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Social Drama, Rites of Passage, and The Winter's Tale

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April 1984

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No matter how you explain it away, the jealousy of Leontes is a violent affair. When he blurts out "Too hot, too hot!/To mingle friendships far, is mingling bloods" (1.2.108-109),¹ we are surprised at both the suddenness of his onslaught of jealousy and at the vehemence with which he repudiates our expectations of seeing a happy family, set up in the first scene of the play. Before looking for explanations for this outburst-- for they range from psychological analyses of the king's fear of women to assertions that Hermione indeed appears guilty-- I would first like to consider the outburst as an event.² A fact, something that happened, a phenomenon in society.

Leontes' outburst can be seen as the first motion in a complete and foregrounded social drama which is acted out in the stage society of the play and comprises a large part of the dramatic action. "Social drama" is anthropologist Victor Turner's term for a sequence of events through which a society publicly "plays out" certain tensions and conflicts.³ Like several other terms in this paper-- "rite of passage," "communitas," "liminality," and "ritual symbol"-- it is a metaphor drawn from anthropology (particularly Turner's work) which I see as a useful way of looking at The Winter's Tale. Turner says social dramas can be isolated for study in all societies at all levels of scale and complexity. In studying them, we consider social structure, or how people or characters interact based on their social status, as well as conflict, law and obligation. "Structure" as a metaphor for societal relations,

however, is a dangerously limited concept because it produces an image of a rigid framework of social positions.⁴ Society and human interactions are not static. Social drama, which presents a social conflict as developing from the reconciliation of a previous social conflict, gives us a "processual view" of society and allows us to see social structure as fluid.⁵ It is a particularly rich metaphor for The Winter's Tale for several reasons. It shows that the corruption, fall, qualification and rebuilding of patriarchal power, a central motif in the play, is fluid, processual and alive. Because the plot of The Winter's Tale corresponds closely to Turner's description of the sequence of events in a social drama, we can use it as a model to break down the action and power struggles within the society of the play. Finally, Shakespeare, by exploiting the ambiguities of playing a role in life/ on the stage, the ambiguities in the concept of "acting," and by blending stage "reality" with obvious artifice imbued the play with self-consciousness that it depicts a drama.

But when Leontes destroys his bond with his wife, he is more than just distancing himself from a wife/queen. People are more than nexus in a social scheme. Leontes has hurt a whole human being in her various sensual aspects, a life. A second set of relations runs through society, including the society of The Winter's Tale. These relations have to do with the goodwill and empathy Leontes forsakes, the general communal bonds which hold a people together. Turner credits the Polish sociologist Znaniecki with a good description of these relations:

The people who share a certain set of interconnected systems (and among these systems there are usually also certain social groups-- territorial, genetic or telic) may be more or less conscious of this fact, and more or less willing to influence one another for the benefit of their common civilization and to influence this civilization for their mutual benefit. This consciousness and willingness, in so far as they exist, constitute a social bond uniting these people over and above any

formal social bonds which are due to the existence of regulated social relations and organized social groups.⁶

These bonds "over and above any formal social bonds" comprise "communitas," or "community spirit." Communitas designates a more general social contract that must exist if a society is to agree on social structure.

The lines and bonds of communitas cannot be completely delineated; Turner even speaks of them as a kind of anti-structure, for they are "undifferentiated, equalitarian, direct, non-rational (though not irrational), I-Thou or Essential We relationships, in Martin Buber's sense."⁷ In The Winter's Tale, they partly explain intuitions we have about characters and that they have about each other, for instance, why most Sicilians presume the queen innocent, why Antigonus dies but Camillo does not, why Paulina works so hard to correct Leontes' "diseased" opinions, and why Camillo and Paulina seem proper mates for each other. Communitas also instills respect for the paramount power represented in the play: creative power. Creative power is manifest in the pro-creative power of women (Hermione), the creative powers of artists (Paulina, who directs the final scene, the demented-artist Leontes, and Shakespeare himself), and in the restorative power of nature's bounty. In The Winter's Tale, creative power has a healing effect on the characters. Without it, Leontes' repentance would not be fruitful, Hermione could not return, and there would be no societal regeneration. For both the characters on the stage and the theater audience, creative power inspires a sense of wonder. Just as in the tragedies the force which leads to wisdom or a new level of perception is pain, The Winter's Tale is driven by wonder.⁸

Communitas, Turner holds, is almost everywhere considered sacred or holy, maybe because overwhelming emotion accompanies the breaking of norm-governed relations and the levelling of hierarchical positions.⁹

In The Winter's Tale, it is also holy because of its accompanying senses of wonder and healing. This is expressed in the play through the communion of individual intuition and-- in the various ways it is developed in the play-- natural law. Natural law is comprised of great cyclical movements of nature (such as the move from the winter of the first half of the play to the spring of Act 4 and the continuance of the parents' features in Florizel and Perdita) and in necessities of bodily functions like childbearing or hunger. In our model of society, composed of both *communitas* and structural bonds, natural law-- and the playwright behind it-- speaks for the health of society as a whole. The Winter's Tale sets natural law as an advocate for *communitas* because *communitas*-related values are slighted at the beginning of the play. In fact we can find a general moral code in the play in which moral actions are said to be supportive of a *communitas*-structure balance beneficial to the community and immoral actions support structural values over *communitas*-related values to the detriment of the health of the society as a whole. Like the anti-structure of *communitas*, a structure to natural law is hinted at but not delineated. Williams has even suggested that there is not one unified view of nature in the play, but rather each character adopts a view of nature based on his social position.¹⁰ The audience, then, receives a complex view of natural bounty.

I suggest that by applying these two views of societal bonding-- social structure and anti-structural *communitas*-- to The Winter's Tale we can chart the channels of power which accompany each set of bonds and draw a picture of what happens in the society of the play. The experience of most of the characters, how the chaos Leontes unleashes when he attacks his bonds to his wife is worked out, can be understood as a social drama. We can say that his actions try to empower social structure at the

expense of *communitas* and are therefore immoral. We can also understand Leontes' sense of self during his jealousy as depending too much on his social position. The individual in society derives identity from both social position and place in *communitas*. Kenneth Burridge writes that "individuality" refers to the ability to move or movement between the social persona (structurally-derived identity) and the individual (anti-structural identity).¹¹ Paulina, who steps in for Hermione, is an advocate of *communitas* and must restore *communitas*-related values to society and Leontes' identity. Her tools are wonder, as derived from her intuition and her maternal instinct, and words. Both of those tools, or powers, had been immorally claimed by Leontes' patriarchy, that is, to the detriment of the health of Sicilian society. It is Paulina's job to show Leontes the error of his ways, to reinitiate him into *communitas* and get him to understand what he forgot when he separated himself from *communitas*. The communion Leontes achieves with *communitas*, to be consistent with anthropological terms, may be best understood as a ritual, as Leontes undergoing a rite of passage with Paulina as his guide. He loses his kingly status and reidentifies with basic humanity, with the individual, with the child before he has developed a sense of self. The tension of The Winter's Tale, then, is how *communitas* and creative power fit into the structure of Sicilian society. Through the rite of passage, with its emphasis on communion with *communitas*, we can see the experience of wonder nestle into a phase of the social drama before the conflict-torn social structure is set aright.

The Social Drama

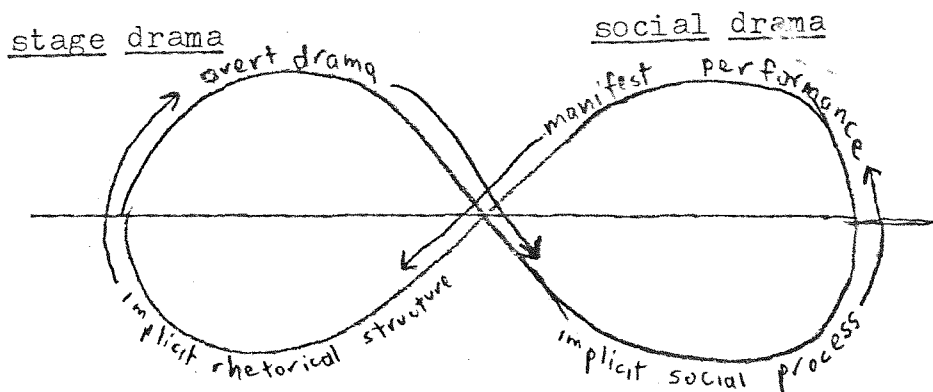
Theater, as well as other types of performance, is a reflective mechanism. The Greek comedies and tragedies were, as Turner says by way of example, devices which "probed and analyzed the axioms and

assumptions of the social structure, isolated the building blocks of the culture."¹² All societies need and have these reflective mechanisms, or metacommentaries-- stories a group tells itself about itself.¹³ To Turner, a theater piece is "a play society acts out about itself-- not only a reading of its experiences but an interpretive reenactment of its experience."¹⁴

While watching The Winter's Tale we are on some level aware that we are witnessing a representation of (in this case political and sexual) tension which goes on in the real society outside of the theater.¹⁵ Shakespeare imbues The Winter's Tale with a particular awareness of this fact. Whether conscious of it or not, characters point out throughout the play that even in their function as "real people" on the stage they are adopting roles or they speak as if their lives could be on the stage: Leontes speaks of the "plot against my life"; his lines "play, boy, play: thy mother plays, and I/Play too; but a disgrac'd part" (1.2.187-8) pun on playing a game, sexual play, and acting; and Camillo tells the runaway lovers that he will "have you royally appointed, as if/The scene you play were mine" (4.4.593-4). In addition, Shakespeare confuses our sense of what is clear artifice and what is stage reality as well as what is significant and what is arbitrary. The confusion is shown in Perdita's position-- the princess who thinks she is a shepherdess, dressed as a Whitsun mistress, and in Shakespeare's time would be a boy playing a female part; or by Antigonous, who because of a dream, which turns out to be false, takes the infant Perdita to the Bohemian coast, but whose fortuitous and significant action is capped with an apparently arbitrary death; and in the repetition of actions in different contexts-- such as a king's undeserved anger lashing out at people close to him, first in a tragic and then a comic mode-- which makes conventional what originally

had a degree of believeability.

But for the audience in the theater, the whole of stage life plays a role in real life; it is a part of real life. Director and critic Richard Schechner sees a reciprocal relationship between aesthetic life and real life:¹⁶



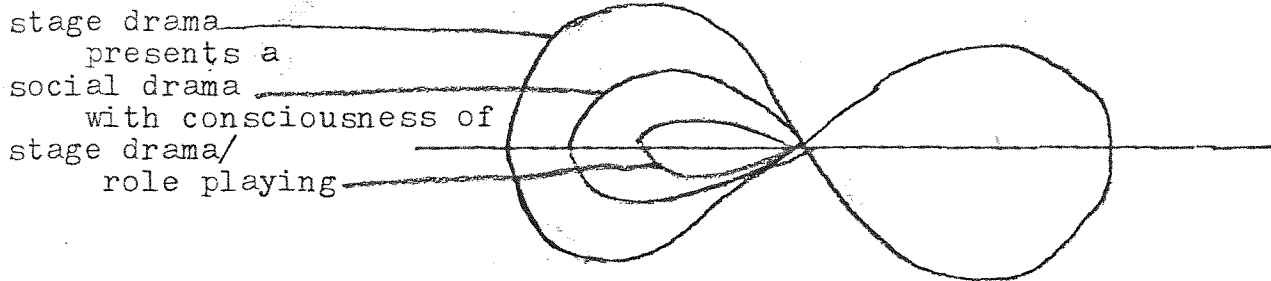
Dramas in society work their way into the unconscious forces which produce aesthetic drama. Aesthetic drama affects the forces producing social drama. Life becomes a mirror to art, and art a mirror to life. Turner notes, however, that "neither mutual mirroring... is exact, for each is not a planar mirror but a matrical mirror; at each exchange something new is added, something old is lost or discarded."¹⁷ The interplay between the aesthetic and the social is shown in The Winter's Tale by Perdita:

Come, take your flowers;
Methinks I play as I have seen them do
In Whitsun pastorals: sure as this robe of mine
Does change my disposition. (4.4.132-135)

Perdita indicates that her behavior is patterned on behavior she has seen-- in a cultural and reflective performance, a Whitsun pastoral. In The Winter's Tale, the relationship between social and stage drama can be represented by the diagram:

stage drama

social drama



Now we must see exactly how the action of The Winter's Tale depicts a social drama.

Since I am using Turner's definition of social drama, I will let him explain it:

A social drama is initiated when the peaceful tenor of regular, norm-governed social life is interrupted by the breach of a rule controlling one of its salient relationships. This leads swiftly or slowly to a state of crisis, which, if not soon sealed off, may split the community into contending factions and coalitions. To prevent this, redressive means are taken by those who consider themselves or are considered the most legitimate or authoritative representatives of the relevant community. Redress usually involves ritualized action, whether legal, religious or military. If the situation does not regress to crisis (which may remain endemic until some radical restructuring of social relationships, sometimes by revolutionary means, is undertaken), the next phase of social drama comes into play, which involves alternative solutions to the problem. The first is reconciliation of the conflicting parties following judicial, ritual, or military processes; the second, consensual recognition of irremediable breach,¹⁸ usually followed by the spatial separation of the parties.

A social drama, then, concerns conflicts, bonds, rules and power.

The breach in The Winter's Tale is Leontes' mistrust of his wife-- the husband-wife bond being one of the more "salient relationships" in patriarchal society (if women have children by more than one man, then heirs cannot be clearly determined). Leontes' attack on marital law is sudden, it is violent, and it hits a basic unit of Sicilian society. Any taint of the queen has great ramifications in Sicilia, for, just as the king is the literal and symbolic head of the country, the queen is the principal woman. Antigonus pays tribute to her stature

when he says:

For every inch of woman in the world,
Ay, every dram of woman's flesh is false,
If she be. (2.1.137-139)

and some five lines later:

Be she honour-flaw'd,
I have three daughters; the eldest is eleven;
The second and the third, nine and some five:
If this prove true, they'll pay for't. By mine honour
I'll geld'em all; fourteen they shall not see
To bring false generations: they are co-heirs...

These are harsh words, though at this point Antigonus is only entertaining thoughts of Hermione's guilt. However, that he can implicate all women as part of the queen's alleged crime and that he thinks he has the right to crush his daughters' procreative powers partly reveals the vulnerability of women in Sicilia. How the power structure excludes women is developed from the beginning of the play. The channels of structural power include the exchange of gifts between men, political power and patriliney. These are the channels Leontes depends on and exploits when his jealousy drives him to push the people around him into letting him destroy his wife. In addition, rhetorical power, childraising and the husband-wife relationship prove ambiguous avenues of power in the play. When Leontes tries to exploit these channels, he is challenged by a female, Paulina. If Antigonus' words strike us as monstrous, we can describe them as declaring patriarchy's claim to avenues of power which control women that we feel it does not deserve.

The opening scenes of the play present a picture of Sicilia as dependent on the all-male institutions of brotherhood and patriliney. As childhood friends, King Polixenes and King Leontes are said to have been "twinn'd lambs that did frisk i'th'sun" (1.2.67). As grown men, their friendship is equally idealized in Camillo's marvellous image:

they have seemed to be together, though absent; shook
hands, as over a vast; and embraced, as it were, from
the ends of the opposed winds. The heavens continue
their loves!
(1.1.29-32)

Where they once traded "innocence for innocence" (1.2.69) as Polixenes says, in their grown years their displays of brotherhood have taken an economic bent. Camillo notes: "Since their more mature dignities and royal necessities made separation of their society, their encounters, though not personal, have been royally attorneyed with interchange of gifts, letters, loving embassies..." (1.1.24-28). Brotherhood is carried out through the institution of gift-giving, and Leontes is able to play such a gracious and able host that Archidamus, servant to Polixenes, announces Bohemia's inability to repay.¹⁹ This suggests that a tension in the male relationships lies under these scenes; Leontes the host tries to gain power through forcing a guest to accept hospitality. As with many personal relationships in the play, there are potential political ramifications of the Leontes-Polixenes friendship, for Camillo and Archidamus, counsellors from different countries, indicate that they are able to exchange pleasantries because their employers, the kings, are good friends.

In addition, Camillo and Archidamus speak of Mamillius, Prince of Sicilia, a boy able to re-energize his nation, who "makes old hearts fresh: they that went on crutches/ Ere he was born desire yet their life to see him a man" (1.1.39-40). But nowhere is a woman said to be important to the workings of the kingdom, or is even mentioned at all. Hermione's mere presence in the second scene, then, especially in her pregnant state, comes as a surprise.

Until Leontes publicly accuses her of infidelity, the queen's language is looser and livelier than the courtly rhetoric of the men (compare Polixenes' "Nine changes of the watery star hath been/The shepherd's note since we have left our throne/Without a burden..." 1.2.1-3 with Hermione's direct "Tell him you are sure/ All in Bohemia's well: this satisfaction/The by-gone day proclaim'd: say this to him,/ He's beat from his best ward" 1.2.30-33). She defuses the tension under-

lying the men's speech and tempers her husband's desire to keep Polixenes in his power, to play the continual host ("Præss me not, beseech you so," pleads Polixenes). Leontes may be seen as trying to carry the institution of gift-giving too far, from brotherly to competitive ends, and we may interpret Hermione's empathy with Polixenes' need to see his child as an expression of communitas:

To tell, he longs to see his son, were strong;
But let him say so then, and let him go;
But let him swear so, and he shall not stay,
We'll thwack him hence with distaffs. (1.2.34-37)

But Hermione has to claim a stake in the realm of the rhetorical with "a lady's Verily's/ As potent as a lord's" (1.2.50-51), which she asserts when trying to convince Polixenes to stay in Sicilia. The fact that words and rhetoric are not considered to be her domain and that even when pregnant she is not mentioned as a force in the nation (though her young son is said to "physic the subject") shows that she is in a powerless position in the Sicilian hierarchy.

Furthermore, Polixenes implies that there is something inherently sinful or evil in women, that the queens had somehow tempted the kings into a fall from childhood paradise in which neither boy knew "the doctrine of ill-doing" (1.2.70). We are also given the sense that the men have made assumptions about the nature of women that Hermione is teased for not sharing. Polixenes' answer to the queen's question about his fall from childhood innocence:

Temptations have since then been born to's; for
In those unfledg'd days was my wife a girl;
Your precious self had then not cross'd the eyes
Of my young play-fellow. (1.2.76-79)

assumes that women somehow lead the men astray. It is more insinuation than statement. Similarly, there is something teasing, as if withholding information Hermione should know, in the exchange that follows the queen's convincing Polixenes to stay:

Leon. Hermione, my dearest, thou never spok'st
to better purpose.

Her. Never?

Leon. Never but once:

The king, whose word is law, not only breaks relations with his politically powerless wife but has the political tools to destroy her. Turner says an unresolved breach will send a society into a state of crisis which, if not resolved by some form of redress, may split the society into factions over the issue. But in The Winter's Tale, Leontes is the only character who believes the charges levelled at Hermione; and the split takes the form of the king's separation from society. In his separation, he tries to consolidate more and more power under him.

Leontes' withdrawal starts in the first asides he delivers-- these speeches show his diseased opinion and physically set him apart from the others on stage. The withdrawal advances through his interactions with Camillo, who in 1.2 we see backing away from the king by first pretending he will carry out the order to kill Polixenes but then immediately renouncing such action ("If I could find example/Of thousands that had struck annointed kings/And flourished after, I'd not do't" 1.2.357-359). The king's alienation from Camillo climaxes with an attempt to negate the views of people on the opposite side of the breach:

you lie, you lie:
I say thou liest, Camillo, and I hate thee,
Pronounce thee a gross lout, a mindless slave....(1.2.299-301)

The king is alone in his beliefs, but he is able to shatter key bonds to the people around him. Not only does he break the bond to his wife, but he ruptures bonds to other Sicilians: Camillo and Antigonus. The people around Leontes experience threatened identities-- they can no longer continue the social relationship they had with such a changed king-- and then go into a state of removal from Sicilian society in which they are suspended in time. Once Hermione's social identity

is threatened, she retreats to jail with her company of female servants ("My plight requires it" 2.1.118). She resolves to "be patient till the heavens look/With an aspect more favourable" (2.1.106-107), and soon after disappears for sixteen years. (In the final scene of the play Paulina says she has kept the statue of Herminne "lonely, apart.")

Camillo's position as friend and counsellor to the king is also threatened. After accusing him of lying, the king further alienates Camillo with:

if I
 Had servants true about me, that bare eyes
 To see alike mine honour as their profits,
 Their own particular thrifts, they would do that
 Which should undo more doing: ay, and thou
 His cupbearer,-- whom I from meaner form
 Have bench'd and rear'd to worship, who may'st see
 Plainly as heaven sees earth and earth sees heaven,
 How I am gall'd-- might'st bespice a cup,
 To give mine enemy a lasting wink;
 Which draught to me were cordial. (1.2.308-318)

Here the king suggests that there is something wrong with Camillo's way of seeing and asks him to trade his bond of respect as Polixenes' cupbearer for support of the king's "honour." Leontes expresses Camillo's reward in economic terms: the servant's "thrifts" and "profits" should be as the king's. Furthermore, Leontes here rivals female procreative power. He has "bench'd and rear'd " Camillo "from meaner form," and the point of the line can be read "You owe me, Camillo, because I created you."

Camillo is forced to choose between remaining a loyal servant to his king and remaining loyal to his good sense, his human intuition. He first steers a middle course; when asked by Polixenes "If you know aught which does behove my knowledge/Thereof to be inform'd, imprison't not" (1.2.395-396), he responds with "I may not answer." As the king's servant he is bound to silence. But Polixenes charges Camillo to answer

"by all the parts of man/Which honour does acknowledge." By charging Camillo in honor (and, as Camillo says, "by him/That I think honourable") Polixenes addresses him as an individual rather than a social persona who must remain loyal to Leontes. He asks Camillo to place the bonds of *communitas* over the bonds of social structure. Camillo responds by telling Polixenes of the danger he is in and thus stays faithful to his intuition. Like Hermione, he disappears from Sicilia for sixteen years.

Antigonus, on the other hand, has a weaker sense of *communitas* and is more susceptible to Leontes' perverse influence. Unlike Camillo, he entertains thoughts of Hermione's guilt-- he even dreams that she is found guilty at the trial. When Leontes extends his view of the husband-wife power balance to other people, Antigonus is helpless and cannot extricate himself from Leontes' power over him. Leontes sees Antigonus as less than a man. He cannot keep his wife in check and therefore is not fulfilling his role as husband "properly." Rather, Paulina declares herself independent of such bonds; her cause is so just that it transcends patriarchal rules. When Leontes attacks Antigonus with the line "What! canst not rule her?" Paulina steps in with:

From all dishonesty he can: in this--
Unless he take the course that you have done,
Commit me for committing honour-- trust it,
He shall not rule me. (2.3.47-50)

Antigonus stands on weak middle ground throughout this scene; he has the strength neither to corral his wife nor to stand up for her. This indicates that he does not have an understanding of his wife's motives or the wrongfulness of the king's opinion and actions. Indeed, his intuition cannot even tell him the source of the king's affliction, for two scenes earlier he has said:

You are abus'd, and by some putter-on
That will be damn'd for't: would I knew the villain
I would land-damn him. (2.1.141-143)

Antigonus is in part the villain for allowing the king to get away with his actions. He stands to some degree for the indecision and misunderstanding-- the weak intuition, we could say-- that all of the counsellors have toward the breach Leontes made. They are willing to give their lives for the queen and her child, but they are not willing to address the cause of the problem and the power balance that lets the king get away with his deeds. Rather, they desperately try to retain his favor and show they will only try to correct the "diseased" king from within his system of political power:

Leon. You're liars all.

A Lord. Beseech your highness, give us better credit:
We have always truly serv'd you; and beseech
So to esteem of us: and on our knees we beg
(As recompense of our dear services
Past and to come) that you do change this purpose...
We all kneel. (2.3.146-152)

This weak-mindedness is the reason natural law, which works for the health of society, and the playwright give Antigonus the ultimate suspension in time: death; for he does not intuitively understand the need to limit the king's abuse of structural power and to restore the strength of communitas. Camillo makes the right move in leaving Leontes and removing himself from the influence of his power. Though his running away is taken by the king to be more evidence for Polixenes' and Hermione's guilt, Camillo shows that he has some sense of the king's unbalanced identity:

What case stand I in? I must be the **poisoner**
Of good Polixenes, and **my** ground to do't
Is the obedience to a master; one
Who, in rebellion with himself, will have
All that are his, so too. (1.2.352-356)

The master-servant aspect of Leontes' relationship with Antigonus is epitomized at the end of scene 2.3 in a verbal **contract** along rhetorical **power** lines:

Leon. ...Swear by this sword
 Thou wilt perform my bidding.

Ant. I will, my lord.

Leon. Mark and perform it: seest thou? for the fail
 Of any point in't shall not only be
 Death to thyself, but to thy lewd-tongu'd wife
 (Whom for this time we pardon). (2.3.167-171)

Antigonus accpets the king's power to pardon or condemn his wife and makes a verbal contract with him by swearing to take the child away.

Thus, by the time of Hermione's trial, patriarchy has been weakened by an unbalanced king and the loss of two counsellors, Camillo and Antigonus. Leontes, who as King of Sicilia is, in Turner's terminology, "the authoritative representative of the revelent community," must publicly justify his own actions toward the queen. This takes the form of Hermione's trial, one of Turner's redressive measures ("ritualized action, whether legal, religious or military"). But the trial, a device created by and here serving the patriarchy, fails in front of everyone's eyes. The oracle is the final trump card in communitas-related values' bout'with patriarchal powers. When Leontes tries to argue with it ("There is no truth at all i'th'Oracle:/The sessions shall proceed: this is mere falsehood"), his son, Mamillius, promptly dies. Patriarchy is robbed of power in the most basic way: Leontes' family is deprived of its heir. The king's personal trespass has led him to abuse political power. At one point, Paulina stops short of publicly tying the king's private opinion to his political position:

I'll not call you tyrant;
 But this most cruel usage of your queen--
 Not able to produce more accusation
 Than your own weak-hing'd fancy-- something savours
 Of tyranny... (2.3.115-119)

She is not so restrained, however, when announcing the queen's "death":
 "But, O thou tyrant!/Dø not repent these things, for they are heavier/
 Than all thy woes can stir" (3.2.207-209).

Patriarchal efficacy is now flat on its back, not destroyed but greatly disrupted. With the death of his son, Leontes accepts the word of the oracle as truth and repents. Like Camillo and Hermione, he becomes suspended in time for sixteen years. Paulina tells him:

...betake thee
To nothing but despair. A thousand knees
Ten thousand years together, naked, fasting,
Upon a barren mountain, and still winter
In storm perpetual, could not move the gods
To look that way thou wert. (3.2.209-214)

Appropriate to his crime, and picking up on the tone of Paulina's imagery, Leontes' suspension is continual, dark, unproductive, repetitive. He orders that his queen and his son will share one grave and:

...upon them shall
The causes of their death appear, unto
Our shame perpetual. Once a day I'll visit
The chapel where they lie, and tears shed there
Shall be my recreation. So long as nature
Will bear up with this exercise, so long
I daily vow to use it. Come, and lead me
To these sorrows. (3.3.235-243)

With the king in suspension, the kingdom and the crisis in Sicilian society are also suspended-- for the cause of the crisis has not yet been addressed, and the redressive machinery, the trial, which was to have publicly settled the crisis has failed. Turner elaborates on the nature of redressive machinery during a social crisis:

...it also happens that redressive agents and the instruments they have at command, courts, parliaments, assemblies, councils, armies, police, negotiating tables, divining apparatus, oracles, powers to curse or bless, have lost or are losing their authority, legitimacy, or efficacy in the eyes of the group members. The response to crisis may now emerge from a group intent on altering or restructuring the social order in some decisive way, reformative or revolutionary... Much depends on the size and scale of the group and the degree to which its social and economic division of labor has advanced. Such factors determine what modes of redress are applied or devised.²⁰

It falls, then, to someone in the community to find a new redressive approach to resolving the crisis and reaffirming a social structure.

This task becomes Paulina's, who so far has appeared as the conscience of the king. Paulina's motives are to correct the wrong that has been done to her friend the queen and in so doing correct the attitudes and power balance that led to her fall, and to prevent Perdita from having to go through what Camillo and Hermione must-- separation from Sicilian society:

This child was prisoner to the womb, and is
By law and process of great nature, thence
Free'd and enfranchis'd; not a party to
The anger of the king, nor guilty of
(If any be) the trespass of the queen. (2.2.59-63)

Paulina's aid is "reformative" rather than "revolutionary." Before she can let the former tyrant Leontes regain his power as principal patriarch, she must get him to appreciate the creative and procreative powers his overly-structural view has denied and tried to eliminate, to respect the image of maternity again, and to understand human beings as individuals rather than solely social personnae.

Paulina does this by playing a combination of mother, doctor and moral guide. Leontes fantasizes about himself as a boy ("methinks I did recall/Twenty-three years, and saw myself unbreech'd,/In my green velvet coat; my dagger muzzle'd/Lest it should bite its master" 1.2.154-157). The frustration he felt when confronted with natural bounty in the forms of the baby and the oracle also caused childish regression. The oracle, verbal power exercised by the gods, has ultimate power to set down laws, and no creation of the patriarchy can supersede it. Its presence completes a trend; we have seen nature point out the limits of patriarchy before, in scene 2.3 where Paulina forces the king to look at the child. The child is proof of natural bounty; it surprises Leontes, who thought that by jailing Hermione the baby would disappear. He can order the child away but cannot prevent its existence. When Paulina produces the baby Leontes goes into a rage. He cannot argue

with Paulina rationally but resorts to:

Out!
A mankind witch! Hence with her, out o'door:
A most intelligencing bawd! (2.3.66-68)

Leontes is not only separated from the rest of society, but this scene shows him as somewhat regressing. There is something of childish frustration in Leontes' lines:

Traitors!
Will you not push her out? Give her the bastard,
Thou dottard! (2.3.72-74)

and:

A gross hag!
And, lozel, thou art worthy to be hang'd,
That wilt not stay her tongue. (2.3.108-110)

Leontes accuses Paulina of being an evil witch in his frenzy, but his perception is 180 degrees wrong-- she turns out to be a healing character whose charms work, as she says in the final scene, not with "wicked powers" but "lawfully."

Paulina appears maternal by taking up Hermione's cause and by appearing on-stage with the baby.²¹ Leontes' rage and use of Antigonus as a scapegoat in that scene may also rise from an identification of Paulina with Hermione.²² But Paulina is forceful and refuses the men's attempts to patronize her. Not only does Paulina refuse to honor the traditional power relationship with her husband, she subverts the king's power by talking out of turn. She even scares the counsellors from obeying the king's command to "Give her the bastard" with:

Unvenerable be thy hands, if thou
Tak'st up the princess, by that forced baseness
Which he has put upon't! (2.3.77-79)

Paulina presents herself to the king more overtly as a doctor:

"your loyal servant, your physician,/Your most obedient counsellor"
(2.3.54-55). In the role of doctor, Paulina's tools are words:

I
Do come with words as medicinal as true,
Honest, as either, to purge him of that humor
That presses him from sleep. (2.3.36-39)

Like powers associated with motherhood, words are one of the few weapons Paulina can resort to. The men, with their courtly rhetoric, have claimed this channel of power as their own, but Paulina says:

If I prove honey-mouth'd, let my tongue blister,
And never to my red-look'd anger be
The trumpet any more. Pray you, Emilia,
Commend my best obedience to the queen:
If she dares trust me with her little babe,
I'll show't the king, and undertake to be
Her advocate to th'loudest. (2.2.33-39)

Paulina must intrude on the territory-- shakey and undeserved territory-- patriarchy has claimed. One of the final scenes of the play gives us a comic reflection of this problem. The Clown agrees to help Autolycus regain favor with the prince:

Clo. Give me thy hand: I will swear to the prince thou
art as honest a true fellow as any in Bohemia.

Shep. You may say it, but not swear it.

Clo. Not swear it, now I am a gentleman? Let boors and
franklins say it, I'll swear it.

Shep. How if it be false, son?

Clo. If it be ne'er so false, a true gentleman may swear it
in the behalf of his friend: and I'll swear to the
prince thou art a tall fellow of thy hands and that
thou wilt not be drunk; but I know thou art not tall
fellow of thy hands and that thou wilt be drunk: but
I'll swear it, and I would thou would'st be a tall
fellow of thy hands.

Aut. I will prove so, sir, to my power. (5.2.156-169)

The clown, a recently-born gentleman, assumes that trust and verbal power come automatically with his new social position. Paulina grabs verbal power as an advocate of female rights; she must make her point loudly, as she is in a life or death situation. Paulina shows she knows that she has had to choose from a range of limited weapons her life permits: "I say good queen,/And would by combat make her good, so were I/A man" (2.3.59-61).

Paulina refutes the king's verbal power by, among other things, ignoring his threats to have her burnt. She challenges the king's

power to decree law, to deprive the queen of freedom, for she sees him as not deserving that power any longer. The oracle, however, with its "ear-deaf'ning voice" (3.1.9), is proven to be the final word of the law. Hermione sets this up with:

...if I shall be condemn'd
Upon surmises, all proofs sleeping else
But what your jealousies awake, I tell you
'Tis rigour and not law. Your honours all,
I do refer me to the Oracle:
Apollo be my judge! (3.2.111-116)

The word of the oracle vindicates Paulina's opinion. But she cannot straight away appropriate male verbal power in the vacuum the oracle leaves behind. She works subtly, using words to deceive the king (the speech in which she announces the queen's "death" is her most rhetorical and a bit overdone, perhaps making us suspect her words), to berate the king, and then to relent once he feels remorse ("I beseech you, rather/Let me be punish'd, that have minded you/Of what you should forget" 3.2.224-226). She softens at this point because Leontes has accepted his guilt. As both a doctor and maternal figure, Paulina's words in the last act rebuild a positive maternal image in Leontes' mind and keep his thoughts trained on "dead" Hermione. Before I describe how Paulina gains power through the channel of words, I will put the Paulina-Leontes relationship in another setting.

Rites of Passage

Between the ending of the trial and Hermione's reintroduction to the court in the final scene, Leontes goes through a transformation. He holds a different understanding of women and of social relations at the end of Act 5 than at the end of Act 3. I have represented Paulina's connection to Leontes as resembling a doctor-patient relationship and the mother-child relationship. In the former model, Leontes' transfor-

mation can be considered healing. In the latter we can call it re-socialization. This model is more interesting because it is supported by more parts of the play.

Psychoanalytic critics have suggested that Leontes' jealousy is a response to his fear of maternal engulfment. Erickson claims that "Hermione's visible pregnancy activates a maternal image that seems in and of itself to provoke male insecurity."²³ Key support for this idea comes from the imagery Leontes uses when describing Hermione's cordial and suspect treatment of Polixenes:

This entertainmet
May a free face put on, derive a liberty
From heartiness, from bounty, fertile bosom,
And well become the agent; t'may-- I grant. (1.2.111-114)

Leontes here shows his belief in maternal value collapsing. Hermione's "fertile bosom" becomes suspect, as does her "entertainment" of Polixenes. Her maternal disposition becomes a "free face put on."²⁴

It is not just his imagery which makes considering Leontes' jealousy a defensive reaction against fear of maternal betrayal worthwhile. In trying to destroy maternity we can see Leontes destroying his connections to *communitas*. It is in the early stages of childhood, when the child cannot differentiate between the mother and the self, that feelings of empathy develop. These feelings of empathy-- born of the sensual and emotional union with the mother-- may be the roots of *communitas*. Psychoanalysts refer to the process by which a child achieves separateness from his mother as "differentiation" or "separation-individuation."²⁵ Feminist critic Nancy Chodorow notes:

A child of either gender is born originally with what is called a "narcissistic relation to reality": cognitively and libidinally it experiences itself as merged and continuous with the world in general and with its mother or caretaker in particular.²⁶

Polixenes' lines about the kings' boyhood are reminiscent of this feeling of existing "continuous with the world in general":

We were, fair queen
Two lads that thought there was no more behind,
But such a day to-morrow as to-day,
And to be boy eternal. (1.2.62-65)

But Polixenes describes a relationship between two boys, not a boy and his mother. Polixenes must be describing an age where he has separated his identity from his mother's and instead identifies with a human much more like himself, his "twin lamb" Leontes. This separation from women and identification with Leontes, which continues when the boys have grown up, allows Polixenes to hold conflicting views of women at the same time. As a mother Hermione is a "sacred lady"; as a young unmarried woman, she is a temptation and inspires sin. Polixenes will not fear Hermione because his masculine identity remains safe in his idealized image of brotherhood.

Polixenes' lines seem to refer to the kings as just about the age of Mamillius. While Polixenes describes a state of perpetual boyhood, Mamillius is just at the age where he is conscious of his independence. He refuses to play with one of his lady attendants because:

Mam. You'll kiss me hard, and speak to me as if
I were a baby still. I love you better.

Sec. Lady. And why so my lord?

Mam. Not for because
Your brows are blacker; yet black brows, they say,
Become some women best, so that there be not
Too much hair there, but in a semicircle,
Or a half-moon, made with a pen. (2.1.5-11)

Mamillius not only refuses to be babied but shows he is at a stage of such separation from his female attendants that he is able to objectify them. While he appears to be several years beyond the stage where a child achieves psychological and physical separation from the mother, his words remind us of that separation. Mamillius' individuation is

also shown in the preceding scene:

Leon. Mine honest friend,
Will you take eggs for money?

Mam. No, my lord, I'll fight.

Leon. You will? Why happy man be's dole! (1.2.161-163)

The boy is ready to defend what is his, not belonging to others. He is articulating that he wants to be thought of as masculine and as an individual.

While the model of mother-child relations is an appropriate one for Paulina and Leontes, it is limited. Leontes does not merge with Paulina and he does not become an infant king. Another anthropological model, more inclusive of the king's relation to the rest of his society, will be helpful here. I will discuss Leontes relearning experience as a rite of passage in which he is reinitiated into the bonds of *communitas*. The mother-child and doctor-patient models will be subsumed by the rite of passage paradigm.

Turner says that redress (in preindustrial societies) is usually jural or ritual. The jural has failed. Almost automatically, as if by natural law, Sicilia moves into what we can call a ritual mode. "Rites of passage" refers to a class of rituals found in all societies which accompany changes in age, in social position, or in state.²⁷ "State" here refers to a condition in which an individual has a clear position in the social structure of his society and accepts the corresponding cultural viewpoint. A rite of passage can be thought of as a transition as well as a transformation process (or ontological change)-- a move from one state to another.²⁸ The French anthropologist and folklorist Arnold van Gennep, who first described a form for these rituals, showed that they consist of three phases: separation, in which the individual (or group) becomes detached from his (or *its*) social position or state; margin, or liminal period, in which the individual

has ambiguous identity and is suspended between the cracks of the social structure; and reaggregation, in which the passage to a new stable state or social position is completed. Once in a stable state again, Turner says, the individual "has rights and obligations of a clearly defined and 'structural' type, and is expected to behave in accordance with certain customary norms and ethical standards."²⁹ In other words, the ritual may help the individual accept new responsibilities, like those of sexual maturity or public office.

In the first half of the play, Leontes is in a skewed state from which he "misreads" gestures and words. He misinterprets Hermione's friendliness toward Polixenes, takes Paulina for a witch and Perdita for a monster (Shall I live on to see this bastard kneel/And call me father? better burn it now/Than curse it then" 2.3.154-156), and plays with the unintended meanings of words. When the king toys with Camillo by asking for an explanation for why Polixenes will stay on, he responds:

Cam. To satisfy your highness, and the entreaties
Of our most gracious mistress.

Leon. Satisfy?
Th'entreaties of your mistress? satisfy?
Let that suffice. (1.2.232-235)

By the end of his rite of passage, Leontes will understand his society in a way that helps him rule responsibly again. Paulina, guided by her intuition, sense of communitas and loyalty to Hermione, conducts him through the ritual; but in a large way it is in the control of circumstance, natural law, the playwright. Leontes' rite of passage is concurrent with ~~with~~ the social drama he has set in motion. The separation phase begins when he breaks his bonds to his wife; it continues through the first half of the play as Sicilia plunges into crisis and the king attempts redress. The reaggregation phase of the rite, in which the king is reunited with those he has alienated and the crown is reinvigorated, corresponds to the final phase of the social drama, reconciliation.

of differing parties.

For the sixteen years we do not see him, through scene 5.1 and presumably during the time the audience watches Act 4, we can describe Leontes as in the marginal/liminal phase. In this period, the individual has ambiguous identity. Between states, he is no longer a nexus in the system of social structural relationships but somewhere "between the lines" of that structure. The individual withdraws from his usual values, norms and sentiments and carries no structural characteristics such as rank, status or property.³⁰ He is considered to have nothing, to be in a condition we can call "sacred poverty."³¹ Appropriately, his perspective of the world changes. From the "empty slate" condition, the individual in a rite of passage is open to new understandings of his society.

Cleomenes' description of the Delphic oracle expresses a similar sense of nothingness:

But of all, the burst
And the ear-deaf'ning voice o'th'Oracle,
Kin to Jove's thunder, so surpris'd my sense,
That I was nothing. (3.1.8-11)

The words of Apollo, identified with natural powers through the image of "Jove's thunder," overwhelms Cleomenes' senses and reduces his *feeling* ~~for~~ individual self to nothing. The only appropriate response is wonder. Leontes, too, is reduced to nothing; but the bulk of his sixteen-year penance seems to be a fruitless nothing. He indicates this in his "perpetual shame" speech after Hermione's and Mamillius' deaths are announced: "Once a day I'll visit/The chapel where they lie, and tears shed there/Shall be my recreation" (3.2:238-240). Where Cleomenes' state of nothingness opens him to accepting the words of the oracle, Leontes' nothingness is at first non-productive and repetitive. To some degree, it is meant to humble him before he moves into a state of

open or acceptant nothingness. I will illustrate this further shortly. The point here is that by supressing individuation and structure-- related views of the self, the individual can take a wider and less structure-bound view of the world.

Our shift in perspective from the constricting lines of tragic form to the relatively open mode of Act 4 provides an analogue to Leontes' widened perspective. (Act 4 in itself can be taken as an analogue to what Leontes learns during his mourning.) In the first half of the play, events seem causally related. But starting with Antigonus' death in the last scene of Act 3, events become more arbitrary. At first glance, the bear, the dream which leads Antigonus and Perdita to Bohemia, and the coincidence of Camillo's, Autolycus' and the lovers' motives seem random. The form loosens up to accommodate burlesque comedy (Autolycus picking the Clown's pocket), songs, dance and the nature-culture debate, an intellectual set-piece. In addition, Act 4 stresses patterns of action in which a single character's world-view and power to influence events seem limited.³² Antigonus does not see the significance of bringing Perdita to Bohemia; Camillo does not understand the general ramifications of his plan-- based on the selfish motive of wanting to see Leontes again-- to lead the lovers to Sicilia; and Autolycus cannot foresee the service he does to Sicilia by sending the shepherds to the prince's boat. The play's events are beyond one person's ability to account for them. This-- in addition to the complex awareness of life we get when the limits of comedy and tragedy are stretched and the genres are juxtaposed-- inspires a sense of wonder and makes us feel like we are looking up at nature from a position of limited power below.

This openness to nature has certain parallels to liminality. Turner explains:

We are not dealing with structural contradictions when we discuss liminality, but with the essentially unstructured (which is at once destructured and prestructured) and often the people themselves see this in terms of bringing neophytes into close connection with deity or with superhuman power, with what is, in fact, often regarded as the unbounded, the infinite, the limitless.³³

The "unbounded" in Leontes' experience is reflected in his nothingness and "perpetual shame" (and in any feelings of being subsumed by a mother figure, he may feel, which are limited since though he regresses he does not unite in any way with Paulina). In Act 4, the arbitrariness of events and juxtaposition of genres makes nature appear big, powerful, unbounded. But it is not completely unstructured-- perhaps "prestructured" is the more descriptive word. A natural order is not delineated but is hinted at. Just as the bonds of *communitas* are not clearly structured bonds, natural laws are not clearly defineable. Leontes' description of "natural law" in the last scene of the play is revealing. When Hermione the statue steps down from her pedestal and becomes Hermione the woman, the king says: "If this be magic, let it be an art/Lawful as eating" (5.3.110-111). Similarly, Perdita is freed from the womb "by law and process of great nature" (2.2.60). Natural law is said to proceed from instinct and necessary life functions.

In the pastoral segment of The Winter's Tale, natural order is hinted at through the process of "invisible nature made visible." As mentioned earlier, the infant Perdita and the oracle are natural creative power manifest; Leontes cannot argue with their existence, which frustrates him. Here manifest nature sets a moral tone, for the appearance of the infant and the oracle as proof of *communitas*-related values make Leontes' fight against them look immoral and diseased. This trend is continued in Act 4, as nature sets out a system of punishments and rewards. The bear seems at first an arbitrary manifestation

of nature, but it is also strangely satisfying. The arbitrary death of Antigonus makes sense to us on a gut level. Leontes' violent breach is matched by an equally sudden and violent act of nature, and the audience must be purged of hostile energies roused up in the first three acts before it moves into the calmer and wonder-filled Act 4. Furthermore, Antigonus ^{is} punished to some extent by natural law and the playwright as a scapegoat for Leontes. The actions of both Leontes and Antigonus support instead of challenge unbalanced views of the structural and communitas bonds in Sicilia.

Natural design is also made visible in the sheep-shearing festival, which marks a bountiful time of year, and the satyr dance, which may remind us of the Greek satyr dances that celebrated the harmony between human and natural fertility. In addition, communion between man and nature is brought out in the poetry. The love Florizel has for Perdita, independent as it is from structure-related values, provides the primary vehicle for this imagery in Act 4. The old shepherd uses this imagery when telling Polixenes of the young love:

He says he loves my daughter:
I think so too; for never gaz'd the moon
Upon the water as he'll stand and read
As 'twere my daughter's eyes. (4.4.173-176)

Florizel says to Perdita: "when you dance, I wish you/A wave o'th'sea, that you might ever do/Nothing but that, move still, still so,/And own no other function" (4.4.140-143). Some of the most striking imagery comes when Florizel renounces the structural ties to his father which will deter his vow to Perdita:

Camillo,
Not for Bohemia, nor the pomp that may
Be thereat glean'd: for all the sun sees, or
The close earth wombs, or the profound sea hides
In unknown fathoms, will I break my oath
To this fair beloved. (4.4.488-493)

When we meet Leontes again after sixteen years of mourning and penance, the struggle for a resolution to the Sicilian social drama is still fought between structural and communitas-related values. As before, the sides are drawn along sexual lines. Cleomenes argues that the time is right for Leontes to take another wife. He uses metaphors of crime and punishment:

Sir, you have done enough, and have perform'd
A saint-like sorrow: no fault could you make,
Which you have not redeem'd; indeed, paid down
More penitence than done trespass: at the last,
Do as the heavens have done, forget your evil;
With them, forgive yourself. (5.1.1-6)

Cleomenes expresses Leontes' experience by combining words with religious connotations with the economic, worldly and structural notions of "paying down" penitence and finding a punishment equal to the "trespass" of causing his wife's death. Dion tries to validate this view by pointing out that the health and safety of the nation depend on the crown:

consider little,
What dangers, by his highness' fail of issue,
May drop upon his kingdom, and devour
Uncertain lookers on. (5.1.26-29)

Dion, too, supports his view with religious rhetoric: "What holier than, for royalty's repair...to bless the bed of majesty again? With a sweet fellow to't?" But the men have assumed that by putting his crime behind him Leontes would "do as the heavens have done."

Paulina, on the other hand, values the memory and person of Hermione so much that she cannot conceive of a punishment fitting the king's trespass. For her, the "secret purposes" (5.1.36) of the gods as expressed in the oracle ("King Leontes shall not have an heir/Till his lost child be found") have not been fulfilled. "Care not for issue:/The crown will find an heir," she says, and asks the king to remain loyal to Hermione. To redeem himself only in terms of crime and punishment would be to undervalue Hermione as an individual. In Act 5 Paulina keeps the memory of Hermione alive in Leontes' mind through

objectification shortly. I mention it here to point out that we can first consider the idealization of Hermione as a teaching and power tool Paulina uses to get certain reactions out of Leontes, whether she is conscious of her pedagogy or just acting intuitively.

Through remembering Hermione sensually and as superior to other women, Leontes "communes" with his "dead" wife-- he imagines her corpse revived and haunting him. This demonstrates that he honors her memory and appreciates her uniqueness. Paulina, using an attack and relent method similar to her condemnation of Leontes for killing his wife in scene 3.2, picks up and uses the ghost image to gain control of the king. By activating the ghost and crying "Remember mine," she brings the king to:

Leon. Stars, stars,
And all eyes else, dead coals! Fear thou no wife;
I'll have no wife. Paulina.

Paul. Will you swear
Never to marry, but by my free leave?

Leon. Never, Paulina; so be blest my spirit!

Paul. Then, good my lords, bear witness to his oath. (5.1.67-72)

Through the channel of verbal power, originally claimed by men in the play, a woman has gained a power over the king. In light of Dion's pointing the safety of the kingdom to the king's heir, Paulina has gained real political power. This power is qualified, however, by the fact that Hermione is alive and, in the two women's views, the only possible mate for the king. As if remembering this, Paulina loosens up her attack after gaining the king's oath:

I have done.
Yet, if my lord will marry,--if you will, sir;
No remedy but you will,-- give me the office
To choose you a queen. (5.1.75-79)

In addition to honoring Hermione's memory, Leontes shows that he has a responsible understanding of the pain he inflicted through his trespasses. In a sense, he relives the pain of his actions. The king showed remorse immediately upon learning of the deaths of his wife and son, but only after a liminal period with ambiguous identity could the king rebalance his sense of self to accommodate *communitas* as well as structural values. Now, after years of mourning and repetitious activity, he displays a sense of self with *communitas* as well as structural components, he can articulate his sorrows, and he shows he holds himself responsible for his actions. When Paulina reminds him he killed Hermione the king responds:

Kill'd!
She I kill'd! I did so: but thou strik'st me
Sorely, to say I did: it is as bitter
Upon thy tongue as in my thought. (5.1.16-19)

As soon as she gets the king's vow not to remarry without her permission, a servant appears to announce the arrival of the lovers from Bohemia. Perdita further arouses memories of Hermione in the king. Florizel, the very stamp of his father ("Your mother was most true to wedlock, prince;/For she did print your royal father off,/Conceiving you" 5.1.123-125), reminds him of Polixenes, "against whose person/(So sacred as it is) I have done sin"(5.1.170-171) and of his own lost son Mamillius. The young lovers *further* his sense of loss of and alienation from those who he values:

O alas!
I lost a couple, that 'twixt heaven and earth
Might thus have stood, begetting wonder, as
You, gracious couple, do: and then I lost--
All mine own folly-- the society,
Amity too, of your brave father.... (5.1.130-135)

The pain of his losses makes the effect of wonder, brought on by the lovers' resemblance to their parents, seem all the more acute. Some ten lines later the king says:

O my brother,--
Good gentleman!--the wrongs I have done thee stir
Afresh within me; and these thy offices,
So rarely kind, are as interpreters
Of my behind-hand slackness!

To a large extent, the process of Leontes' reliving his trespasses and losses is out of her control, but Paulina uses the lovers' arrival to prod the king:

Paul. Had the prince
(Jewel of children) seen this hour, he had pair'd
Well with this lord: there was not full a month
Between their births.

Leon. Prithee, no more; cease; thou know'st
He dies to me again, when talk'd of... (5.1.115-119)

The king displays an amount of self-control-- he can control the goings-on in his court-- and shows that he is awakening from his state of mourning and nothingness. He has been put in immediate contact with the wounds he caused, an active remorse or acceptant nothingness, similar to Cleomenes' nothingness upon hearing the voice of the oracle.

Once in this state of acceptant nothingness, circumstances test Leontes when he must choose whether to jail Florizel on Polixenes' request or whether to aid the young man. The king first thinks of the prince's structural ties to his father: "I am sorry,/Most sorry, you have broken from his liking,/Where you were tied in duty" (5.1.210-212). However, perhaps because his suspension in liminality has put him in touch again with *communitas*, the king decides to try to reconcile Florizel with his father. Had Leontes jailed the prince, The Winter's Tale would be non-regenerative. This would have been the third time the audience witnesses an angry patriarch impose structural restrictions on people at the expense of *communitas*.

Leontes is now ready to meet Camillo and Polixenes. In their reconciliation, *communitas* is affirmed and made wonder-ful by the discovery that Perdita is the king's lost daughter. *Communitas*

reanimated in the king is by circumstance spread throughout the community, and structural relations are set aside while all are equalized in the bonds of *communitas*:

Third Gent. ...there was casting up of eyes, holding up of hands, with countenance of such distraction, that they were to be known by garment, not by favour. (5.2.47-50)

Soon after we are given a comic reflection of this "brotherhood of equals":

Clown. ...the king's son took me by the hand, and called me brother; and then the two kings called my father brother; and then the prince, my brother, and the princess, my sister, called my father father; and so we wept; and there was the first gentleman-like tears that ever we shed. (5.2.140-145)

As *communitas* throughout the community is affirmed, we near the end of Leontes' penance. Turner, explaining what the experience of liminality teaches, says:

The pedagogies of liminality...represent a condemnation of two kinds of separation from the generic bond of *communitas*. The first kind is to act only in terms of the rights conferred on one by the incumbency of office in the social structure. The second is to follow one's psychological urges at the expense of one's fellows.³⁵

This is, I believe, a good description of Leontes' past trespasses. In helping Florizel, the king shows that he will not "act only in terms of the rights conferred on one by the incumbency of office in the social structure." We have also seen him interact with other aspects of *communitas*: transition instead of steady state, totality instead of partiality (in remembering Hermione), equality instead of inequality, humility instead of kingly pride, and obedience to Paulina instead of autonomy.³⁶ Leontes has moved from an ambiguous position to a state in which he makes choices consistent with the laws that guide society as a whole, not just structural laws. He has moved into the last phase of the rite of passage--reaggregation. At the same time, the redressive mechanism of the rite completed, Sicilia has moved into the final phase

- 21 -

In offering to take the blame for Hermione's death on himself, Polixenes invokes an image of ideal friendship typical in Shakespeare's day.³⁷ Brotherhood based on the economics of gift-giving is superseded by brotherhood based on empathy, and empathy is described as a power. Not only do Leontes and Polixenes honor the statue, but Perdita wants to "kneel, and then implore her blessing" (5.3.44). The community appears united around the statue.

Extending the metaphor of a rite of passage to Hermione, the statue takes on several characteristics of a ritual symbol. Ritual symbols, Turner writes, unify disparate referents, condense them, and polarize meaning-- and the referents tend to "cluster around opposite semantic poles."³⁸ Due to circumstances and the emphases of Leontes' rite of passage, many opposites converge on Hermione. The statue spans the realms of life and death, and the first half of 5.3 sets up the dichotomies of "cold stone" and "warm life." Leontes also plays the statue against the remembrance of the living Hermione; the stone reminds him that "she was as tender/As infancy and grace" (5.3.26-27). The infancy image as well as the more general picture of young Perdita (who resembles Hermione) standing next to the ageing mother reinforces a dichotomy between linear and cyclical time. In addition, the "realism" of the statue plays on the relation between art and life. The statue embodies and unifies these opposites.

More important, however, is the way ritual symbols unite "the organic with the sociomoral order, producing then ultimate religious unity, over and above conflicts between and within these orders."³⁹ (Rather than organic and sociomoral, Turner elsewhere calls these sensory and ideological poles.⁴⁰) The emotions surrounding the organic pole, such as emotions concerning reproduction, are given value in the social order and are divested of any anti-social qualities they might be perceived as

carrying.⁴¹ In this way, Turner notes, rituals accomplish what Durkheim called "converting the obligatory into the desirable."⁴² We can see Paulina's prolongation of Leontes' desire, then, as infusing more and more value into the person of Hermione and what she represents. Leontes' desire for his wife is merged with respect for the maternal function and the value and holiness of maternity. The need for and value of maternity is made apparent when we consider the dominant opening image of the play, the pregnant queen, as disassembled by the end into the mother and daughter standing together. Maternity, the organic pole, is united with a sociomoral norm giving it value. Like Polixenes, Leontes sees the queen again as a "sacred lady." With his masculine identity resecured in the revived ideal brotherhood, the king can accept the differing roles of wife and mother as inherent in one woman.

However, the ending of the play is problematic. When Paulina says she will go off like a turtle dove and lament the loss of her husband, she in effect relinquishes any powers she once had. Maternal power has been reanimated, but it is still subject to the reinvigorated patriarchy. The affirmative tone of the end is also qualified by Hermione's words. After "coming alive," she speaks only to her daughter, not to her husband, and we get the impression that all is not immediately forgiven, that smoothing things out will take some time.

Though tense, the final scene of The Winter's Tale does affirm society as comprised of both *communitas* and structural bonds, both important to the health of Sicilia. To conclude, I will consider one more power associated with either of these bonds: the power to designate identity and significance. The first scene of the play ignores women. By teasing Hermione in the following scene the men in the play project a sense of knowledge and importance onto the world that we see is

influenced by their structural point of view. Eventually, women in the play are not just ignored but degraded. In his jealous fit, Leontes tries to make Hermione go away by jailing her and make Perdita disappear by banishing her. In his misreading of the world around him-- misinterpreting his wife's friendship with Polixenes, the character of Paulina, the nature of the infant Perdita-- he misattributes significance and tries to destroy what displeases him. But Paulina, even when threatened with the prospect of being burned as a witch, does not back down. Perdita reappears, and Hermione returns. Though the women's roles are qualified by limitations, The Winter's Tale shows the resiliency of women in society.

The ritual of the rite of passage, which creates meaning by attaching value to what Leontes originally felt was threatening, overrides the men's system of signification in which women, because they have no structural powers, are almost invisible and bear only sin. The rite puts Leontes in touch with *communitas*; but the idealization of women, brought on by a woman, is also a necessary component of the rite because of the psychological need men have to keep their autonomous identities safe from maternal engulfment. In the need and the limitations of idealization, we can see the precarious position of women in Sicilia.

Endnotes

1. All text citations are from the 1981 Arden edition, prepared by J.H.P. Pafford.
2. See Peter B. Erickson, "Patriarchal Structures in The Winter's Tale," PMLA, 97, No. 5 (1982), 819-829 as an example of the former and William H. Matchett, "Some Dramatic Techniques in The Winter's Tale," Shakespeare Survey, 22 (1969), 93-107 for the latter.
3. Turner defines social drama in From Ritual to Theatre: The Human Seriousness of Play (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982), p. 92 and pp. 108-109 as well as in "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors," in Ritual, Play, and Performance, ed. Richard Schechner and Mady Schuman (New York: The Seabury Press, 1976), pp. 106-109.
4. In "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors" Turner discusses the benefits and dangers of metaphors for social processes and society, pp. 98-105.
5. As an example of a different processual unit, Turner in "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors," p. 104, discusses "harmonic" processual units. Harmonic units are social enterprises such as when a community gets together to build a bridge or barn and a stated goal is kept in sight.
6. Quoted by Turner in "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors," p. 111.
7. Turner, "Social Dramas and Ritual Metaphors," p. 112.
8. John Anthony Williams, The Natural Work of Art (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), p. 1.
9. Victor Turner, The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1969), p. 128.
10. Williams, p. 9.
11. Kenelm Burridge, Someone, No One: An Essay on Individuality (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 5-6.
12. Turner, From Ritual to Theatre, p. 104.
13. Clifford Geertz, quoted by Turner in From Ritual to Theatre, p. 104.
14. Turner, From Ritual to Theatre, p. 104.
15. Though I will not make an argument for it in this paper, the work of Carol Gilligan may be useful here. Her argument that men, because selfhood for them involves developing autonomy from the mother, have skewed standards of morality toward law-related principles and away from women's more relational moral principles could be a counterpart to tensions in The Winter's Tale. See Carol Gilligan, "In a Different Voice: Women's Conceptions of Self and Morality," Harvard Educational Review, 47, No. 4 (November 1977).
16. See Turner, From Ritual to Theatre, p. 73 and Richard Schechner, "Performers and Spectators Transported and Transformed," Kenyon Review, 3, No. 4 (1981), pp. 83-113.

17. Turner, From Ritual to Theatre, p. 108.
18. Turner, From Ritual to Theatre, p. 92.
19. Erickson, pp. 819-820.
20. Turner, From Ritual to Theatre, pp. 108-109.
21. Erickson, p. 823.
22. Murray M. Schwartz, "The Winter's Tale: Loss and Transformation," American Imago, 32 (1974), p. 146. Schwartz notes that Shakespeare transformed his source to establish a symmetry of roles between Antigonus-Paulina and Leontes-Hermione. This allows Shakespeare to use members of one pair as surrogates for their counterparts in the other pair. Schwartz argues that Antigonus and Paulina "complement and duplicate aspects of Leontes and Hermione."
23. Erickson, p. 819. Also see Schwartz, pp. 145-146.
24. Erickson, p. 819.
25. Nancy Chodorow, "Gender, Relation, and Difference in Psychoanalytic Perspective," in The Future of Difference, ed. Hester Eisenstein and Alice Jardine (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1980), p.5.
26. Chodorow, p. 5.
27. Victor Turner, The Forest of Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp. 93-94.
28. Turner, Forest of Symbols, p. 94.
29. Turner, Forest of Symbols, p. 94.
30. Turner, Forest of Symbols, pp. 98-99.
31. Turner, Forest of Symbols, pp. 98-99.
32. Williams, p. 3.
33. Turner, Forest of Symbols, p. 98.
34. Turner, Forest of Symbols, p. 103.
35. Turner, The Ritual Process, p. 105.
36. See Turner, The Ritual Process, p. 106.
37. See Pafford's note in the Arden edition, p. 156.
38. Turner, The Ritual Process, pp. 52-53.
39. Turner, The Ritual Process, pp. 52-53.
40. Turner, Forest of Symbols, p. 28.

41. Turner, The Ritual Process, pp. 52-53.

42. See Turner, Forest of Symbols, p. 30 or The Ritual Process, p. 53.

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