1,21-27)

In this same play Dolabella appears in the final act as a friend of Caesar, who evidently took to Cleopatra, because he gave her the information that Caesar planned to carry her and her children back to Rome with him. Dryden incorporates both Dolabella and Ventidius into his play, and the latter is with Antony from the opening scenes of the play until the time of their deaths, only moments apart.

Ventidius appears after the defeat at Actium and persuades Antony to lead his twelve legions in an attempt to defeat Caesar. But almost immediately the crafty Alexas, sensing that Ventidius will lead Antony away from Cleopatra, arranges for Cleopatra to be present at the time for the soldiers to depart. Ventidius moans when Cleopatra wins Antony over to herself again:

O Women! Women! Women! all the gods
 Have not such pow'r of doing good to Man,
 As you of doing harm.

(II,1,p.376)

The last of Ventidius's plans to win Antony, however, is a masterful stroke, or so it seems; he brings Dolabella from Caesar's army, Octavia and the two daughters of Antony from Rome, and they swing the pendulum back again to "honor" and "Rome."

All for naught! The jealousy of Dolabella and over-persuasion by Ventidius cause Antony to grieve for Cleopatra, and Octavia parts company with him. Dolabella leaves, being dismissed by Antony, but Ventidius and Antony determine to fight Caesar to the death.

Sir Walter Scott says that the Antony and Ventidius scene in act one should have followed some later action, for it is the best in the play and "what follows is necessarily inferior in force."¹²⁰ Indeed, Dryden says he prefers this scene to any other which he wrote in this or any other play. Spencer does not admire Ventidius who he thinks acts as a chorus to Antony, "commenting bathetically on his hero's emotions."¹²¹

Alexas, Queen Cleopatra's eunuch, has a regular servant's part in Antony and Cleopatra. Dryden, however, portrays him as the representative of Cleopatra who constantly battles Ventidius for possession of Antony's loyalty. Alexas contrives the scheme to have gifts brought to Antony and his men before they go to fight Caesar; and, when Antony

¹²⁰Scott, in The Works of John Dryden, V, 310.

¹²¹Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, p. 211.

is unable to tie the bracelet on his arm, Alexas provides Cleopatra to tie the bracelet and Antony's heart. Eventually, Alexas proves false to both Cleopatra and Antony in a vain attempt to save himself.

Let me think:
 What can I say, to save my self from death?
 No matter what becomes of Cleopatra.
 (V,1,p.423)

Alexas is taken into custody by Serapion, Priest of Isis, after his false report of Cleopatra's death led to Antony's and, finally, to Cleopatra's death.

The serving women, Iras and Charmian, are mentioned in both stories, and their main contribution involves the scene of Cleopatra's death, already mentioned in the plot of the play. Octavius Caesar is a young man who constantly opposes Antony, and he is the "principal agent in Antony's predestined downfall."¹²² Although he is mentioned in All for Love, Casear does not appear in the action of that play. Thus, Dryden's Antony becomes more the master of his own fate, and his ruin is his own doing, as he is unaided by Caesar.

The dominating imagery in Antony and Cleopatra is "magnificence and grandeur," and its purpose is to build the proportions of Antony until, as the "'demi-atlas of the world,"¹²³ the rest of the earth is as a toy to him.

¹²²Furness, Antonie and Cleopatra, pp. 506-507.
 (Paul Stapfer, Shakespeare and Classical Antiquity, p. 409).

¹²³Spurgeon, Shakespeare's Imagery, p. 350.

Dryden's All for Love contains "decadent pleasure . . . and vigorous strength"¹²⁴ which reminds one of the same type of grandeur as that in Shakespeare's play. Dryden's is not, however, the whole known world of the Mediterranean which Shakespeare presents; for the unity of place keeps the action of All for Love in the city of Alexandria.

Rome stands for daylight, the practical world and power; while Egypt stands for the mysterious, evil world, and is more powerful.¹²⁵ The Mediterranean Sea is constantly mentioned in Shakespeare's play. Antony will fight Caesar "by sea, by sea" (III,viii,42). After Actium Antony regroups his navy for battle, and they are "threatening most sealike" (IV,i,171). Caesar expects Antony to fight on land, for Antony's naval force "to man his galleys" (IV,xi,4) has been lost. Antony swears by "the fire/That quickens Nilus' slime" (I,iii,68-69), and Cleopatra is his "serpent of old Nile" (I,v,25). In All for Love Ventidius has led the Parthian forces down "to the Nile" (I,1,p.355), and Antony stands looking over the "Egyptian galleys" (V,i,p.420), trying to decide how to fight Caesar.

Food is mentioned by Shakespeare's Cleopatra, "music, the moody food of love" (II,v,i); and Enobarbus describes

¹²⁴Moody E. Prior, "Tragedy and the Heroic Play," in Bernard N. Schilling, ed., Dryden (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1963), p.100.

¹²⁵Huntington Cairns, Allen Tate, and Mark Van Doren, Invitation to Learning (New York: Random House, 1941), p.208.

Cleopatra's going into battle at Actium as the mare running into battle with the horse, which follows its appetite and leaves the battle.¹²⁶ Van Doren says that in the vastness of the empire "there is no terror because there is so much light,"¹²⁷ and this light shines and plays on land, the rivers, and the sea.

Shakespeare combined an "almost literal fidelity to history" with adherence to the "truth of nature" and adds the "merit of skillful dramatic management"¹²⁸ to his story of Antony and Cleopatra. Webster calls it the "most subtle and complex example of Shakespeare's later art."¹²⁹ Coleridge has suggested that this play should rival Macbeth, Hamlet, Othello, and King Lear.¹³⁰ Goddard does not agree with Coleridge on this point, but claims that it "best represents all aspects of his genius."¹³¹

Dryden hoped that by following Shakespeare he had achieved his best drama. Many critics and scholars agree that he has. T. S. Eliot goes so far as to say:

That later blank verse dramatists have
written better verse when they wrote more

¹²⁶Shakespeare, in Harrison, ed., Shakespeare: Major Plays and the Sonnets, p. 888.

¹²⁷Van Doren, p. 267.

¹²⁸Furness, Anthonie and Cleopatra, p. 478 (T. Campbell).

¹²⁹Webster, p. 193.

¹³⁰Samuel T. Coleridge, The Complete Works of Samuel Taylor Coleridge, IV, ed., Professor Shedd (New York: Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1853), p. 105.

¹³¹Goddard, p. 570.

like Dryden, and worse blank verse when they were conscious of Shakespeare.¹³²

All for Love has different characterization, is "structurally different," and has a new form for the story of the famous lovers, Antony and Cleopatra.¹³³

On the one hand, Antony and Cleopatra contains "perhaps the richest poetry Shakespeare wrote."¹³⁴ On the other hand, it has very little plot. Based on the simplicity of the plot which Dryden achieved in his play, Sir Walter Scott prefers it to that of Shakespeare.¹³⁵ The German critic G. G. Gervinus has said that there is no great character in Antony and Cleopatra,¹³⁶ but certainly this does not take into consideration Antony and Cleopatra in their death scenes.¹³⁷

Van Doren discusses the lack of fear of death, which is so necessary for tragedy, in the lovers of Shakespeare's play. In fact, they "embrace it as a third lover."¹³⁸ Bradley says that the "catastrophe saddens us so little;

¹³²T. S. Eliot, Dryden (New York: Terence and Elsa Holliday, 1932), p. 35.

¹³³Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, p. 210.

¹³⁴van Doren, p. 273.

¹³⁵Scott, in The Works of John Dryden, V, 308.

¹³⁶Furness, Antonie and Cleopatra, p. 491 (G. G. Gervinus, Shakespeare, p. 315).

¹³⁷van Doren, p. 277.

¹³⁸Ibid., p. 278.

it pains us that we should feel so much triumph and pleasure."¹³⁹ Both plays have moral overtones. In fact, Dryden speaks of the moral in his Preface, and says that that is what prompted him and, no doubt, other writers to concern themselves with the story of Antony and Cleopatra. "In Antony and Cleopatra, it is proclaimed with a thousand tongues that self-indulgence and achievement are incompatible."¹⁴⁰ All for Love "can be read as teaching wholesome lessons of restraint by showing the unhappy end of persons who gave way to the desires of unfaithful love."¹⁴¹

Praised for his diction, Dryden is criticized for his show of force which leaves his characters deficient in action.¹⁴² The scenes are largely confrontations of characters filled with rhetoric, and real action is lacking.¹⁴³

In praise of his master, whom he had copied, Dryden says of Shakespeare:

It is almost a miracle that much of his language remains so pure; and that he who began dramatic poetry amongst us untaught by any, and, as Ben Jonson tells us, without Learning, should by the

¹³⁹Furness, Antonie and Cleopatra, p. 490 (A. C. Bradley, Quarterly Review, April 1906, p. 350).

¹⁴⁰Ibid., p. 491 (Goethe: Shakespeare und Kein Ende).

¹⁴¹Bernard N. Schilling, Dryden and the Conservative Myth (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), p. 89.

¹⁴²Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, pp. 221-222.

¹⁴³Ibid., p. 220.

force of his own genius perform so much, that in a manner he has left no praise for any who come after him.¹⁴⁴

In Antony and Cleopatra love and honor are played against each other very successfully. Until he turns from the battle at Actium, Antony, if he does allow passion to rule his better reason at times, is able to leave Cleopatra-- "this enchanting Queen" (I,ii,132)--when business in Rome presses him. It is, of course, in this condition of abandoned reason that Dryden begins his account of Antony, and in this respect he is not unfaithful to the picture of Antony presented by Shakespeare. After Ventidius persuades him to leave Cleopatra--whom Antony loves beyond "all, but honour" (I,i,p.359)--and Antony refuses to go for more than a day's battle, honor has no more claim on him. The efforts of Ventidius, Dolabella, and Octavia to arouse something of the old Antony are wholly unconvincing. For Antony it is truly "all for love" from this point on.

Dryden's changes in Shakespeare's play were highly regarded, especially for the unity of action, during the Restoration period. The unhistorical and highly improbable action of having Octavia confront Cleopatra in Egypt spoils the already impoverished realistic attitude of the play. Conversely, Shakespeare introduces humor and adds realism with the clown who wishes Cleopatra "all joy of the worm"

¹⁴⁴Dryden, Works, V, 339.

(V,ii,261). Shakespeare's action is difficult to follow, especially from the standpoint of staging, and no doubt Dryden gains by limiting the action to one setting and cutting out many of the minor characters. Enobarbus's witty, cynical commentary on events concerning Antony is sadly missed.

All for Love is too much a series of confrontations between Antony and the two factions which vie for his attention to present a large picture of life. There is much talk about action but little of it in the play. Dryden purposely limited the scope of his action to achieve his purpose of presenting the famous lovers who sacrifice the world for love. The characters fail to be convincing, however, and they seem to fit into the pattern expected of them without controlling their actions--they react instead of acting.

Dryden's blank verse is good, and here he imitates Shakespeare admirably, as in the famous barge scene. The imagery of food, water, light, and vastness in Antony and Cleopatra is lost in All for Love. Most of the critics agree that, while this is Dryden's best drama, yet it cannot come up to Shakespeare's.

CHAPTER IV

Dryden's Troilus and Cressida, or, Truth Found too Late (1679)

Troilus and Cressida, or, Truth Found too Late (1679), based on Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida (1601), is the third and final of Dryden's adaptations of Shakespearean plays. Dryden, finding this theme of disillusioned love unsatisfactory, has his faithful heroine only seem to be false, though his "heroic" Trojans, Troilus and Hector, are both brutally murdered. The action occurs between the Grecian camp and Troy, and in the adapted version it is concerned more with love than with war. Shakespeare's imagery of time and food is not employed by Dryden, except where it is borrowed from his source, and then it is not further developed. There is not as much critical opinion on this play as there is for the two previously discussed plays, and what there is generally takes a dim view of the play as a whole.

In his introduction to Dryden's Troilus and Cressida Walter Scott says "that the delicacy of Chaucer's ancient tale has suffered even in the hands of Shakespeare, but in those of Dryden it has undergone a far deeper deterioration."¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁵Scott, ed., The Works of John Dryden, VI, 245. Scott cites Mr. Godwin as the source of his remark.

The "delicacy" to which he refers is, of course, the love of Troilus for Cressida, his winning of her love, and her falseness to Troilus as treated by Chaucer in the courtly love tradition of the fourteenth century. Love and war are related themes in Troilus and Cressida, and, while Shakespeare divides his attention between both of these, Dryden treats love as the primary theme.

From the first time that Shakespeare's Troilus is presented, the theme of the play is evident. He unarms in his quarters in the Trojan palace as he says:

Why should I war without the walls of Troy,
That find such cruel battle here within?
(I,1,2-3)

Dryden's account is similar:

Why should I fight without the Trojan walls,
Who, without fighting, am o'erthrown within?
(I,11,p.293)

When Aeneas comes with word of Paris's injury in battle and inquires of Troilus's reason for not fighting, Troilus answers, "Womanish it is to be from thence" (I,1,110). Aeneas comments on the "good sport . . . out of town" (I,1,116), to which Troilus replies:

Better at home if 'would I might' were 'may.'
But to the sport abroad.
(I,1,117-118)

Dryden's Aeneas wants to dance, and Troilus is agreeable:

I'll make one,
And try to lose an anxious thought or two
In heat of action.
Thus, coward-like, from love to war I run,
Seek the less danger, and the greater shun.
(I,11,p.296)

Hector's challenge in Shakespeare¹⁴⁶ to the noblest of the Greeks is based on love and honor. He will fight any man:

That holds his honor higher than his ease,
 . . . that loves his mistress more than in
 confession
 With truant vows to her own lips he loves,
 And dare avow her beauty and her worth
 In other arms than hers.

(I,iii,266,269-272)

In discussing with Hector, and before Priam and other Trojans, the necessity of keeping Helen, Troilus (in both plays) says that "she is a theme of honor and renown."¹⁴⁷

Thersites, a scurrilous Greek, condemns both the Greeks and the Trojans as "those that war for a placket" (II,iii,22-23), which becomes, in Dryden's play, "those that fight, as we do, for a cuckold's queen" (III,1,p.324). He comments later on in Shakespeare, but not in Dryden, "All the argument is a cuckold and a whore," and "war and lechery confound all!" (II,iii,77,82).

Helen and Paris, in bed when Shakespeare's Pandarus visits Paris on behalf of Troilus, comment on love. Helen requests a song of Pandarus, saying:

Let thy song be love. This love will undo us all.
 O Cupid, Cupid, Cupid!

(III,1,119-120)

¹⁴⁶Dryden's account is similar. See II,1,p.308.

¹⁴⁷Shakespeare (II,ii,199); Dryden (II,1,p.304).

Paris says of Pandarus:

He eats nothing but doves, love, and that breeds
 hot blood, and hot blood begets hot thoughts, and
 hot thoughts beget hot deeds, and hot deeds is love.
 (III,1,40-42)

In Dryden's adaptation Pandarus relates this visit to Paris and Helen to Troilus, and he describes them as being in bed kissing, and he mentions "Helen's lily-white, round, plump arm" (II,11,p.313)--this he does in order to intensify Troilus's desire for Cressida. Later, on the night that Troilus and Cressida spend together at Pandarus's house, Pandarus hires musicians to sing for the young lovers, and he calls on them "in the name of love" (III,11,p.337).

Shakespeare's Cressida is false to her lover, and the theme of love becomes for Troilus disillusionment. His last mention of his love for Cressida is to Diomedes, whom he meets in battle wearing the sleeve which Troilus has given Cressida. Troilus speaks:

Proud Diomed, believe,
 I come to lose my arm or win my sleeve.
 (V,111,95-96)

From this time on Troilus's thoughts are devoted to war with the Greeks, and revenge for Hector's death.

Dryden's Troilus thinks "'tis plain" (IV,11,p.363) that Cressida is false to him when he sees her give his ring to Diomedes. Cressida determines to "be justified, or die" (V,11,p.384); and in her death Troilus finds out, too late, that his love has been true to him.

In the Preface to Troilus and Cressida Dryden tells exactly what he has changed in Shakespeare's play. "His whole style is so pestered with figurative expressions, that it is as affected as it is obscure."¹⁴⁸ He also "refines his language, which before was obsolete."¹⁴⁹ Both dramatists employ blank verse and occasionally use a rhyming couplet for an important speech or at the end of a scene; particularly is this true when the lovers are involved. Cressida, speaking of her love for Troilus, says:

Therefore this maxim out of love I teach:
Achievement is command; ungained, beseech.
(I,ii,318-319)

In this same scene in Dryden, which is after Pandarus has left his niece alone, Cressida speaks plainly of her love for Troilus. She says:

'Tis like an infant, froward in his play,
And what he most desires, he throws away.
(I,ii,p.302)

If the structure of Shakespeare's play is "both personally experimental and consciously designed to please the gentleman,"¹⁵⁰ then this fact, combined with its theme of love and war, would certainly appeal to the Restoration theater and its audiences. It is also easy to account for

¹⁴⁸Dryden, Works, VI, 255.

¹⁴⁹Ibid., p. 256.

¹⁵⁰Robert Kimbrough, Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida and its Setting (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1964), p. 74.

the additional speeches dealing with heroism and honor for the sake of Helen and Cressida which Dryden includes in his play. The Hector-Troilus quarrel (III,ii), the Andromache-Hector scene added by Dryden (II,i) are all scenes which emphasize love and honor in war which is typical of "heroic" drama in the Restoration period.

The setting for both plays is the Greek camp outside the Trojan walls and Priam's palace in Troy. Shakespeare presents the action with little concern for the unities of time, place, and action. Dryden speaks of his own endeavors concerning the unities:

I made with no small trouble, an order and connection of all the scenes . . . [so] that there is a coherence of the main design; no leaping from Troy to the Grecian tents, and thence back again, in the same act, but a due proportion of time allowed for every motion.¹⁵¹

With the theme of love and war in mind and the changes in the structure of the play as adapted by Dryden, attention is now focused on the plot of Troilus and Cressida. Again Dryden is the best person to consult for his changes in the plot from that of Shakespeare's play.

I new-modelled the plot, threw out many unnecessary persons, improved those characters which were begun and left unfinished, as Hector, Troilus, Pandarus, and Thersites, and added that of Andromache. . . . The scenes of Pandarus and Cressida, of Troilus and Pandarus, of Andromache with Hector and the Trojans, in the second act, are wholly new; together with that of Nestor and Ulysses with Thersites, and that of Thersites with Ajax and Achilles. . . . In the third

¹⁵¹Dryden, Works, VI, 256.

[act] . . . I cannot omit the last scene in it, which is almost half the act, betwixt Troilus and Hector [which is new].

.
The beginning scenes of the fourth act are either added or changed wholly by me; the middle of it is Shakespeare altered, and mingled with my own; three or four of the last scenes are altogether new. And the whole fifth act, both the plot and the writing, are my own additions.¹⁵²

Troilus's profession of his love for Cressida to Pandarus, her uncle, and Pandarus's praises of Troilus to Cressida as they watch the Trojans returning from battle, followed by her own private profession of love for Troilus, are similarly used by Dryden in his play; but they follow, rather than precede, the scene in the Grecian camp wherein Agamemnon learns from Ulysses the reason for the failure of the Greek army in battle with the Trojans. In his famous speech on degree Ulysses in Shakespeare's play tells Agamemnon that everything observes degree, but

Oh, when degree is shaken,
Which is the ladder to all high designs,
The enterprise is sick!

(I,iii,101-103)

Dryden uses only a small portion of this speech, and to Diomedes is given the last part of Ulysses's original speech.

The general's disdained
By him one step beneath, he by the next;
That next by him below: So each degree
Spurns upward at superior eminence.
Thus our distempers are their sole support;
Troy in our weakness lives, not in her strength.

(I,i,p.291)

¹⁵²Ibid., pp. 256-259.

Concerning the plot of the second act, Dryden followed Shakespeare in the general line of action, but he developed whole new scenes. As Shakespeare's Trojans argue for and against keeping Helen, so do Dryden's, and they come to the same conclusion--Helen must stay now as a point of Trojan honor. Dryden adds to the development of the plot by having Hector's little son Astyanax suggest "a challenge/ To Agamemnon, Ajax, or Achilles" (II,1,p.305). From this Hector gets the idea of his own challenge to the Greeks. Dryden's scene (II,11) between Pandarus and Cressida, and between Pandarus and Troilus is not in Shakespeare, except in Pandarus's description of his visit to Paris to make Troilus's excuse for not dining at home (Shakespeare III,11), and the opening remarks as the two men meet. Pandarus tells Cressida that if she were his "own daughter a thousand times over" (II,11,p.311) he would still give her to Troilus. With Troilus Pandarus has some fun describing how beautiful Helen's "white hand" is, but compared to Cressida, Helen is a "tawny moor" (II,11,p.313). Thersites's new role with Ulysses and Nestor, Ajax and Achilles, will be discussed in the character analysis in this paper.

To create the argument between Troilus and Hector in the third act,¹⁵³ stemming from the news that Cressida is to be exchanged with the Greeks in return for Antenor's delivery

¹⁵³Dryden, Works, VI, 257-258.

to the Trojans, Dryden has Hector, instead of Aeneas, bring the "most unwelcome news" to Troilus (III,ii,p.339). Troilus indicates he will "not be a woman" (III,ii,p.340), but as Hector gently breaks the news that "Cressida for Antenor is changed" (III,ii,p.341), the brothers quarrel and offer to part. Hector instructs Troilus to use "the name of brother, but of friend no more" (III,ii,p.345). Grieved because "I have been to blame" (III,ii,p.346), Troilus calls Hector back, and the brothers are reconciled. Shakespeare's Troilus wishes only to know "is it so concluded?" (IV,ii,68). It is enough for him to know that "Priam and the general state of Troy" (IV,ii,69) approve the exchange.

Troilus and Cressida's parting scene is similar in both plays. Dryden's Troilus sends Pandarus out to "gain one minute more" (IV,i,p.350) for him to be with Cressida. They pledge to "be true" (IV,ii,76), and Shakespeare's Diomedes receives Cressida as his mistress, telling Troilus "to her own worth/She shall be prized" (IV,ii,135-136). The battle between Ajax and Hector is the same, essentially, in both dramas. When Troilus approaches Calchas's tent with Ulysses to observe Diomedes and Cressida, Dryden's plot takes its turn away from Shakespeare's. Cressida in Dryden is advised by Calchas "to dissemble love to Diomed" (IV,ii, p.362) in order to give them an opportunity to escape back to Troy. While the action is similar in tone to Shakespeare's, Cressida lets us know she is different when she tells Diomedes

good night and, in an aside, says:

I hope for ever:
Thus to deceive deceivers is no fraud.
(IV,ii,p.364)

Again Dryden inserts another part which differs from his source, as Pandarus comes to Troilus with news that all the Greeks have been kissing Cressida "pitter patter, as thick as hail stones" (IV,ii,p.366). Troilus then knows that "Hector said true" (IV,ii,p.366), and he sends Pandarus "hence from my sight" (IV,ii,p.367). Troilus and Diomedes quarrel over Cressida in the adapted version, and Aeneas's sword is the only thing that keeps them from fighting "at midnight, at the murderer's hour" (IV,ii,p.370).

In the final act of his play Dryden has Hector dissuaded by Andromache from honoring his vow of the day before to meet Achilles. Hector agrees:

Therefore to thee, and not to fear of fate,
. . . give I this day.
(V,i,p.374)

But Troilus arrives with news that "the Grecians think you fear Achilles/And that Polyxena has begged your life" (V,i,p.375). Hector will "not be hindered" from fighting, but will search for "that large-sized boasting fool/Who dares presume my life is in his gift" (V,i,p.376).

Troilus has Diomedes at the end of his sword when Cressida cries "hold your hand" (V,ii,p.385). Her plea on the basis of her deceiving Diomedes is unconvincing to Troilus, especially as Diomedes says "she was honourable to

her word" (V,ii,p.386). Cressida realizes the uselessness of her plea of innocence, cries "enough, my lord" (V,ii,p.387), and stabs herself. Troilus's vengeance on Diomedes is only described by Dryden's stage directions; but he (Troilus) is, in turn, killed, as Hector has been killed, by Achilles and all his host.

The characters in the two plays are developed differently by the two authors. "Shakespeare took considerable care in creating his characters. Three in particular stand out: Thersites, Ulysses, and Cressida."¹⁵⁴ Dryden says that of Shakespeare's characters in this play "Pandarus and Thersites are promising enough; but as if he grew weary of his task after an entrance or two, he lets them fall."¹⁵⁵ Dryden altered most of the characters which he treated in his play, with the possible exceptions of Ajax and Achilles, who do exchange words over which one of them will meet Hector in battle. Ulysses and the other Greeks have much more limited parts in Dryden's play. Troilus and Hector are built up as heroes, in the Restoration sense of the word, through the Hector-Troilus argument in act three. Hector, however, is subject to the beck and call of Andromache in Dryden's play, and even his little son steals his thunder by first offering to challenge the Greeks. Pandarus and

¹⁵⁴Harrison, p. 657.

¹⁵⁵Dryden, Works, VI, 256.

Thersites, whose parts in act two are lengthened, are not more bawdy and scurrilous than in Shakespeare. Paris is mentioned but does not appear in Dryden's play. Cressida, of course, in her faithfulness to Troilus, only seeming to be false to him, is the character on whom the alteration is primarily based.

Troilus, the first character for consideration, sometimes seems to act his age and at other times to belie his less than "three-and-twenty" years (I,ii,255).¹⁵⁶ As an instance of the latter we may look at Troilus in his first appearance in Shakespeare's play:

But I am weaker than a woman's tear,
Tamer than sleep, fonder than ignorance,
Less valiant than the virgin in the night,
And skill-less as unpracticed infancy.
(I,1,9-12)¹⁵⁷

"Troilus in at least one place is given the language to speak wonderfully of his love:"¹⁵⁸

I am giddy, expectation whirls me round.
The imaginary relish is so sweet
That it enchants my sense. What will it be
When that the watery palates taste indeed
Love's thrice repured nectar? Death, I fear me,
Swounding destruction, or some joy too fine,
Too subtle-potent, tuned too sharp in sweetness,
For the capacity of my ruder powers.
I fear it much, and I do fear besides
That I shall lose distinction in my joys,

¹⁵⁶Dryden has it "two-and-twenty" (I,ii,p.301).

¹⁵⁷In Dryden the passage is I,ii,p.293.

¹⁵⁸Van Doren, p. 204.

As doth a battle when they charge on heaps,
The enemy flying.

(III,ii,19-30)

In Dryden's play the first and last parts of this speech remain the same, but the middle portion is changed, beginning with these lines:

What will it be?
When I shall taste that nectar?
It must be either death, or joy too fine
For the capacity of human powers.
I fear it much.

(II,ii,p.314)

Troilus is expecting Cressida to come to him at any moment, and if his language is the language of love, he shows awareness, at least, of the responsibilities of a man of war.

Earlier in the play as Pandarus and Cressida watch the Trojans returning from battle, Pandarus is praising the valiant Trojans as they enter but always makes Troilus greater. Cressida's description of that "sneaking fellow" is excellent (I,ii,245). Pandarus comes right back with a list of characteristics describing Troilus (this is not in Dryden):

Is
not birth, beauty, good shape, discourse,
manhood, learning, gentleness, virtue, youth,
liberality, and suchlike the spice and salt
that season a man?

(I,ii,275-278)

As the lovers meet, Troilus gives his well-known identification, "as true as Troilus;" Cressida, if she proves false, will give her name to all false maidens "as false as Cressid;"

and Pandarus lends his name to all go-betweens, "call them Pandars" (III,ii,189,203,210; Dryden, III,ii,p.333).

Ulysses, in a passage not in Dryden, describes Troilus at the fight between Hector and Ajax as "a second hope" of Troy (IV,v,109).

Diomedes describes Dryden's Troilus as the two argue over Cressida:

Thou wert our table-talk for laughing meals;
Thy name our sportful theme for evening walks,
And intermissive hours of cooler love,
When hand in hand we went.

(IV,ii,pp.368-369)

Shakespeare's Troilus is last seen announcing Hector's death, and there is no mention of Cressida. At first he remarks, "Hector's dead, there is no more to say" (V,x,22), but, remembering Achilles, whom he will "haunt . . . like a wicked conscience," Troilus returns to Troy with "hope of revenge" to hide his sorrow (V,x,28,31). After Hector's and Cressida's deaths in Dryden's play, Troilus hunts for Diomedes. The action is described rather than presented in the play.

Troilus, singling Diomede, gets him down, and kills him; and Achilles kills Troilus upon him. All the Trojans die upon the place, Troilus last.

(V,ii,p.389)

Cressida in Shakespeare's play is a "born wanton, a creature wholly sensual, passing easily from one lover to the next."¹⁵⁹ Dryden's Cressida appears false to Troilus

¹⁵⁹Harrison, p. 658.

but proves true; "she is only to be censured for not having avoided the appearance of evil."¹⁶⁰

Shakespeare's Troilus describes Cressida's hand, "in whose comparison all whites are ink" (I,1,56). And in the same play Pandarus compares her to Helen by saying that she would be, if not kin to him, "as fair on Friday as Helen is on Sunday" (I,1,78). In Dryden's play this last line becomes "show me such another piece of woman's flesh" (I,ii,p.295). The difference in attitudes between the two authors is evident from such descriptions of the heroine. After watching with Pandarus the Trojans returning from battle, Cressida shows that she is as hot for Troilus's love as he is for hers, but she will not reveal it just yet.

Then though my heart's content firm love doth
bear,
Nothing of that shall from mine eyes appear.
(I,ii,320-321)

In Dryden's version a like confession is made:

A strange dissembling sex we women are:
Well may we men, when we ourselves deceive.
Long has my secret soul loved Troilus.
(I,ii,p.302)

Both dramatists present a calculating Cressida; in love with Troilus, she is not easily won. The main difference between the two is that Dryden's Cressida remains faithful to her lover while Shakespeare's earns the title she has been given--"false Cressid." Ulysses, who suggests that

¹⁶⁰Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, p. 231.

Cressida be "kissed in general" (IV,v,21), gives the best description of Shakespeare's Cressida. Refusing to kiss her himself, Ulysses describes her to the Grecians after she departs:

Fie, fie upon her!
 There's language in her eye, her cheek, her lip--
 Nay, her foot speaks, her wanton spirits look out
 At every joint and motive of her body.
 Oh, these encounterers, so glib of tongue,
 That give accosting welcome ere it comes,
 And wide unclasp the tables of their thoughts
 To every ticklish reader! Set them down
 For sluttish spoils of opportunity,
 And daughters of the game.

(IV,v,54-63)

Observing Diomedes and Cressida as they meet outside Calchas's tent, Dryden's Troilus believes Cressida has been faithless to him. He remarks to Ulysses that "that one spot of earth contains more falsehood/Than all the sun sees in his race beside" (V,ii,p.383). Showing her true concern for her lover, Cressida moans, "If Troilus die, I have no share in life" (V,ii,p.384). When Diomedes boasts of his "full possession" of her (V,ii,p.386), Troilus believes nothing Cressida protests in her defence, until she stabs herself. Quickly he converts into a believer in Cressida's faithfulness to him, and he laments, in the subtitle of the play:

O thou purest, whitest innocence,--
 For such I know thee now, too late I know it!--
 (V,ii,p.388)

Hector, aside from Troilus, is the most representative of the Trojan warriors. A well-known heroic figure, Hector

is the symbol of bravery, honor, and manliness. Pandarus describes him to Cressida (in both plays) as the Trojans march by:

There's a fellow! . . . There's a brave man,
Niece. Oh, brave Hector! . . . There's a
countenance.

(I,ii,217-219; I,ii,p.299)

His speech to Troilus and the other Trojans regarding Helen is considerably cut in the adapted version; before casting his lot with those who would keep Helen, Hector shows his understanding of the situation involving war and love when he remarks, in Shakespeare's play:

For pleasure and revenge
Have ears more deaf than adders to the voice
Of any true decision.

(II,ii,171-173)

In the early action of the play Hector is described as he prepares for battle. Cressida's servant describes Shakespeare's Hector thus:

Hector, whose patience
Is as a virtue fixed, today was moved.
He chid Andromache and struck his armorer,
And, like as there were husbandry in war,
Before the sun rose he was harnessed light,
And to the field goes he, where every flower
Did, as a prophet, weep what it foresaw
In Hector's wrath.

(I,ii,4-11)

Dryden gives this description of Hector to Aeneas, just after he has roused Troilus to battle with the news that Paris is wounded. Aside from the difference in description of Dryden's Hector due to the lack of poetry, Hector does not here cause the flowers to weep for his fierce destruction in battle. Aeneas says;

Before the sun was up he went to field;
 Your pardon, lady, that's my business too.
 (I,ii,p.296)

Two scenes in Dryden describe a Hector different from Shakespeare's. In the scene between Troilus and Hector, which Dryden liked so well, in which they argue over Cressida's return, Troilus loves him "with that awful love/ I bear to heaven and to superior virtue" (III,ii,p.340); but when Hector demands that Troilus give up Cressida, Troilus calls him "a traitor to thy brother" (III,ii,p.343). After this reconciliation Troilus admits his guilt and Hector's virtue, saying, "Thou art some god, or much much more than man!" (III,ii,p.346). The other scene has a parallel in Shakespeare. Andromache would have Hector remain home because of her dream foretelling Hector's death; but Hector is his own master here, and Andromache is told to "get you in" (V,iii,4). Constant pressure will not prevail over Shakespeare's Hector, who says:

Life every man holds dear, but the dear man
 Holds honor far more precious-dear than life.
 (II,iii,27-28)

One critic feels that since Shakespeare alone, of all the writers on this subject of the Trojan War, did not allow Hector to be dissuaded, he must have been condemning Hector for ignoring his marital duty.¹⁶¹ Dryden's Hector is dissuaded from battle by Andromache, but in return he plans to "tempt a double danger" the next day (V,i,p.374).

¹⁶¹Kimbrough, p. 136.

Ulysses is the most developed Grecian leader in Shakespeare's play, but his part is limited by Dryden, who cuts most of his speeches short or omits them altogether. Ulysses does not, in Dryden's play, expound on degree for more than a very few lines, and his long speech to Achilles on virtue, "time hath, my lord, my lord, a wallet at his back" (III,iii,145), is omitted. Lacking too in this play is the "one touch of nature [which] makes the whole world kin" (III,iii,175), because Dryden is not interested in making the whole world kin, or any part of it kin; but proving Cressida faithful to Troilus is his task. Naturally Ulysses's speech describing Cressida as a wanton, when she appears in the Grecian camp, is not included by Dryden, for his Cressida is not shown as she comes into the camp. This is in keeping with Dryden's theme of faithfulness on Cressida's part. In addition to his role as adviser to Agamemnon, as in Shakespeare, Dryden's Ulysses is involved with Thersites in discussing Achilles and Ajax to prompt the former to action by praising the latter. Dryden gives Ulysses the epilogue to his play, which is, naturally, different from that of Pandarus in Shakespeare's play. His final comment is:

Old Time looks young, and nature seems renewed.
Then, since from home-bred factions ruin springs,
Let subjects learn obedience to their kings.
(V,ii,p.390)

Such characters as Helen--although the war is being fought over her--Paris, Cassandra, Nestor, Agamemnon, and to a certain extent, Achilles, Ajax, and Aeneas, are not

especially significant to the action of the play from the standpoint of this discussion. Diomedes, a more important character, has already been considered in the character treatments of Troilus and Cressida. In adapting Shakespeare's play Dryden does not change the character of "blockish Ajax" and "proud Achilles." Different speeches, yes, but little, if any, change in character. The same may be said of Nestor and Agamemnon, while Helen and Paris, though mentioned, do not appear in Dryden's play.

Thersites and Pandarus are too important to omit; at least a short consideration of their characters should be given. Pandarus appears with the lovers, Troilus and Cressida, and so has been partially described already. He is the go-between for these lovers. Humorous in places, Shakespeare's Pandarus praises Troilus to Cressida as they watch the returning Trojans. "Brave Troilus." "You shall see Troilus anon." Troilus has "a cloven chin" with only "three or four hairs" on it (I,ii). Pandarus is bawdy, too. As the lovers meet, he shows them to "a chamber with a bed, which bed, because it shall not speak of your pretty encounters, press it to death" (III,ii,215-217). And in Dryden's play, a scene not in Shakespeare, Pandarus tells Cressida, who asks the price to see Troilus, "Why, ready money, ready money; you carry it about you: give and take is square dealing" (II,ii,p.310). His services rendered and Cressida exchanged, Pandarus brings Shakespeare's Troilus a

letter from Cressida. The adapted version uses this appearance of Pandarus to have him describe Cressida as she is kissed by the Greeks. Troilus's renunciation of Pandarus, "hence from my sight" (IV,ii,p.367), and Pandarus's regret that "the poor agent is despised" (IV,ii,p.367), do not come until the last scene in Shakespeare. In his play Pandarus has the epilogue, in which he addresses:

O traitors and bawds, how earnestly are you set
a-work, and how ill requited!
(V,x,37-38)

And to the "good traders in the flesh" he bequeaths his "diseases" (V,x,46,57).

Cynical, scurrilous, but penetrating in his descriptions, Thersites is the commentator on the action of "war and lechery" (V,ii,196). As we meet him in Shakespeare's play he is commenting on Agamemnon: "How if he had boils, . . . were not that a botchy core?" (II,i,2,6). Ajax, the "beef-witted lord," he would scratch and make "the loathsome scab in Greece" (II,i,14,32). Nestor describes Thersites as "a slave whose gall coins slanders like a mint" (I,iii,193).

Dryden's Thersites is as bad, and his purpose is to get everyone told off. Ulysses shows that Thersites is not quite the realist he would have us believe him to be. He comments thus:

Here comes Thersites,
Who feeds on Ajax,
Yet loves him not, because he cannot love;
But as a species differing from manking,
Hates all he sees, and rails at all he knows;

But hates them most from whom he most receives,
 Disdaining that his lot should be low,
 That he should want the kindness which he takes.
 (II,iii,p.317)

The wise Grecians, Ulysses and Nestor, employ Thersites to enrage Ajax and Achilles in the hope of stimulating the two warriors into battle with the Trojans. Knowing that he is being used, Thersites comments:

Ay, when you need a man, you talk of giving,
 For wit's a dear commodity among you.
 (II,iii,p.319)

In describing Patroclus, Achilles's minion, Thersites pronounces his most loathsome speech in the play. It is full of "diseases," "lethargies," dirt-rotten livers," and what have you (V,1,19-41; Dryden, IV,ii,p.359). Interestingly enough, Thersites gives the best description of himself. Hector, coming upon him during the battle, asks him of his honor, and Thersites answers, "No, no, I am a rascal, a scurvy railing knave, a very filthy rogue" (V,iv,30-31; Dryden, V,ii,p.381). And so he is. Thersites is the "political malcontent . . . who takes his revenge on the world by posing as a fearless, blistering critic of humanity . . . who always imputes the worst of motives to every action."¹⁶²

In discussing the imagery of Troilus and Cressida it should, perhaps, be pointed out that Dryden gives little attention to imagery in his play. He makes little use of

¹⁶²Harrison, p. 658.

Shakespeare's imagery, as will be shown in the discussion.

"The main emotional theme of Troilus and Cressida--passionate, idealistic love, followed by disillusion and despair--is pictured with overwhelming vividness, through physical taste."¹⁶³ Concerning Troilus's passionate love for Cressida, Shakespeare's Pandarus entertains a series of remarks concerning the gathering of wheat and baking of bread, likening it to Troilus's patient winning of his love. To the "grinding," "bolting," and "leavening," Troilus answers that he has "tarried."

Pandarus then says:

But here's yet in the word 'hereafter' the kneading,
the making of the cake, the heating of the oven,
and the baking. Nay, you must stay the cooling too,
or you may chance to burn your lips.

(I, i, 14-26)

To give Dryden credit for his changes, he borrows this scene from Shakespeare but changes the baking of bread to the roasting of meat. In this instance Troilus answers that he has "stayed" the "kindling of the fire," the "spitting of the meat," and the "roasting." Pandarus counsels further:

But there's more in this word Stay; there's the
taking off the spit, the making of the sauce, the
dishing, the setting on the table, and saying
grace; nay, you must stay the cooling too, or you
may chance to burn your chaps.

(I, ii, p. 293)

Other instances of the imagery of food are seen throughout the play. The argument concerning Helen is not what concerns Troilus; it is "too starved a subject" (I, i, 96), and what concerns him is the "thrice repurèd nectar" of

¹⁶³Spurgeon, p. 320.

Cressida's love (III,ii,23). Before he sees her play him false to Diomedes, Troilus tells Ulysses that "sweet love is food for fortune's tooth" (IV,v,293); but after he has seen the betrayal of his love, Troilus tells Ulysses:

The fragments, scraps, the bits and greasy relics
Of her o'ereaten faith, are bound to Diomed.
(V,ii,159-160)

Dryden's Thersites tells Ulysses and Nestor, who encourage him to talk about Ajax and Achilles, that he knows they are employing him in their affairs, and that that is why they speak of "a just reward" (II,iii,p.319). When his services are not required, Thersites says that the only wine given to him is "stale porridge/A starving dog would not lap, and furrow water" (II,iii,p.319). As for Ajax and Achilles, Thersites will let them "eat dry and choke for want of wit/ Ere they be moistened with one drop of mine" (II,iii,p.320). To Ajax Thersites is the "mouldy leaven of the camp" (II,iii, p.321), a description given him in Shakespeare (II,i,15).

Shakespeare's Pandarus likens Troilus's good qualities to the "spice and salt that season a man;" to which Cressida replies, "Aye, a minced man" (I,ii,278-279). In describing the ill state of affairs in the Greek camp due to the lack of respect for leadership, Ulysses concludes thus:

Everything includes itself in power,
Power into will, will into appetite,
And appetite, a universal wolf,
So doubly seconded with will and power,
Must make perforce a universal prey,
And last eat up itself.
(I,iii,119-124)

Time imagery is abundant in Shakespeare's Troilus and Cressida, beginning with Ulysses's instruction to Achilles, who wonders why his past greatness is no longer remembered.

The reason given is that:

Time hath, my lord, a wallet at his back
Wherein he puts alms for oblivion,
A great-sized monster of ingratitude.
Those scraps are good deeds past, which are
devoured
As fast as they are made, forgot as soon
As done.

(III,iii,145-150)

Cressida calls on "time, force, and death" (IV,ii,107) to do what they will to her, but she will be true to Troilus, even in the Greek camp. Troilus, hearing of Cressida's exchange, blames "injurious time [that] now with a robber's haste/ Grams his rich thievery" (IV,iv,44-45). Hector bemoans the loss of Grecian and Trojan blood, and he looks to the day when "that old common arbitrator, Time/Will . . . end it [the Trojan War]" (IV,v,225-226).

Dryden's only use of time imagery in his play is in the scene between Calchas and Cressida, not in Shakespeare, in which Calchas is hunting for a way of escape. "Time must instruct us how" (IV,ii,p.361) is Cressida's answer.

We may well begin the critical discussion of Troilus and Cressida with Dryden, for it was he who, dissatisfied with Cressida's unfaithfulness going unpunished, adapted the play, making her faithful and giving the play the subtitle Truth Found too Late. Kimbrough does not find that in his play Shakespeare has "sacrificed his own principles" in

dramatizing the love of Troilus for Cressida.¹⁶⁴ Van Doren explains Troilus and Cressida as "either Shakespeare's revenge upon mankind for losing its power to delight him or his revenge upon the theme for refusing to tell him how it should be treated."¹⁶⁵ Indeed, both Webster and Van Doren point out that Shakespeare does not make it clear whether the play is a comedy or a tragedy.¹⁶⁶

Troilus and Cressida was written in a period with All's Well that Ends Well (1602) and Measure for Measure (1603). These are called Shakespeare's realistic or somber comedies, and all of them reflect a theme of disillusionment. The love and war theme of Troilus and Cressida is not resolved. "There is no 'pay-off.'"¹⁶⁷ Cressida is not punished; Diomedes is not killed by Troilus, nor is that hero able to find death in battle; and Hector, the source of Troy's strength, is not killed in a fair fight, but is murdered in cold-blood.¹⁶⁸ Dryden in his adaptation presents a faithful Cressida; both Diomedes and Troilus meet death, and Hector is murdered by Achilles's ambush.

If the theme of the play presents problems, the structure is likewise the subject of varying opinion. Karl F. Thompson

¹⁶⁴Kimbrough, p. 173.

¹⁶⁵Van Doren, p. 203.

¹⁶⁶Webster, p. 188; Van Doren, p. 203.

¹⁶⁷Webster, p. 187.

¹⁶⁸Ibid.

cites Henri Fluchère as saying that the play has "'a remarkable unity of design and atmosphere,'" while Hardin Craig is "'doubtful whether any unity of purpose or mood can be discovered'" in the play.¹⁶⁹ After seeing a production of the play Thompson finds that "the play fares well enough by the lamp, but not by footlights."¹⁷⁰

Spencer says that all the play lacks is poetry, "the life-blood of great drama."¹⁷¹ Elsewhere he states that Dryden's Troilus and Cressida is superior in structure to Shakespeare's.¹⁷² With the exception of Shadwell's adaptation of Timon of Athens, Dryden's Troilus is "the best--the least objectionable, that is--of the violent alterations."¹⁷³ Another critic, however, feels that, while this play of Shakespeare was the one

most in need of unification, . . . the ethical assumptions and the view of human nature which underlay Shakespeare's conception of order, and the ironic and melancholy view from which Shakespeare approached the problem in this play Dryden could little understand.¹⁷⁴

¹⁶⁹Karl F. Thompson, "Troilus and Cressida: The Incomplete Achilles," College English, XXVII (1966), 532-536.

¹⁷⁰Ibid., p. 532.

¹⁷¹Spencer, Art and Life, p. 281.

¹⁷²Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, p. 231.

¹⁷³Ibid., pp. 236-237.

¹⁷⁴Ruth Wallerstein, "Dryden and the Analysis of Shakespeare's Technique," RES, XIX (1943), 165-185.

"Troilus and Cressida . . . reveals an unusually high degree of conventionalism in the presentation of character."¹⁷⁵ That this is so is not so astounding, for the principal characters, Troilus, Cressida, Pandarus, Hector, and Achilles, all had well-developed characters before Shakespeare's day. Pandarus and Thersites represent the two opposing groups, the Trojans and the Greeks. Knight says "Pandarus' humor is always kindly and sympathetic, Thersites' cynical and mocking."¹⁷⁶ This may reflect nothing more than a prejudice on the part of Elizabethan England in favor of the Trojans as opposed to the Greeks. Knight further sees the Trojans as standing for "human beauty and worth," while the Greeks stand for the "bestial and stupid elements of man."¹⁷⁷ For Theodore Spencer Troilus and Cressida "describes in a new way the difference between man as he ought to be and man as he is."¹⁷⁸

In conclusion, then, Dryden develops from Shakespeare's theme of lust and war a faithful Cressida for the heroic

¹⁷⁵S. L. Bethell, Shakespeare and the Popular Dramatic Tradition (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 1944), p. 122.

¹⁷⁶G. Wilson Knight, The Wheel of Fire: Essays in Interpretation of Shakespeare's Somber Tragedies (London: Oxford University Press, 1930), p. 65.

¹⁷⁷Ibid., p. 51.

¹⁷⁸Theodore Spencer, Shakespeare and the Nature of Man (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1949), p. 121.

Troilus, who discovers her faithfulness only in the moment of her death. Their love, however, is still that of disillusioned youth, for Cressida is seemingly faithless. The unities of time, place, and action, while not strictly observed, are more nearly followed by the adapter than by Shakespeare, who has scenes in the Grecian camp, Pandarus's house, and Priam's palace all follow one another and tend to make a less unified plot.

Character changes in Dryden's play are notable in both Troilus and Cressida. The former has even longer speeches than in Shakespeare's play, and if he is not a more genuine hero, at least he has the satisfaction of revenge on Diomedes and dies in battle. Under the circumstances Troilus's action is wholly predictable and unlike that of Cressida, who lacks sufficient demonstration in her past actions to give at least a hint of her ability to die for love. There is too much surprise in this, her final action, to make it plausible. Her faithfulness is one of the most important items which Dryden wished to achieve, but it is unconvincing.

Changes of speeches, both additions and deletions, do not severely alter the characters of Ajax, Achilles, and the Grecian commanders, with the exception of Ulysses, who functions in the same way--as an adviser to Agamemnon--but without his philosophical ideas and precise wisdom. Diomedes is more villainous and more an opponent for Troilus, for in Dryden's play his attentions are directed toward a faithful

Cressida, whereas in Shakespeare's play he supplants Troilus as Cressida's lover.

Perhaps the Trojans are more changed by Dryden than are the Greeks. Paris and Helen are mentioned, but do not appear in the play. Andromache and Hector function in more conventional roles than in Shakespeare's play, for it is only in Shakespeare's play, of all the literature dealing with the Trojan War, that Hector is not dissuaded from battle by Andromache. The added character of Hector's little son Astyanax is used to manipulate the challenge which Hector issues to the Greeks. Hector and Troilus emphasize, in the scene of their quarrel, that friendship between brothers is more important than love and war.

Pandarus and Thersites, the bawdy procurer and the scurrilous cynic, are not essentially altered by Dryden. Both have scenes not in Shakespeare's play, but they are in keeping with their characters as developed by the earlier dramatist.

Whereas the imagery of food and time pervades Shakespeare's play and is found in speeches of every important character, the imagery employed by Dryden is largely limited to the scene between Troilus and Pandarus comparing his love for Cressida to the preparation of bread for the table, the scene between Thersites, Ulysses, and Nestor as they degrade Ajax and Achilles, and the speech of Cressida to Calchas concerning their escape.

Shakespeare's play presents a realistic picture of life as it often is--cynical, bitter, and disillusioned, but real, nonetheless. Dryden's play presents more of the theme of love than of war, and in unifying his action to that theme he presents a picture of "truth found too late" which exemplifies poetic justice and has good dramatic potential.

CHAPTER V

Conclusion

In an effort to present this discussion of John Dryden as an adapter of Shakespeare it has been necessary to review the drama of the Restoration period in addition to the three dramas of Shakespeare which he adapted, The Tempest, Antony and Cleopatra, and Troilus and Cressida. The Tempest, or, The Enchanted Island; All for Love, or, The World Well Lost; and Troilus and Cressida, or, Truth Found too Late are the titles of Dryden's alterations. In this final chapter will be presented the conclusions to the study of Restoration drama and Dryden's adaptations.

The Restoration period is dated from the return of Charles II in 1660 from exile in France to the throne of England. After eighteen years of officially closed theaters, audiences had to be cultivated anew. The Restoration theater was small, the audiences select. To Sir William D'Avenant must be given much credit for keeping the theater partially alive during the Interregnum. His The Siege of Rhodes, acted in 1656, had the double significance of being the first English opera presented on the English stage, and of having in its cast, perhaps, the first actress, Mrs. Coleman, to perform on the English stage.

Licentiousness abounded in Restoration drama. In reaction to Puritan restrictions concerning the presentation

of dramas, the audiences of this period demanded freedom of expression for the characters in the plays. Excessive show and bombastic speeches were what the audiences demanded and received from the dramatists.

Dryden wrote many dramas in his career, though drama was not his primary accomplishment. He wrote what would sell and make a living for him. The heroic drama developed by him, using the rhymed couplet, and "heroic" characters--who display the conflict of love and honor--became serious drama in his hands. The settings in foreign countries is particularly characteristic of this drama. His most representative heroic drama is The Conquest of Granada (1670), written three years after his adaptation of The Tempest.

With this emphasis on show, loud speeches, exotic scenery, and romantic settings, there was lacking little more than music and mechanical gadgets to provide the type of drama that especially appealed to Restoration audiences. As an outgrowth of the Renaissance masque, almost anything containing music and the special effects of scenery could pass as an opera; Milton's Paradise Lost, and Shakespeare's Macbeth, The Tempest, and A Midsummer Night's Dream all became operas in revised form.

Many of Shakespeare's plays are Restoration adaptations, but not all of them, to be sure, are operas. This leads

into the discussion of Dryden's Shakespearean adaptations. In view of the experimental nature of the drama of the Restoration period, particularly with interest in "heroic" drama, and the excellent settings and characters which Shakespeare presents in his dramas, it is not surprising that he was so frequently adapted during this period. It is no wonder that drastic changes were made in many of these adaptations, for the inclination of the dramatists of this time was towards plain and simple language and an observance of the unities of time, place, and action.

Dryden tells us in his Preface to The Tempest (1667) that it was Sir William D'Avenant who "did me the honour to join me with him"¹⁷⁹ in writing this play. All for Love (1668) was written for his own pleasure, and Troilus and Cressida (1679) was undertaken to correct the "scarce intelligible" words in Shakespeare's play and to rectify the situation in which "Cressida is false, and is not punished."¹⁸⁰ Thus we have Dryden's reasons for adapting these plays; what he does with them must now be our concern.

The theme of Dryden's The Tempest is essentially Shakespearean. That is to say, reconciliation is developed along the same lines in the respective plays. Troilus and

¹⁷⁹Dryden, Works, III, 106.

¹⁸⁰Ibid., VI, 255.

Cressida, or, Truth Found too Late develops the theme of love, primarily, while relating the theme of war to the love theme. All for Love, as its title indicates, shows the complete resignation of honor in favor of passion, which triumphs over reason.

In structure all three adapted versions are altered. The order of scenes is changed within acts, scenes are lengthened or omitted, and in All for Love the third and fourth acts of Shakespeare's play are used by Dryden. Shakespeare's Tempest is one of two plays (the other being The Comedy of Errors) which conform to the unities of time, place, and action; Alonso refers to "three hours" (V,1,136, 186), as the time since the shipwreck. In adapting Troilus and Antony, however, Dryden makes both of these plays conform--or nearly so--to the unities. Particularly, All for Love takes place in the Temple of Isis in Alexandria on the day of the death of both Antony and Cleopatra. Action in Troilus is unified towards the theme of love.

Plot in the three adaptations differs from Shakespeare in varying degrees. The Tempest follows closely the action of Shakespeare's play, with additional characters and songs. Troilus maintains the same line of action until the meeting between Cressida and Diomedes, but from this point until she proves herself true the reader has one view of things while Troilus has another. Dryden includes poetic justice lacking

in Shakespeare--Troilus, Cressida, and Diomedes all die. All for Love omits the action prior to the battle of Actium, except where Antony and others recall such past events as his marriage to Octavia, and concentrates on the deaths of Antony and Cleopatra. In this regard for unity, Spencer affirms that Dryden's Troilus and Cressida is "far superior" to All for Love which shows incapacity for anything but simple confrontation.¹⁸¹

For the most part Dryden limits the number of Shakespeare's characters who appear in his adapted versions of the plays. The Tempest is a notable exception in this matter, but it is not exceptionally notable for its improvements in the characters of Dorinda and Hippolito, who are too innocent to be believable. Sycorax and the sailors may add amusement, but the effect of Shakespeare's poetry, reserved for Ferdinand and Miranda in their innocence, is lost on the two daughters of Prospero and his ward, Hippolito, none of whom has seen any of the opposite sex.

In All for Love Antony, Cleopatra, and Ventidius are displayed to good advantage to emphasize Dryden's change of the theme to lust from the contrasting themes of love and war in Antony and Cleopatra. Octavia is unconvincing in her momentary winning of Antony; she, like Cressida in

¹⁸¹Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, p. 236.

her death scene, is not plausible. Dryden admits this mistake, but justifies it on the grounds that they both are women.¹⁸²

The sentimental attachment to Troilus is heightened by Dryden's inclusion of the Hector-Troilus quarrel in act three. His Hector, unlike Shakespeare's, conforms to the traditional view of the hero, who is dissuaded by Andromache from fighting, only to have Troilus agitate for battle on the basis that Hector is reported to be afraid of Achilles. Cressida's faithfulness does add to the unity of the love plot and is in keeping with the primary emphasis by Dryden on the theme of love, but failure to show her capable of such action makes Cressida implausible.

Concerning the reception in the theater of these plays, The Tempest has been one of the most frequently acted of all Shakespeare's plays, and Dryden's adapted version fared well in the Restoration period. All for Love completely superseded Antony and Cleopatra during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Thompson says Troilus and Cressida by Shakespeare is unsuccessful on the stage;¹⁸³ and Spencer calls Dryden's Troilus "unconvincing" to read but he believes it would be "convincing" on the stage.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸²Dryden, Works, V, 328.

¹⁸³Thompson, p. 532.

¹⁸⁴Spencer, Shakespeare Improved, p. 237.

Imagery of sound in The Tempest, of food in Troilus and of vastness in Antony, is not developed to any great extent by Dryden, who is more concerned with his blank verse in All for Love, or the character Cressida as a faithful lover, or Hippolito as a counterpart of the innocent Miranda.

The chronology of Dryden's adaptations of Shakespeare is exactly the reverse of Shakespeare's own chronology. Dryden's Tempest was more acted during the Restoration than was Shakespeare's, and All for Love superseded Antony and Cleopatra through most of the eighteenth century. Troilus, by neither writer, has had too favorable a reception on the stage, except during the Restoration when Dryden's play was staged. If Dryden's Troilus received attention for its heroic qualities, it certainly did not do so because it faced reality. Troilus is, perhaps, Shakespeare's most modern play, presenting a picture of disillusioned love in a cynical manner.

Dryden is the best dramatist of the Restoration period. It is to his credit that his adaptations have been so well received and are considered worthy of comparison with those of his master, Shakespeare. Dryden himself is the first person to recognize his shortcomings and failings in imitating Shakespeare.

In his famous "An Essay of Dramatic Poesy" (1668) Dryden wrote concerning the Elizabethan dramatists:

To begin, then, with Shakespeare. He was the man who of all modern, and perhaps ancient poets, had the largest and most comprehensive soul. All the

images of Nature were still present to him, and he drew them, not laboriously, but luckily; when he describes anything, you more than see it you feel it too.

.
 As for Jonson, . . . I think him the most learned and judicious writer which any theatre ever had. . . . One cannot say he wanted wit, but rather that he was frugal of it.

Dryden was closer to and resembled Ben Jonson in learning and genius more than he did Shakespeare.

A P P E N D I C E S

Appendix A

Dryden's The Tempest, or, The Enchanted Island (1667)

I,i. On board Alonso's ship there is much excitement caused by a storm at sea. Efforts to save the ship from crashing into the rocky island are in vain, and the Duke, his son Ferdinand, his companions and crew all prepare to die as the ship crashes.

I,ii. On the island Prospero and Miranda discuss the storm caused by his art. Assuring her that he has everything under control, Prospero relates to Miranda his past history as Duke of Milan. Antonio, the brother of Prospero, has usurped his dukedom with the help of Alonso, Duke of Savoy and usurping Duke of Mantua. Fifteen years have passed since Prospero, Miranda and her sister were sent out from Milan in a small boat; and had it not been for Gonzalo's provisions they would surely have died.

While Miranda sleeps Ariel, an airy spirit, comes to Prospero to report his success with the storm and his watchful safekeeping of the wrecked seamen. Prospero tells Ariel's past history as a captive on the island, and Ariel brings out his "spirit love" Milcha. Prospero's other servant, Caliban, is introduced; he is part man and part beast--the son of a witch and the devil. Dorinda appears and discusses with her older sister, Miranda, the shipwreck. Both of them are eager to see a man.

II,i. Stephano, the Master of the ship, Mustacho, his mate, and Ventoso, a sailor, get drunk and talk about establishing a government on the island, with Stephano as the duke. Trinculo, the Boatswain, also drunk, stumbles onto the three mariners, who argue with him and leave. Caliban approaches Trinculo, believes him to be a god, and pledges to serve Trinculo and give him his sister Sycorax to be his wife.

- II,ii. On the island, but away from his daughters, Prospero visits Hippolito, the heir to the Dukedom of Mantua. He warns Hippolito, whom he has also kept hidden these many years, of the dangers of women. Hippolito leaves and Prospero's daughters come to him. He then warns them about the dangers of men, and leaves.
- II,iii. Miranda and Dorinda discover Hippolito in his cave, and while Miranda answers her father's call, Dorinda goes forward and talks to Hippolito. They fall in love at first sight.
- II,iv. Discussing their perilous situation, Alonso and Antonio admit their guilt in usurping Prospero's dukedom. Music plays, and devils enter and sing about the crimes committed by Alonso and Antonio. These two repent of their crimes while Gonzalo, the old friend of Prospero, asks mercy on the penitent ones. Winds arise and push the three men away.
- III,i. Ariel and Milcha, invisible, sing to Ferdinand, the son of Alonso, and lead him to another part of the island.
- III,ii. Prospero next appears and questions Miranda about seeing Hippolito. Dorinda then appears and confesses her love for Hippolito, and Prospero agrees to another meeting between these two. When Ariel informs Prospero of the pitiful state that Alonso, Antonio and Gonzalo are in, it produces sorrow in the heart of Prospero. The desertion of Caliban and Sycorax from Prospero is also related by Ariel.
- III,iii. Again the three noblemen, Alonso, Antonio, and Gonzalo, are bothered with music and spirits. They have been searching for Ferdinand. The spirits prepare a meal for them, but the feast is removed before they can eat it. In another part of the island Trinculo meets Sycorax and discusses their marriage. Stephano, Mustacho, and Ventoso appear and discuss peace terms with Trinculo, who controls the wine; but, after quarreling over Trinculo's wine, the mariners leave again.
- III,iv, and v. Ariel and Milcha lead Ferdinand to Prospero and Miranda. The sight of Miranda to Ferdinand is as the appearance of a goddess, and they fall in love at first sight. After hearing the lovers exchange their amorous intentions, Prospero places Ferdinand in a prison for safe-keeping. Calling

Hippolito to him, Prospero enquires of his love for Dorinda. Prospero then gives his discourse on man's life as a mist.

- III,vi. Ferdinand and Hippolito are together discussing women. That there are more women in the world than Dorinda is news to Hippolito, who resolves to have all the fair creatures as his own. Ferdinand retires from him, unable to make Hippolito understand that one man has only one woman as his wife.
- IV,i. Ferdinand and Miranda quarrel over the youth, Hippolito, for she has been instructed by Prospero to be nice to Hippolito, and this makes Ferdinand jealous.
- IV,ii. After Hippolito discloses to Dorinda his desire to have all the women in the world, these lovers quarrel. Ferdinand enters the picture and he and Hippolito decide to fight with swords for the hand of Miranda.
- IV,iii. The comedians, Stephano, Ventoso, and Mustacho approach Trinculo on peace terms and agree to become citizens of Trinculo's state. They get drunk and spirits prepare a table with food for them, but they do not get to eat the food any more than Alonso and his friends did. A fight breaks out in which all are involved and in which Sycorax and Trinculo get the best of the others.
- IV,iv. Ferdinand and Hippolito have their sword fight, and Hippolito is wounded, and apparently killed. This is the rousing call for all the characters, except the comic sailors, Sycorax and Caliban, to appear. Alonso is re-united with Ferdinand; Antonio is shamed; Prospero declares that Ferdinand must pay with his life for that of Hippolito; and the sisters fight and separate.
- V,i. Applying Prospero's own logic on him, Miranda begs that the life of Ferdinand be spared. Ariel arrives with ointment from the Hesperides, Palestine, and the British Isles, just in time to save the life of Hippolito.
- V,ii. The lovers are happily re-united after Hippolito's recovery, and Prospero receives his dukedom back. Alonso and Antonio are reconciled to Prospero. The comic characters join the others, much to Trinculo's pleasure, for he is hungry and all his wine is gone.

V,iii.

Prospero prepares a masque for everyone;
and, after Ariel sings a song, he is given his
freedom. Prospero asks a blessing on the Enchanted
Isle.

Appendix B

Dryden's All for Love, or, The World Well Lost (1668)

- I,i. Antony, in the Temple of Isis at Alexandria, is met by Ventidius, his faithful Roman general, and Antony is persuaded to lead Ventidius's troops against Caesar.
- II,i. Cleopatra has led Antony away from battle at Actium--she says it was unknown to her that Antony followed her--and she is ready for Caesar to take her as a prisoner. Charmian, Alexas, and Cleopatra persuade Antony to remain in Egypt.
- III,i. Ventidius, in disgust, has left Antony, but Antony is victorious in battle, using the Egyptian troops. Ventidius brings Antony's friend Dolabella from Rome, and he also brings Octavia and Antony's two little daughters to Egypt. When all these forces confront him, Antony is persuaded to renounce Cleopatra and be reconciled to his family.
- IV,i. Dolabella, a victim of his own love for Cleopatra, is sent to say good-bye to her for Antony; but Alexas seeks to make Antony jealous by having Cleopatra play up to Dolabella. Even though both Dolabella and Cleopatra confess to Antony that this action was a moment's weakness, he dismisses them both; for Octavia and Ventidius had seen Dolabella holding Cleopatra's hand, though they did not know Cleopatra's real reason for this action.
- V,i. The Egyptian fleet joins forces with Caesar's men, and Antony and Ventidius prepare to fight Caesar to the death. Alexas falsely reports to Antony that Cleopatra is dead, and Antony stabs himself. Ventidius, pretending to do Antony the favor of stabbing his master, dies by his own hand just before Antony falls on his sword. Cleopatra flees to the dying Antony, and they are reconciled before he dies. Crowning Antony with laurel to signify a hero's death, she then joins him in death. Iras and Charmian die with her.

Appendix C

Dryden's Troilus and Cressida, or, Truth Found too Late (1679)

- I,i. The Grecian commanders, Agamemnon, Ulysses, Nestor, and Diomedes, discuss the lull in the war with the Trojans due to a lack of discipline. Achilles, who remains in his tent gloating over his fame, is blamed for this condition.
- I,ii. Pandarus and Troilus discuss Cressida and Troilus's love for her, and Pandarus leaves Troilus disgusted with his unsuccessful attempts to bring the lovers together. Aeneas come for Troilus, who leaves for battle upon hearing that Paris has been wounded by Menelaus. Pandarus and Cressida watch the Trojans returning from battle, and Pandarus praises Troilus above all the others. Alone Cressida admits her love for the young prince.
- II,i. Priam, King of Troy, asks for opinions concerning the Greeks's demand to return Helen. Hector favors returning her, but Aeneas and Troilus argue for keeping her. Hector agrees in order to preserve Trojan honor. Hector's young son Astyanax suggests a challenge to the Greeks, and Hector immediately puts forward his own challenge to the noblest Greek to meet him in combat. Priam and Aeneas argue against this plan, but Andromache, Hector's wife, urges him to fight for honor and for her.
- II,ii. Pandarus urges Cressida to yield herself to Troilus, who in turn pressures Pandarus to bring his niece Cressida to him. Pandarus describes her to Troilus using very sensual language, thus heightening Troilus's desire for Cressida.
- II,iii. Ulysses suggests a lottery to allow Ajax to be chosen to meet Hector in combat. Thersites curses Ulysses and Nestor and calls both Ajax and Achilles fools. Achilles and Ajax quarrel over who will fight Hector.
- III,i. Thersites and Patroclus curse each other, and Achilles laughs as Thersites mimics Nestor and Ajax. Achilles will not stir from his tent, and Ajax has his ego built up by Nestor and Ulysses.

- III,ii. Troilus and Cressida are brought together by Pandarus at his home. Hector tells Aeneas of the ransom of Antenor from the Greeks in exchange for Cressida, whose father, Calchas, lives as a Trojan traitor in the Greek camp. Hector informs Troilus, who is still at Pandarus's house, of the ransom, and they quarrel at length before Troilus agrees to the return of Cressida.
- IV,i. Cressida learns that she must leave Troy, and she parts from Troilus as they exchange pledges of faithful love to each other.
- IV,ii. The Grecian commanders and Ajax snub Achilles, and Ajax meets Hector in battle. After gaining an advantage over Ajax, Hector frees him, for Ajax is his cousin. Hector is received and praised by the Greeks, but he and Achilles agree to fight on the battlefield on the next day. A letter from Polyxena, Hector's sister and Achilles's love, causes Achilles to decline to fight the next day. He entertains Hector in his tent, while Diomedes courts Cressida. Troilus and Ulysses watch from a distance, not knowing that Calchas has instructed Cressida to receive Diomedes in order to give them a means of escape to return to Troy. Thersites observes the meeting and observes Troilus, who is enraged at Cressida's faithlessness. Aeneas brings Troilus word that Hector is readying for battle, but Ulysses knows of Polyxena's letter and that Achilles does not plan to fight. Pandarus informs Troilus that all the Greeks have kissed Cressida. Troilus and Diomedes argue over Cressida and pledge to meet each other in battle. Thersites observes all the happenings and says that he could bring peace between Troilus and Diomedes by informing them that Cressida is a "whore sufficient" for them all.
- V,i. Andromache persuades Hector not to fight, for she and Cassandra both foresee his death. Hector is prepared to remain at home when Troilus arrives and urges him to fight for his honor. He tells Hector that Ulysses has implied that he is afraid of Achilles. This moves Hector to fight.
- V,ii. The battle takes place, and Hector kills Patroclus. Thersites is caught by Hector and Troilus, but he saves himself by leading Troilus to Diomedes. Patroclus's death brings Achilles into the battle, and, obtaining an advantage over the unprepared Hector, Achilles and all his warriors

kill Hector. Troilus learns of Hector's death and seeks out Diomedes and Achilles. He is about to slay Diomedes when Cressida stops him and tells of her pretensions with Diomedes in order to escape. To prove she has been faithful to Troilus, Cressida stabs herself. Troilus finds out too late that she was true to him, and he kills Diomedes in revenge. Achilles and his men overpower Troilus and kill him.

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VITA

Massie C. Stinson, Jr. was born in Amherst County, Virginia, on October 28, 1935. He received his elementary and secondary education in the public schools of Amherst County. Upon graduation from Madison Heights High School in 1953, Mr. Stinson attended Phillips Business College in Lynchburg, Virginia, and he was graduated from that school with a diploma in accounting in 1955. Prior to entering Bluefield Junior College in 1957 he worked for the Virginia Department of Highways as a surveyor and draftsman. Mr. Stinson completed his college work at the University of Richmond, from which he was graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree in history in 1961.

In the Chesterfield and Henrico County Public Schools Mr. Stinson taught the seventh grade from 1961 to 1964. In June of the latter year he returned to Phillips Business College as an instructor in reading and typewriting. Prior to his years in college Mr. Stinson was married to the former Mary Jane Burnette, and since that time they have become the parents of two girls, Kimberly Hunter and Kathryn Gayle. He expects to receive the Master of Arts degree in English from the University of Richmond in August, 1966. Currently he is teaching one class at Richmond Professional Institute in Richmond, Virginia, where in September of 1966 he will be employed as an instructor in English.