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## By A Thread: Adapting And Understanding The Literary Past Through Contemporary Costume

Sherry Bollero

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BY A THREAD: ADAPTING AND UNDERSTANDING THE LITERARY PAST THROUGH  
CONTEMPORARY COSTUME

by

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A Dissertation

Submitted to the Graduate Faculty

of the

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This dissertation, submitted by Sherry Bollero in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of North Dakota, has been read by the Faculty Advisory Committee under whom the work has been done and is hereby approved.

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Sherry Bollero  
July 23, 2021

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To my grandparents, who gave me the world;  
my mother, who gave me her persistence and strength;  
and my partner, who believes in me unconditionally.



## ABSTRACT

For over four hundred years, Shakespeare's plays have been adapted from text to the visual realizations on the stage and later the screen. Scholarship has attended to the playscript and the performance, but it has largely neglected the position of the costume as a bridge between the literary past and contemporary adaptation. This project contends that costumes as adaptations themselves play a significant role in contemporary constructions of the literary past. In particular, the project attends to the contribution of costumes in the visualization of Shakespeare's histories on screen. To explore this topic, the project considers several aspects. Specifically, the project attends to how pasts are represented on screen, how Shakespeare's scripts and prior adaptations impact costume representations of the literary past, and how the contemporary costume designer builds a representation of the literary past. The project concludes that costumes are multivalent and indicates several points of consideration. First, the project suggests that the temporal displacement of costumes representing the literary past signal their performativity. Next, the connection costumes offer between their adapted literature and the visual realization results in mimetic in distortions based on contemporary concerns, which contribute to the palimpsestic work of adaptations. Finally, the adaptation's moment of creation is the filter by which Shakespeare's playscript and all other material contribute to the construction of a costume, resulting in a unique presentation. Ultimately, the costume is a dynamic material object that supports a literary present and past, both immediate and not.

## Introduction: The Material

Costumes produce and materialize history. In this project, I focus on costumes in adaptations of Shakespeare's histories in on screen because they emphasize the multiple pasts competing for visual realization. In part, this is because Shakespeare himself contended with crafting a version of the historical past for his contemporary, and adaptors of Shakespeare have continued recreating versions of that literary past. Broadly speaking, the literary past is the construction of a former time in a textual narrative. For example, the world Shakespeare creates in *Henry IV* is a version of England's historical past set to the page. Similarly, even Shakespeare's *Hamlet* conjures images of a past that, if not at Elsinore castle, is situated in London during the Renaissance where Shakespeare's work would have been produced. In the process of adapting or remaking, costumes are significant to the realization of history because they never offer one history, they visually present many. Costumes in literary adaptations, like Shakespeare's histories, can represent the historical past, the adaptation's history, the literary past, and the contemporary moment as a future history. Additionally, costumes are a persistent – if ever-changing – feature of screen adaptations, while other material objects may come and go from adaptation-to-adaptation. In turn, costumes can engage with and shape contemporary perceptions of the pasts they represent. By examining how costumes contribute to constructing histories, how they are made in a contemporary adaptation, and how costume features morph over time, I want to expand on the growing body of work surrounding costumes in performance. In this project, I push at the boundaries of scholarship on costumes by expanding beyond costumes' immediacy to include their broader contributions to adaptations of Shakespeare on screen and their participation in various histories. Ultimately, costumes as visual signals of a past, literary or otherwise, influence how audiences come to understand and relate to these pasts.

My interest in costumes extends back to Oscar Wilde's "The Truth of Masks." Wilde positions himself between antiquarianism and the critics who assumed "Shakespeare himself was more or less indifferent to the costume of his actors" (280). Wilde's remarks are subtle but scathing as they undercut the sentiment that costumes must be historically accurate or that costumes are irrelevant to the performance. In one of Wilde's more direct moments, he acknowledges "costumes are a growth, an evolution, and a most important, perhaps the most important, sign of the manners, customs and mode of life of each century" (298). Costumes, representative of clothing, reveal change and progress over time, but they also communicate how life was lived in a specific moment. Costumes physically and mentally restrict or liberate the wearer, changing customs and manners based on these material constructions. For instance, the high-necked collars of the late 1400s made short hair on men more fashionable, and when heeled shoes became popular, it was easier to wear them in the court than in the muddy streets. Certainly, Wilde's remark highlights the importance of costumes in representing moments in time. However, the comment is indicative of Wilde's more general concern. In particular, Wilde suggests an interest in what a reader's or audience's analysis reveals about their minds. This is a concern about the contemporary and the way the contemporary interprets the text, the performance, and the significance of the material world. Wilde was right to couch his broader concern of analysis in conversations on costume because the two are related.

Costumes address a problem that is often overlooked by text-minded critics, but which rarely escapes the minds of producers. That is the problem of the commercially viable text. Renaissance drama, more than poetry, pamphlets or, later, the novel, must contend with an expectation of performance. Drama relies on its adaptors to materially realize the world, which requires a collaborative effort to establish a cohesive vision for each production. The same

collaborative performance that requires materially realization is now also true for film and television. The commercially viable text and its costumes are uniquely caught between audience demands for pleasing aesthetics that are informed by a wide contemporary appeal and historical representation. While this balance is always a part of considering the viability of drama, the needs of each production shift as aesthetics, priorities, interests, and audiences change.

My first chapter includes an interview with Nigel Edgerton, one of the costumers of *The Hollow Crown*, who offers insight into how productions are assembled, decisions are made, and adaptations relate to the text they're drawing from. What the interview with Edgerton highlights is that costumes become a confluence of choices. A costume in an adaptation of the literary past is an assemblage of material, drawn from numerous sources which extends beyond the physical properties. The term "material" itself holds multiple meanings including that which forms the substance of an object, having significance, and a fabric or cloth. The material of the costume is the total of the tangible objects that make the costume, and it is the historical and literary research, the contemporary aesthetic, the collective knowledge of its contributors, and the demands of the production. In short, costumes themselves pose as adaptations. According to adaptation scholar, Linda Hutcheon, there are many reasons for adaptations: "the urge to consume and erase the memory of the adapted text or to call it into question is as likely as the desire to pay tribute by copying" (7). Likewise, there are many reasons for the specific realization of a costume. I am concerned with the forces playing on a costume's realization as one way to explore how pasts materialize, are shaped and understood in their contemporary moment.

The costume, as an amalgamation of material, like the screen adaptation is always impure.<sup>i</sup> As Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan acknowledge in *Screen Adaptation: Impure*

*Cinema*, the use of “impure” is a term adopted into adaptation studies that has come with negative perceptions from which the language must recover. Cartmell and Whelehan’s work, like my own, “aims to celebrate [the] diversity” of adaptation on screen, which “has hybridity at its very heart” (131). That is, the costume, like the screen adaptation, is born from a variety of forces that will always make it unique including its time, the individuals collaborating on the work, the needs and finances of the production, and the medium and targeted audience of the adaptation. The unique realization of a costume can communicate the culmination of the concerns, interests, and intentions of the adaptation and its audience.

In contending with several time periods and different performance mediums, I engage with imperfect terms that are best understood in context. For example, because I work with texts and film adaptations, one way in which I mitigate the potential for confusion is by differentiating scripts by using “playscript” and “production.” The terms suggest differences between film and literary texts. The playscript attends to the published literature of Shakespeare’s work. Specifically, I use the work published in *The Arden Shakespeare Collection*, which is different from other publications of Shakespeare’s work. I use “playscript” to identify the written work that may have been performed, but that is not attached to a production. My work with Shakespeare’s plays are not performances, but the published text, which have been assembled and curated by publishers. On the other hand, my work with productions are not scripts or published texts, but the culmination of several factors, many of which are not directly visible to audiences. When referring to the “production,” I mean that which is preserved on the screen. There are two reasons for making this distinction from the playscript and the film’s script. First, the playscript is often modified, cut, altered, or somehow changed for film. It is an adaptation of a text to suit a different medium—stage-to-screen. For example, in *The Hollow Crown’s Henry*

*VI Part 2*, York is present in what would be Act 3, scene 2 and has many of the lines attributed in the playscript to Suffolk. In the playscript, York has already been sent from court to Ireland. Second, the adapted script is often then further modified during performance through adlibbing, lighting, costumes, etc. The text may not match the performance, risking an inaccurate representation of how costumes, and mentions of costumes, interact with the language in the adaptation as performance.

In a similarly imperfect way, I adopt the adaptation studies meaning of “distortion” and the term “anachronism.” Distortions, taken from Gerard’s Genette’s concepts in *Palimpsests* are inevitable to adaptations and reproductions because adaptors do not create facsimiles of other productions. Distortions contribute to the unique quality of each adaptation; they are the features or differences that mark an adaptation as individual, separate from other adaptations, and a site of creativity. Such distortions, applicable to multiple aspects of an adaptation, include the costumes, which also seek to recreate a past. In “The Painter of Modern Life,” Charles Baudelaire laments “If for the necessary and inevitable costume of the age you substitute another, you will be guilty of a mistranslation only to be excused in the case of masquerade prescribed by fashion” (13). Baudelaire asserts the artist is most effective when rendering a costume accurate to the subject’s period (12-13). That is to say displacing the subject by rendering a costume from another time without considering the subject’s position in time subverts the representation of the subject’s social life, thereby disrupting the harmony of the composition. As BBC Shakespeare Collection producer, Jonathan Miller has observed, “There’s a wonderful book by Anne Hollander about costume, in which she has a series of photographs of productions of films and plays about Queen Elizabeth I, going from 1920 to 1960. Each of those periods presumably thought that they were producing an authentic version of the costumes, but

what comes off each of the photographs is the period in which they were done, rather than the period to which they refer” (qtd in Wells 264). Miller points at the distortions adaptations create by remaking a literary past in the adaptation’s own time, even when costume designs recreate a historical past. Distortions, prevalent in costumes, are integral to adapting the literary past. In costume’s inevitable changes in each new moment of creation, what is unknown is the impression, remarks, and influence their distortions will have on the contemporary and which paths these distortions will open for future works.

By existing in the contemporary, Shakespeare adaptations and their costumes have a touch of anachronism; something Miller identifies in Hollander’s book. Again, the anachronism like distortion, is a recovered term. That is, in the discourse on reproducing Shakespeare, scholar Phyllis Rackin has tried to save the term “anachronism” from its former value judgements. In *Stages of History*, Rackin contends the anachronism is a feature of Shakespeare’s work rather than a flaw in representing the historical past. Likewise, I adopt Rackin’s perspective of the anachronism, or temporal disruption, as a necessary feature of the adaptation engaging with the literary past. I further Rackin’s position on the anachronism by clarifying that the anachronism is an acknowledgement, intentional or unintentional, of the immediacy of the performance that remakes the literary past. That is the adaptation’s immediacy, its creation in a contemporary moment, already fashions it as anachronistic, but reveals the connections between past and present.

Both anachronism and distortion are imperfect terms to contend with the contemporary’s creative process of constructing a past. Baudelaire’s concern of artistically presenting material life similarly contends with the past and the present. Baudelaire points out there is beauty in both the past and the present, but it is not beauty alone that is attractive to a viewer. What is also

significant is the historical value of the past and the contemporary's "essential quality of being present" (1). Baudelaire does not explicitly combine the past and present but talking about both side-by-side suggests the potential that they may exist imperfectly together. I use the imperfect terms in this project primarily for two reasons. First, I use anachronism and distortion to enter the pre-existing discourses on Shakespeare and adaptations. For example, Rackin and Genette both target distortions as part of the process of recreation. Additionally, Genette's ideas on distortion in the palimpsest enter broader conversations in adaptation studies regarding the significance of adaptations and scholars' efforts in the field to push against the fidelity debate—a contentious perspective which prizes the "original" text, while always making the adaptation secondary and derivative. Second, I engage with these terms as a means of binding the past and present into one moment. Rackin grapples with a similar issue; she switches between anachronism and temporal distortion, attempting to communicate the collapsing of time periods into one production while acknowledging there is always distance between the contemporary production and the literary past. In using these imperfect terms, I enter a conversation and debate on how to communicate a methodology for talking about the contributions and individuality of adaptations.

Adaptations' distortions through costume produce new perspectives, which in turn revitalizes the adapted content. As Miller indicates, recreating the past is always done through a mediated perspective; likewise, recreating or adapting the literary past is always a process of mediation. That is, the past is only accessible from the contemporary moment and perspective, which will distort representations of the former time. Costume in a contemporary adaptation is a part of the visual realization of a literary past that is always remade for the present moment. According to Donatella Barbieri in *Costumes in Performance*, costumes can "illustrate larger themes, trends, or movements, and become part of the construction of cultural memory" (xxiii).



Barbieri's point suggests that costumes of all types in performative spaces impact and are impacted by the moment of their use. Her remark extends beyond the world of the performance, suggesting that there is permeability between performance and reality. Similarly, in *Undressing Cinema*, Stella Bruzzi's work addresses how the costume and the fashion of the contemporary moment played upon each other as fashion designers stepped into the costume designer role. Costumes and clothes influenced one another and Bruzzi explicitly interrogates the breakdown between film costume and clothing trends. More clearly to Barbieri's point, Bruzzi remarks, "...clothes do not acquire significance only in relation to the body or character. . ." (xvii). Bruzzi acknowledges a broader cultural importance of clothes, dress, and costume. In Bruzzi's perspective, the costume does more than indicate the character's socio-economic position. Instead, she suggests there's some aesthetic attraction and interplay between the contemporary and costume made for audience consumption. For both scholars, costumes offer more than the representation of character identity; costumes are situated in the zeitgeist of their contemporary moment.<sup>ii</sup> Likewise, I suggest costumes representing a literary past are more than their character's identity and do more than permeate their contemporary society. Costumes, host to multiple histories, have a history of their own. That is, they come from somewhere beyond their moment of creation, which in turn may influence future costume designs.

Despite the relationship costumes representing the literary past have with adaptation, the costume is an underexplored adaptation within adaptations. In their brief article, "Costume and Adaptation," Pamela Church Gibson and Tamar Jeffers McDonald acknowledge that "in the emerging scholarship around adaptation, there seems a significant absence: work around the importance of *costume*. . ." (295). Gibson and McDonald go on to say that in the last several decades, the scholarship around costume is offered through a psychoanalytic lens (296). For

example, a major component of Bruzzi's work on costume on film is informed by psychoanalysis. On the other hand, Dick Hebdige's *Subculture: The Meaning of Style* moves away from psychoanalysis into semiotics with a sociological component. More contemporary scholarship like Barbieri's work and others' focus on stage performance and the contemporary communicative properties of costumes as material objects.

My project is part of the conversations on costume and adaptation that Gibson and McDonald point to. Specifically, I return to Bruzzi's interest in costumes on screen without psychoanalysis. Like Bruzzi's work with the crosspollination of costumes and the world of fashion, there's a component of my project on costumes that escapes the screen. I examine a history beyond the screen. Anne Hollander observes, "historical authenticity in visual terms is a compelling idea; and the public, once convinced it was possible, never ceased to love thinking it was being given a glimpse of the past brought to life" (291). According to Hollander, audiences are drawn to representations of what they perceive to be glimpses of the past. This attraction would spur adaptors of the literary past to incorporate some of their historical research findings into visual designs to appeal to audiences. However, Hollander contends a glimpse of history is not all audiences are after, and ultimately authenticity is not their primary concern. Audiences, according to Hollander, want familiarity; recognition offers greater audience appeal (299-300). Part of that familiarity comes from nods to the contemporary and from the history of past representations. Thus, I also approach the immediacy of performance like Barbieri's work, attending to the costume as a material object that impacts performance. Finally, my project enters conversations with Shakespeare scholarship that has been concerned with textual analysis, the materiality of the Renaissance stage, costumes for the stage, and adaptations of Shakespeare for the screen. My project creates a confluence of these areas, centering the costume. I take steps to

create bridges at the nexus of these fields by studying some of the relationships that costumes have in bringing the literary past forward to the contemporary.

Each chapter of this project contends with a different component of the costume's materials that comprise its whole. In the first chapter, I examine the work of costumes in relation to the work of the playscript. That is, I compare the communicative potential of both costume and text in forming complex identities and relationships. In particular, I address the way Shakespeare, situated as playwright in a context produces identity and how the contemporary costume designer builds identity. Overall, the chapter suggests both the text, the playscript as a source of the literary past, and the contemporary costume work toward clarifying individual productions, shaping identities, and informing the visualization of a production. The second chapter argues for costumes' place within the larger context of adaptations. The chapter attends to the communicative properties of costumes and the overwriting, or distorting, of prior material. That is, the chapter deals with the way in which each adaptation becomes part of the potential material for future adaptations through palimpsestic processes. Hollander best sums up the association with performance and historical representation when she says, "Patchy or glamorous, authentic or not, a historical costume always looks better to an audience if it resembles other familiar costumes that have always indicated that period in history" (299-300). Hollander goes on to look at the Juliet cap first seen in the 1916 *Romeo and Juliet* film and subsequently worn in other films not because it achieved some level of historical accuracy, but because audiences came to identify Juliet by the cap. The chapter points to the significance of the past as a potential site of creative distortions in the contemporary adaptation's costumes. These creative distortions of costume serve to support an adaptation's unique contribution to the work of the literary past. In the third chapter, I consider the impossibility of providing a window to the historical past. It

suggests that a past – not the past – is built through points that may indicate a historical period. Adaptations then visualize a past, while contemporary liberties signal the performativity and immediacy of the production. Hollander claims, “History, in all stage clothes, has always been and still is primarily a matter of signals” (295). It is the signals that direct an audience to a past. The chapter indicates that all material, even historical artifact, is mediated through contemporary perception, which points at the inevitability of the impure costume. In each chapter, my project considers some of the complexities of realizing a costume as a material object representing multiple pasts and its contemporary.

The significance of addressing Shakespeare’s work and the costumes of contemporary adaptations of Shakespeare’s histories in particular rests between the forces playing upon a specific adaptation at any given moment. The questions become: why this pictorial realization and why now? Wilde points out that “in every age the social conditions are so exemplified in costume, that to produce a sixteenth-century play in fourteenth century attire, or vice versa, would make the performance seem unreal because untrue” (299). Wilde’s observation suggests scholars must attend to the costumes of adaptations because realizing a past in a contemporary moment establishes a link between the past and present through the artificiality of recreating history. In Wilde’s case, attire is so indicative of life in the period that to dismiss the costume as ornamentation rather than an integral component in the performance is to risk the work’s artistic viability. Wilde goes on to say, “[costume] must be also appropriate to the stature and appearance of the actor, and to his supposed condition, as well as to his necessary action in the play” (300). Underlying Wilde’s claim, which on the surface advocates for historical accuracy, is a relationship between the performance and audience. The costume must be understood by others. The necessity of the audience to visually comprehend the character’s social life belies

Wilde's surface-level claims. Once again, Wilde's point returns to the connection the present builds with the past through costumes. Similarly, the contemporary's relationship with Shakespeare's work comes from the bridge the present establishes. Each new adaptation, each new generation of reader or performer, uses his text to better define its own place in time through similarity or contrast.

The relationship of costumes between the historically positioned literary past in the contemporary adaptation creates what Marjorie Garber terms "category crisis." Garber argues that the category crisis "disrupt[s] and call[s] attention to cultural, social, or aesthetic dissonances. . ." (16). While Garber is focused on cross-dressing as a disruptive act that prompts a crisis in categorizing through expectations of gender or class, the relationship between creating costumes for a historical past has similar potential. Rackin poses the idea that Shakespeare incorporated intentional anachronism to call attention to parallels between the past and his contemporary. In the same way, an adaptation's costumes call attention to dissonances between the past and present. The adaptation's designers who make Shakespeare's work material suggest the relationships between Shakespeare's work and the contemporary. One example in particular addresses many of the questions of costume, identity, and the collaborative process of representation that is worthy of reflection. Specifically, I mean Shakespeare's cowardly knights in *Henry VI* and *Henry IV* and *V* named Sir John Fastolf and Sir John Falstaff respectively. Shakespeare crafted these characters after the historical figures John Fastolf and John Oldcastle. Shakespeare portrays both men as lacking significant courage, fleeing danger to save themselves, and Oldcastle in particular is an overweight drunk. When at least two of Shakespeare's contemporaries, William and Henry Brooke, took offense, Shakespeare's Oldcastle became Falstaff. Oldcastle's name change risked confusing Henry VI's knight with Prince Hal's

scoundrel companion who dies in *Henry V*. Costumes, then, are one possible way that performance blurs the historical references, disguising Fastolf and Oldcastle, distinguishing them as separate characters or, potentially, undermining the textual revisions. What actors wore to represent these characters on the Renaissance stage is lost to history. What scholars do know, based on Philip Henslowe's and others' records, is the significance costumes played in a theatre company's and an actor's financial investments. Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Sallibrass contend that "In the Renaissance theater, 'character' is always haunted by clothes that give a name or that have conversed with other bodies. [...] If we do not understand these clothes, we do not understand the action, or the actors, or the theater itself" (Jones and Sallibrass 206). The Fastolf/Falstaff issue strikes at the heart of the work of costume in representation, communication, and the complexity of collaboration that is still relevant to the contemporary. Scholars and adaptors must rely on imaginative solutions in creating and understanding costumes that suggest a past.

My project advocates for the scholarly consideration of costumes as major contributors to adaptations of the literary past. Through material, like costumes, costumers indicate the contemporary's relationship with various pasts and enter broader conversations concerning those histories. That is they critique, reinforce, challenge, or seek to change the conversation they've entered. The costume as a visualization allows the contemporary to see itself in relation to Shakespeare's work and in relation to older Shakespeare productions. Costumes provide physical substance in which to identify the aesthetic shifts and the changing in priorities of each moment's interpretation of Shakespeare's work. Furthermore, the costume's construction plays a substantial role in understanding how the contemporary comes to know itself. The finished

costume may indicate its place in the moment of its production, the construction of the costume reveals the process and provides clues to the relationship the contemporary sees with the past.

By paying attention to costumes that represent a past, we can become more mindful of the relationships between the past and the present. Through studying costume, the question arises, whose past are we looking at? Costumes themselves are adaptations of existing materials that contain and represent disparate times. In adaptations of the literary past, costumes draw from the possibilities of existing sources and from the potential of creative distortions available to the present. The gathering of these materials in a particular place, time, and context contributes to unique perspectives in adaptations of the literary past. Is the past we are seeing in these costumes Shakespeare's, Shakespeare's interpretation, a historical one, or an imagined creation constructed by the contemporary to make sense of its own position in time? My project indicates costumes in adaptations of Shakespeare's histories draw from a multiplicity of sources—pulling from and becoming part of the palimpsest—in which to reinvent a Shakespeare rather than *the* definitive Shakespeare and a history rather than a fixed historical moment. In adaptations of Shakespeare in particular, questions about costume engage with Wilde, Baudelaire, and Jones and Stallybrass who believe that what people wear, what they are seen wearing, is a necessary part of a whole experience that transcends mere historical accuracy. Like the inaccessibility of the historical past, adapting Shakespeare's plays is a process of mediation in which there is no direct access to the historical figures or original performance. Costumes offer the contemporary moment an illusion of the past and a signal of immediate performativity. Similarly, literature is always happening in the literary present despite the moment of its creation being past. The literary present implies performative immediacy in discussing literary work; costumes point to

Shakespeare's work as always being made in the moment of the adaptation, and the work, the material, is always both past and present.



**Seam Ripper: Demystifying the Craft of Identity Communication in Shakespeare's *Henry VI* and its *Hollow Crown* Adaptation**

Conversations on identity construction are common in scholarship pertaining to costume's role within performance. Scholars like Stella Bruzzi and Donatella Barbieri consider how costumes shape social perceptions of characters by addressing the communicative properties of the costume's material construction. For example, Bruzzi combines psychoanalysis with contemporary cultural observations while Barbieri draws on cultural awareness of dress conventions that interact with social power structures. However, visual representation is only one factor in the communication of the costume. As sociologist Irving Goffman claims in *Presentation of the Self in Everyday Life*, impression management—occasionally termed identity management—is the intentional or unintentional expression of the self to observers who then glean information based on what they witness (2). Goffman acknowledges that an individual uses verbal and visual cues to inform other people who they are. Similarly, understanding and developing character identity in a literary adaptation involves a process that is both verbal and visual. The verbal, particularly in connection with Shakespeare's work, is connected to the visual construction of identity. Goffman himself likened identity management to dramaturgy and points at the identity as a role. The construction of the visual is a complex series of choices not often providing a direct path from concept to creation.

Costumes are a combination of decisions and forces manifesting into a physical realization, which suggests that the costumes are about more than the character's identity. That is costumes and the physical presentation of a character is about effective communication. Effective communication is dependent on time, place, and situation. The challenge adaptors face

is in bringing the literary past forward. Even without modernizing the visuals, adaptors must consider how their current time responds to and understands a past. In particular, representing Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, still requires a consideration of the contemporary, including what identity looks like in the past according to the present.

To approach the issues of identity in *Henry VI*, I attend to the playscript and *The Hollow Crown* screen adaptation. Shakespeare and screen adaptors construct their character identities in different ways, but both consider the social relationships, and the impact identities have. For instance, Shakespeare's social relationships and identity construction is built into the language and interactions of his characters. Alternatively, the screen adaptor of Shakespeare's work must consider the visual representation of those interactions and how to convey those social structures and identities to a contemporary audience removed from Renaissance social cues. As impression management is both verbal and visual, Shakespeare's dialogue and the visual representation of a character are equally relevant. Therefore, my approach uses close reading of the language and the events in the playscript and an assessment of the visual in the filmscript. I first point at moments in which the playscript emphasizes the significance of identity, then analyze the playscript for ways in which Shakespeare identifies his characters. That is, I highlight Shakespeare's cues that point at helping an audience keep track of a large cast, define relationships, and indicate unique character identities. Specifically, I target language that could contribute to a visualization of a character's costume. Then, I turn to Dominic Cooke's screen adaptation of *Henry VI* (2016) as the most contemporary visualization of *Henry VI* on film. I present my interview with the adaptation's costume designer, Nigel Egerton. Egerton's interview provides insight into the process of constructing identity for Shakespeare's narrative in the visual. That is, Egerton addresses the process and decisions that went into the creation of the

costumes, which in turn furthered each character's identity. Egerton's interview points at how the contemporary adaptors participate in the identity construction and management of their characters to clarify the complexity of Shakespeare's work.

Where Shakespeare scholarship has been dominated by textual analysis or the relationship an adaptation shares with the playscript, I demonstrate here how costumes, both explicitly described and implied, contribute to the identification of Shakespeare's characters. This includes Shakespeare's verbal clues that imply a certain type or style of costume and an adaptation's visual realizations of impression management. This chapter suggests each text, including the playscript and the screen adaptation, is a product of its time; it uses devices that communicate specifically with and to its audience about the identities of its characters.

### **Overlocker: Reinforcing Character Identity in Shakespeare's *Henry VI***

Shakespeare crafts *Henry VI* around issues of identity and the primary way in which the contemporary can access that information for contemporary adaptations is through the language of the text. I argue that in Shakespeare's playscript, presentation, or conscious identity management, is imperative to the overall clarity of the play's events. That is, what a character says and does, and how other characters respond, points at certain costuming choices that, when visualized, explain identity, confusions in identity, and expectations attached to specific identities. To explore this point, I first briefly address the ways in which Shakespeare is using language to help audiences recognize characters. Then, I consider how Shakespeare uses descriptions to suggest costuming choices. Next, I address how the tension between impression management, identity, and recognition implies a particular type of costume. Specifically, I assess the Jack Cade rebellion, determining it is not about who Cade is, but who he makes people

believe he is that matters. Shakespeare creates unique identities that can manifest in a character's physical representation, and in their costumes in particular, that helps ground them in the social world of the narrative and distinguish themselves for the audience.

In the early modern theatre, actors would play many roles, and each needed to be unique to avoid confusion.<sup>iii</sup> This is particularly true for Shakespeare's *Henry VI*, which spans three plays and has a large character list. To help audiences recognize characters, Shakespeare makes ample use of names and titles, uses familial relationships, and offers a description of some physical or emotional quality of a character. One of the many examples of Shakespeare using names or titles occurs as Henry VI is trying to determine whether to send York or Somerset to France to fight for the territory England is losing. Suffolk claims he has evidence York is unfit to serve the king. In response, York says, "I'll tell thee, Suffolk, why I am unmeet..." (1.3.169 *2H6*). In the line, York identifies Suffolk by name through direct address, which reinforces Suffolk's identity and is particularly useful in a scene with more than two characters. In the scene in which York addresses Suffolk, six characters remain by the time York begins to explain why he's "unmeet." It benefits audiences and actors to include these direct addresses. Similar to names and titles, the familial relationship also establishes who a character is addressing. It also informs the audience of the relationships of historical figures and emphasizes the complicated familial and political dynamics of *Henry VI*. For example, as Henry intends to pass judgment on whether Gloucester is guilty of or conspiring to undermine Henry's authority, the king orders, "Go call our uncle to our presence strait" (3.2.15-16 *2H6*). Henry has, by this point, already identified Gloucester as his uncle several times before, but again points at the relationship. The reminder of the familial relationship serves to intensify the stakes of the scene for Henry and Gloucester. That is, there is more at stake for a family member accused of unjustly governing in

his nephew's name. Likewise, in *3 Henry VI* York and his sons commit to addressing each other predominantly by familial relationship. Familial relationships, particularly those of father and son, become more pronounced in *3 Henry VI*. For instance, Henry V left Henry VI a monarchy he didn't want, Henry VI gives away Prince Edward's birthright to the crown to York, Clifford kills Rutland to avenge his father, and York's sons take up their father's quest for the crown after his death. The emphasis on father and son relationships suggests an interest in what's owed in that relationship and reinforces the play's attention to identities.

The third way Shakespeare helps audiences identify characters is through their descriptions, which points at a unique quality that identifies them. Some characters, like Falstaff in *1* and *2 Henry VI* have a great deal of focus on their physical descriptions, but Margaret of Anjou is described by her nationality.<sup>iv</sup> For example, Margaret is targeted by Eleanor as "proud Frenchwoman" (1.3.143 *2H6*). In *3 Henry VI*, Margaret becomes the "She-wolf of France" (1.4.112) and "false Frenchwoman" (1.4.150). Essentially, in Shakespeare's plays, Margaret's defining quality is her repulsive Frenchness, which must manifest on stage in ways that allow both characters and audiences to recognize her. The easiest way to differentiate Margaret from the English, that identifies her character even in silence, is through the visual. It is likely then that a costume would mark Margaret as separate and French. Essentially, the way characters react to Margaret point at her costume as out of place, perhaps favoring French fashion. For example, figure 1 reveals the way in which Egerton costumed Margaret (Sophie Okonedo) for the screen adaptation of *Henry VI*. In the image, Margaret blends the fashion of the English and French. That is, Margaret wears red, which has been associated with the English throughout the series, with blue sleeves that has, again, been the predominant color of the French. By using costume to recognize Margaret's otherness, the verbal description from Shakespeare may inform

the visual of a production, while still allowing creative license in a production. Similarly, Shakespeare uses dialogue to describe Eleanor's costume, which points at how the changes in her station impact her appearance. First describing Eleanor, Margaret complains, "...the very train of her [Eleanor] worst wearing gown / Was better worth than all my father's lands. . . ." (1.3.101 *2H6*). Essentially, Eleanor cultivates an identity that is above her station as "Strangers in court do take her for the Queen" (1.3.80 *2H6*). The suggestion that Eleanor's costume be extravagant beyond even Margaret as queen emphasizes Eleanor's ambition for her husband, Gloucester, to be king. Eleanor dressing above her social position causes a chain reaction in the narrative. Essentially, Eleanor's costume adds to the doubt surrounding Gloucester's motives in holding onto his position as Lord Protector while Henry VI is capable of ruling. The costume needs to draw Margaret's attention and ire to Eleanor as a potential threat, which motivates setting a trap to catch Eleanor plotting against Henry. In turn, Gloucester's image is damaged by association to Eleanor. Thus, Shakespeare's inclusion of costume is strategic even when not explicitly detailed.



Figure 1: Margaret of Anjou (Sophie Okonedo) in Dominic Cooke's *Henry VI* (2016)

In some instances, like Eleanor's banishment, a great deal of attention goes into describing a costume, which still allows creative freedom of a production to visualize the costume. As a character who was targeted for her inappropriate dress, the description of Eleanor's new costume emphasizes her fall. When Eleanor is given over to Sir Stanley's care for

her banishment to the Isle of Man, she mentions the “papers on my back” (2.4.31) and how “The ruthless flint doth cut my tender feet,” (2.4.35); Sir Stanley encourages her to “throw off this sheet,” (2.4.105) to which Eleanor responds, “My shame will not be shifted with my sheet” (2.4.107).<sup>v</sup> Essentially, Eleanor’s costume has changed with her station, she is barefoot, bound in a sheet, with papers fastened to her back. The image is a drastic change from her queen-like costume earlier. Figure 2 presents how Egerton costumed Eleanor (Sally Hawkins) in a dingy, shapeless shift. In the adaptation, Sir Stanley is absent, which removes the conflict of verbal and visual though the adaptation’s costume maintains a stark contrast between Eleanor’s chosen identity and her forced identity. Also, within the adaptation, Eleanor’s costume retains the papers on her back though they are only briefly visible.<sup>vi</sup> In part, this is because of the line that remains from Shakespeare’s playscript: “Methinks I should not thus be led along, / Mailed up in shame, with papers on my back. . .”

(2.4.30-31 *2H6*). In these instances, Shakespeare’s descriptions of his characters encourage a more specific costume so the verbal and visual reinforce one another, but like Margaret’s costume, other costumes are implied through the dialogue.



Figure 2: Eleanor (Sally Hawkins) costumed for her banishment in Henry VI (2016)

In *Henry VI*, the Jack Cade rebellion highlights how Shakespeare complicates matters of identity through impression management while signaling a character is suited for a particular type of costume. In particular, Shakespeare reveals that it is who Cade’s followers think he is

that earns him a following though in some instances Cade is unrecognizable on sight. Cade's merchant rebels believe that Cade, posing as the dead John Mortimer has a legitimate claim to the throne. In representing himself as a Mortimer, Cade constructs his identity through false familial connections: his father was a Mortimer, his mother was a Plantagenet, and his wife is a Lacey (4.2.35-40 *2H6*). Essentially, Cade builds his identity through notable names in England. Even when Stafford, a man more familiar with the Mortimer line than the commons, challenges Cade's claim, Cade only has to shift the story of his history. Instead of John Mortimer, Cade becomes the second son of Edmund Mortimer who was stolen away by a "beggar-woman." Both of Cade's stories earn support from his followers, as though the shifting details make no difference; what matters is Cade representing himself as a Mortimer of some kind. Cade is so convincing that the Butcher and Weaver confirm these imaginary men and women were good people with honorable professions. In an aside, Cade himself acknowledges that the Weaver "lies, for I invented it [Cade's father's profession] myself" (4.2.126 *2H6*). Cade constructs an identity that binds him with the Mortimer line when in view of his public, but Shakespeare ensures the audience isn't swept up in the rebels' belief in Cade's claim.

Even in portraying Cade's dual identities, Shakespeare continues to craft his dialogue in a way that helps the audience recognize the character. That is, Shakespeare establishes Cade's true identity before Cade presents his false one in the midst of the commotion of the rebellion. In a soliloquy York reveals he needs a distraction so he can enter England unseen with an army of men. To make that distraction without the danger of being suspected, York has encouraged Cade, a Kentishman from Ashford "To make commotion, as full well he can, / Under the title of John Mortimer" (3.1.357-58 *2H6*). Later, when Stafford challenges Cade by claiming he isn't a Mortimer, Stafford says he knows Cade as a shearman, and his father was a plasterer (4.2.123-24



2*H6*). Neither of these points compel Cade's following. Cade has made himself an identity in being a son of Edmund Mortimer – John or some unacknowledged second male heir – that earns him a formidable group of merchant men willing to rebel against a ruling monarch. For the audience, Shakespeare clarifies Cade's identity, but the men willing to follow Cade believe in how he represents himself.

In either instance, whether portraying John Mortimer or Mortimer's lost brother, Cade positions his family as part of the people. Like Margaret's description that points at her Frenchness, there is something about Cade's appearance that recalls the nobility but is grounded in the commons. York claims that "In face, in gait, in speech, he [Cade] doth resemble" John Mortimer (3.1.372 2*H6*), but Cade doesn't position himself as financially beyond the means of the men that follow him. Cade's first story makes him a clothier, his father a bricklayer, his mother a midwife, and his wife a pedlar's daughter. He goes as far as to threaten the lives of all literate men who would have had the luxury of remaining in school. All of this suggests Cade is costumed in something appropriate to his true station as a shepherd, if Stafford is correct about Cade's profession. Similarly, Cade's costume choice reflecting his true profession, or an approximation of his real social class, explains Iden's inability to recognize the man posing as a claimant to the throne and a Mortimer.

The inability to recognize Cade as an equal based on his dress also explains Iden's treatment of him. In entering the scene, Cade doesn't identify himself, though he explains in soliloquy he has fled his inconstant rebels and hid for five days without food. In introducing Iden to the scene, Shakespeare identifies him as "a squire of Kent" (4.10.42 2*H6*) who often "sends the poor well pleased from [his] gate" (4.10.23 2*H6*). Upon seeing Cade, Iden neither recognizes him as nobility in need of help or fleeing some trouble at court, or as a man from his own county

who has needed Iden's help in the past. What Iden sees is a starved hostile man, who is preparing to fight. Iden warns Cade that "Set limb to limb, and thou art far the lesser-- / Thy hand is but a finger to my fist, / Thy leg a stick compared with this truncheon" (4.10.44-46). Cade, previously described by York as a sort of wild man, is now physically summed up in this argument. That is, Cade perpetuates York's description of him by insisting he fight though Cade has established he's starving and Iden's description confirms the stranger in his garden has an emaciated appearance. Iden doesn't recognize Cade until the last moment of life when, dying, he claims his name as Jack Cade from Kent. Cade's refusal to identify himself, to manage the impression Iden has of him, forces Iden to use the clues he has at his disposal which include the visual and Cade's hostility. A complimentary costume would reinforce the difficulty of recognizing Cade on sight, though Shakespeare doesn't describe Cade in any particular clothing.

The way Cade verbally manages his identity and is unrecognizable by characters like Iden suggests there is something about his costume which requires explanation. Cade gives his imagined Mortimer family the professions of the merchant class, he denounces men of wealth, and is at times unidentifiable as the leader of the rebellion. This suggests the quality of Cade's costume shouldn't match that of the court or the expensive armor of a duke because it would position him above his station as proclaimed clothier and draw an alternative reaction from Iden. A costume appropriate to the merchant class also explains why Cade isn't easily recognized by other characters.

This section has addressed how Shakespeare strives to clarify the complexities of *Henry VI* for audiences by providing verbal cues that identify them. Specifically, the section has pointed at the value costumes add to the play's events and to the identity of specific characters. In particular, I have suggested that through verbal indication Shakespeare has offered

recommendations for the costuming of his characters as a means to clarify the events and situations. On one hand, Shakespeare's cues about costume can be direct. Like the description of Eleanor's costume, the dialogue indicates how dress impacts the narrative and the character's identity. On the other hand, Shakespeare's cues can be indirect. The culmination of Jack Cade's comments and how others react to him point at a specific type of costume. In both cases, a costume element works to explain aspects of the narrative and plays an important role in a character's impression management. Cade, Eleanor, and Margaret all experience the consequences of their dress. Ultimately, in *Henry VI* Shakespeare places considerable value on costume as part of a character's identity, how the character behaves in the world to manage that identity, and how other characters react to them. In a play concerned with lineage, impression management and presentation is equally as important as familial lines.

### **Ladder Stitch: The Unseen Work of the Costume Designer in a Visual Medium**

The process of adapting Shakespeare's characters and social structures into a physical presentation for the contemporary is complex. Designers must determine how to contend with the way Shakespeare addresses identity and the way a contemporary screen adaptation will visually represent those identities. Both playwright and designer build unique character identities through costume to clarify the complex relationships for audiences of plays like *Henry VI*. However, there are variations between approaches. In particular, the costume designer is not bound to adhere to the playscript as the definitive source. For example, as the previous section indicated, Eleanor's costume is realized differently in the adaptation of *Henry VI* for *The Hollow Crown*. That is, the sheet Shakespeare binds Eleanor up in is cut from the adaptation's dialogue, but the papers on her back remain in the verbal and the visual. Further complicating the

designer's construction of an identity is the collaborative effort between other contributors like the director, the actors, and other designers.<sup>vii</sup> For instance, the Cade rebellion is cut from the adaptation and the commons have a reduced role in the overall narrative. Cade's absence and the diminished presentation of the commons suggests that the costume designer, like Shakespeare, is not bound to a text or one representation. The realization of the costume on screen reinforces and clarifies character identity, enhancing cues for an audience that emphasize social positions, individuality, and group differences.

To compare the ways in which Shakespeare and contemporary costume designers address identity I present my first-person interview with costume designer, Nigel Egerton. Egerton served as the costume designer for *The Hollow Crown's* adaptation of *Henry VI Part 1* and *Part 2* (2016).<sup>viii</sup> While Egerton provides one perspective of the process of constructing the visual identity of Shakespeare's characters, he offers detailed information on how screen adaptations are constructing identity through costume. In particular, Egerton elaborates on his research process and his experience collaborating on an adaptation of *Henry VI*. Specifically, this section addresses several concerns. First, the section identifies what Egerton perceives as the challenges of costuming Shakespeare for a contemporary screen audience. The challenges inform some of the decision-making process. For example, Egerton discusses the challenge of recreating historical dress for a contemporary aesthetic. Then, I compare the way in which Egerton constructs character identity and to Shakespeare's construction. Egerton elaborates on the identity and costume of Richard III, the York and Lancastrian factions, and Henry VI, which will inform the basis of my comparisons. The goal of communication from Shakespeare to Egerton is similar, the outcome of a costume in adaptation is a unique interpretation for the time and place of its creation.

Two major hurdles arise for Egerton as a contemporary costume designer approaching an adaptation of *Henry VI* on screen. That is, how the costumer contends with reproducing a historical costume that communicates the appropriate period while working from a historical distance and simplifying the complexities of the Shakespeare's work. Of the first challenge, the costumer must consider what resources are available for historical research. That is, the costumer must know which materials, artifacts, and artistic representations are available from the historical period that might inform a costume. The costumer must also consider that an audience's distance between the historical period and their contemporary moment impacts their aesthetic preferences. Both points impact how a costumer can effectively build a character's identity. The second challenge is concerned with representing a character that is not necessarily Shakespeare's, but that belongs to the adaptation of Shakespeare's play. Like the first concern, this challenge is also about finding a balance.

Reproducing historical dress is a balance between the past and present. For *Henry IV* (2016) and *The Hollow Crown* more broadly, the overall design concept was to make it as grounded in a past as possible. Egerton says, "we made as much as we could in a sort of authentic way. You know, we used wool and leather and fur."<sup>ix</sup> For Egerton to get a sense of what the dress looked like, he turned to visual representations made around the historical period. Egerton explains, "I spent more time really looking at paintings of the period, which give you so much detail of the original colors and original cuts. I went to the Vatican Museum and looked at the paintings there from the period— so you sort of get construction tips." He continues, targeting the details of historical dress in paintings: "You know how they're lacing down the arm or down the side and the back; you know the sort of unusual colors and trims; and the layering..." (Egerton). During the construction process, Egerton explains that many of the

costumes they made followed “a sort of circular pattern; so, everything is that type of shape and then drawn in at places, either higher or lower, depending on preference.” The circular pattern is a nod at certain historical dress that was not particularly concerned with a tailored or fitted appearance. The loose, largely unstructured pattern of some of the adaptation’s costumes reflects the research about how the construction of the costume would influence its appearance. From looking primarily at paintings, Egerton was able to understand how these pieces might be worn, constructed, and the type of details that contributed to the fashion of the time, but the past is only one part of the adaptation’s complexity.<sup>x</sup>

Egerton admits sometimes it’s about doing what the production needs or doing the best a designer can rather than worrying about the details of the past. The comment is founded in contemporary concerns about serving the production. For example, in *The Hollow Crown* Henry VI throws Henry V’s crown into a river and the production needed to fashion a new crown. Egerton explains, “The new crown for us was fashioned to represent the more lavish, less ascetic court, but was then too distracting to wear anywhere other than at the coronations. Which is why we switched to the plain version devised to be worn on the various monarch’s helmets in battle.” The decision to change crowns works within the contemporary representation of Shakespeare’s play. That is, it explains why there’s a new crown that compliments the more extravagant court, but the crowns aren’t necessarily historically accurate. Egerton concedes, “Who knows for sure [what the crowns looked like]? We gave it our best shot given the unusual material and time constraints.” However, the not knowing, the interpretation, and the distance from the past are all part of the challenge for the costume designer trying to represent a version of the historical past in a contemporary film adaptation of Shakespeare’s histories.

Of course, screen adaptations are profitable by appeal and the visual plays a considerable part in drawing audiences. Recreating historical fashion is not always the best approach to contend with contemporary aesthetics. For example, Egerton points out that “headgear is always a bit of a touchy point. Headpieces on women are generally disliked because of how they look to the modern eye.” Figure 3 (below) is one reference image Egerton used for Queen Elizabeth (Keeley Hawes). Painted around 1471, the image depicts the historical Elizabeth Woodville wearing a 15<sup>th</sup> century headpiece. The hairline, hair style, and the position of the headpiece all work against a contemporary aesthetic. Therefore, there’s often some modification that makes the headpieces a little more appealing.

One idea Egerton tried was “to give everybody a little style on the headgear because we felt that was probably what people would do.” In some instances that style pushed the headgear back or allowed a veil to fall, like figure 1 that display’s Margaret’s headpiece. In Egerton’s comments about incorporating style to the often “clerical” headpieces, he reveals how the contemporary is modifying the past and how the costumer has to bridge the gap between the past and



Figure 3: Painting of Elizabeth Woodville used as a reference image for Queen Elizabeth for *The Hollow Crown*. Artist unknown, circa 1471.

the present.<sup>xi</sup> Essentially, the costumer has to attend to both periods, which complicates the work of pinning down a character's identity.

The second challenge in constructing a character's identity in an adaptation of Shakespeare's play is determining how to simplify or clarify the work itself. Egerton says, "Shakespeare is so, so, so complex. As there probably is in the theater, there's a sort of simplification in and around presentation that one is drawn to." Essentially, it seems it's the visual display, the spectacle, that helps clarify some of the complexity of a Shakespeare adaptation. To the modern ear, the play's language and its rhythms are strange, and the visual is an important site of clarification. What's more is Shakespeare's *Henry VI* offers some peculiarities more suited to the Renaissance theatre than a contemporary screen adaptation attempting to ground itself in a naturalistic presentation of the historical past. For example, Eleanor's involvement in witchcraft is reduced from the playscript's demon conjuring to a scene in the adaptation where she holds a doll of Henry VI akin to a voodoo doll. Similarly, a scene involving the poor man Simpcox and wife is also cut. Simplifying can also mean cutting the expansive three-play narrative down to two films to make it more inviting to a contemporary audience, but by being a part of the visualization of a Shakespeare production in the present the process is not simple.

Overall, Egerton's two approaches to handling the challenges he faces in costuming characters that straddle the past and the present are to convey the enjoyment of working with that historical period and simplify. For Egerton, "the period [late medieval] is so beautiful in its own way—all the strange hats and gowns... One has to enjoy it and make it look like a joy." In communicating a sense of joy about the period, that pleasure the producer or artist has may pass on to an audience through aesthetic appeal. In communicating that joy with an audience, Egerton



explains, “You want them [the actors] to project-- represent-- Shakespeare and history as best they can. Everything that you do is to strengthen their [the actors’] game. You’re sort of the backing band to the people in front. It’s really about that for me” (Egerton). Essentially, Egerton views the work of a costume designer as support, a single component in a diverse project, that ultimately seeks the most effective way to bolster the communicative work of the actors.

In providing support of the actors, displaying the strange beauty of the past, and simplifying Shakespeare, Egerton directs his energy to create unique identities for each character. According to Egerton, “I like to try to give characters an individual sort of style as best I can.” With so many characters, particularly in *Henry VI*, there’s great value in identifying characters by their unique style.<sup>xiii</sup> With style comes unique cues to a person or character’s identity, which again recalls the work of impression management.

The way Egerton as a designer handles the management of a character’s identity through costume has a lot to do with his contemporary position and the immediate production. That is, not all aspects of history or Shakespeare’s details are best suited to contemporary audiences. For example, in discussing the inspiration for Richard III (Benedict Cumberbatch), Egerton says, “we based him on this French figure: Philip the Good. He appears in a lot of paintings and he has this very arch way of dressing. He dresses almost entirely in black the whole time -- gowns, doublets – and he must have been really proud of his legs, so he looks a bit like a crow or raven; we based a lot of Benedict’s later-wear on that kind of long-legged raven look.”<sup>xiii</sup> Figure 4 below is one of the reference images Egerton used for the Richard III character. The image features a historical depiction of Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, dressed in black, with a black chaperon, receiving the *Chroniques de Hainaut* from Jean Wauquelin.<sup>xiv</sup> Harvesting inspiration for the English Richard III from historical depictions of the French Philip suggests the



Figure 4: Rogier van der Weyden's 1447 *Jean Wauquelin presenting his 'Chroniques de Hainaut' to Philip the Good*

historical sources are a starting point for representation. The black, raven-like dress worn by Cumberbatch as a tall actor distinguishes Egerton's vision of Richard III as this cunning, long-legged bird, which shifts focus from Shakespeare's dominating descriptors of Richard.

Most of Shakespeare's descriptions of Richard call attention to his physical disability, which is deprioritized in Egerton's costumes in favor of the bird image. For example, in the playscript, Richard describes his arm as "a withered shrub," the "envious mountain on my back," and his legs as "of an unequal size" (3.2.156-59 *3H6*). There's a clear indication that Shakespeare's Richard is physically identifiable, though there's more of a focus across the plays on Richard's back as his defining physical feature. Across *2 Henry VI* and *3 Henry VI*, Richard is described as "crookback" or physically "crooked" five times. He is described as a "lump" twice and a "foul stigmatic" once. Rather than focus on what Shakespeare suggests is a prominent physical disability, the adaptation shifts toward descriptions of Richard's likeness to black birds and darkness. In *3 Henry VI*, Richard goes to the Tower to murder Henry. In a conversation with Richard, the characters draw on references to hell, remark on Richard as Henry's executioner, and conjure images of the birds that would resemble the reference image of Philip the Good. In

particular, when Richard was born, Henry claims, “the owl shrieked...,” “the night-crow cried...,” “the raven rooked...,” and “chatt’ring [mag]pies in dismal discords sung” (5.6.44-48 *3H6*). While Egerton doesn’t point at this scene as part of his research to construct adaptation’s Richard, the similarities suggest black as an appropriate costume color for the character. The bird-inspired costume plays a larger role in identifying Richard in the adaptation than the character’s physical disability, which better aligns with contemporary attitudes towards disabilities. The change shifts the visual perception of Richard’s identity away from attaching his disability to his villainy.

The scenes and characters impacted most by the reimagining of *Henry VI* are the commons. In Shakespeare’s identity construction of the lower classes, he presents multiple scenes that emphasize the abuses they suffer under the nobility. For instance, Cade’s rebellion brings their grievances to the fore, but only because York needs a distraction to come into England with an army. The result is that they must surrender and come before Henry for pardon for their part in the uprising. Other examples point at the scene of the petitioners who desire to voice their concerns about the realm only to be dismissed. The exception is the petitioner, Peter, who Margaret and Suffolk use to cast doubt onto York’s loyalty Henry. Then, when Peter’s employer contradicts him, the two are sentenced to fight to the death to resolve the issue. Similarly, Simpcox’s plight, not uncommon to the lower classes, is ignored in favor of abusive entertainment masquerading as justice. Simpcox comes before Henry as a beggar, unable to walk, who miraculously has had his sight restored. When Gloucester proves him a liar and that he can walk, Simpcox’s wife cries, “Alas, sir, we did it for pure need” (2.1.149 *2H6*). The plea has no impact. Gloucester sentences them to “be whipped through every market town / Till they come to Berwick, from whence they came” (2.1.150-51 *2H6*). As Simpcox and his wife are

chased off, the Cardinal, Gloucester, and Suffolk jest that Gloucester has performed a miracle making “the lame to leap and fly away” (2.1.153 *2H6*). These scenes disappear from the adaptation, but the commons are not forgotten.

Costuming in the adaptation does much to recall the presence of the commons and the fates they suffer when the Wars of the Roses destabilizes the country. Specifically, the livery badges and the color palettes identify the commons during the battles. The livery badges and the distinct color palettes were a collaborative compromise according to Egerton. The director Dominic Cooke provided the recommendation for the livery badges, which reinforced Egerton’s initial choice of separating Yorkists and Lancastrians by distinct colors. Both ideas contribute to the simplification of chaotic battle scenes and identify a character’s faction and social status.

For the badges, there are several iterations, which contribute to marking out social class and faction. According to Egerton there’s a “hand embroidered and woodblock versions – arm bands made with little block wood prints – beautiful hand painted ones, and a couple of machine-embroidered badges.” The type of badge a character got depended on “what someone might be able to afford or produce themselves so we had little hand embroidered ones for the principles” (Egerton). The quick visual of the different badges is particularly useful when the nobility recruit the commons. In previous battle scenes in *The Hollow Crown*, the men, especially those without rank or wealth, weren’t easily distinguishable on the battlefield. In *Henry VI*, the men on the battlefield, either common or bedecked in armor, announce the faction they support by the badge they wear. The inexpensive badges mark out the commons as present in a way that otherwise would have made social classes less discernable.

The use of distinct colors for the factions clarifies the one tragedy of the commons that does remain in the adaptation. Egerton explains “on the Yorkist side we went with the sort of

natural palette of grays and browns, and browns over white and cream. On the Lancastrian side we used a lot of red—and a lot of blue to sort of bring the French into it.” In the adaptation two men enter, each acknowledging a different corpse. One character says as he enters, “This man, whom hand-to-hand I slew in fight, / May be possessed with some store of crowns. . .” (2.5.56-57 *3H6*). Figure 5 shows the Lancastrian soldier, identifiable by the red sleeves under his armor, leaning over the body of a Yorkist soldier, identifiable by the earthy tones of his costume. The

Lancastrian soldier asks, “Who’s this? O God! It is my father’s face, / Whom in this conflict I unwares have killed” (2.5.61-62 *3H6*). Similarly, the second man in the scene says to his corpse, “Thou that so stoutly hath resisted me, / Give me thy gold, if thou hast any gold, / For I have bought it with a hundred blows” (2.5.79-81 *3H6*).

Figure 6 shows the soldier with brown sleeves, a Yorkist, over the body of his fallen enemy wearing the red coat of a Lancastrian. The

Yorkist man says, “But let me see: is this our foeman’s face? / Ah, no, no, no it is mine only son!” (2.5.82-83 *3H6*). Both men in the adaptation and in Shakespeare’s playscript acknowledge they stood close to their fallen opponents as they killed them. From Cooke’s scene, Egerton’s palettes reveal the men and their



Figure 6: Lancastrian son leaning over his Yorkist father. Henry VI Part 2 (2016)



Figure 5: A Yorkist soldier leans over a Lancastrian man he's slain. Henry VI Part 2 (2016)

foes had chosen opposite sides early and fabric and their fall had disguised familiar faces. Once again, the commons suffer at the hands of the nobility.

The costumes work toward explaining why a close family member would kill another without realizing the error. Essentially, the costume, the dress, is what a character would see in the heat of battle, not the face masked by blood, dirt, or armor. Shakespeare's language suggests the way in which the interaction takes place, and the costume as a visualization clarifies why one man might not know another. As much as the costume differences the factions, the palette collapses individual identities; and while the livery could point at a similar social class, it doesn't mark out familial relationships.

Where it was important to the adaptation's narrative to create costumes for the commons that collapsed their individual identities but not their allegiance, costuming Henry VI required balancing his position as king with his personal identity. That is, Henry VI, though king, "[does] long and wish to be a subject" (4.8.5 *2H6*). Henry is so discontent as king that in Shakespeare's script, he gives control of England to Warwick (4.6.16-25 *3H6*). When Egerton was researching the historical figure, he discovered "he [Henry VI] was painted wearing black and would wear sort of clerical-wear and that was sort of my instinct, making this priest-king." Figure 7 is one of the references Egerton used for his design of Henry VI. The image is one of several historical depictions of the monarch dressed in black. Like all other surviving portraiture of Henry VI, this depiction was done posthumously in about 1540, approximately 69 years after Henry died. The 16<sup>th</sup> century's dark dress for Henry VI didn't send the right message for the contemporary production. Likewise, Shakespeare also identifies Henry as a man more suited to devotion than ruling his kingdom. As Henry assigns Warwick and Clarence joint Protectors of England, he announces that "I myself will lead a private life / And in devotion spend my latter days, / To

sin's rebuke and my Creator's praise" (4.6.42-44 *3H6*). In a narrative dominated by ambition for the coveted throne, Henry is out of place.

The king in Shakespeare and in the adaptation, contrary to his father, Henry V, lacks the will and decisive personality to rule. For Cooke, the dark palette depicting Henry VI seemed "too strident – it was too much of a sort of choice..." (Egerton). Indeed, other characters in the adaptation with more pronounced personalities are

costumed in black. For example, Richard III's identity is tied up in his dark dress. Similarly, the serious-minded Gloucester also wears black, separating himself from the colorful styles of the court. Egerton goes on to say, "so he [Cooke] wanted to sort of pass by him [Henry VI] with the ash colors and pale, pale tone" (Egerton). Figure 8 is the reference image Cooke used for his vision of what the contemporary *Hollow Crown* version of Henry VI should look like. The gray colors of Hieronymus Bosch's painting read to Cooke as the appropriate type of depiction for a version of Henry VI that could be overlooked and didn't have a decisive personality.

On screen, Henry's costume communicates a distance between the role of the king and his true self. The costume participates in ego differentiation, made more prominent because of the tension in role distance. According to Sharon Lennon et al, ego differentiation is "the expression of a unique personality" through dress (187). Essentially, all dress provides communicative signals of personality expression. The modest, gray costume plays into this ego differentiation and it recalls Egerton's desire to give each character a unique style. However,



Figure 7: King Henry VI by Unknown Artist © National Portrait Gallery, London



Figure 8: *The Wayfarer (or The Pedlar)* by Hieronymus Bosch, c. 1500

Henry's costume doesn't fit in with the expectations of his social group. That is the costume doesn't communicate likeminded ideas or a sense of belonging. Henry VI's costume, coupled with his role as monarch, suggests there's a significant role distance. According to Lennon et al. "...the greater distance you experience from your true self and a role you enact, the more strain you will experience and the greater difficulty you will have in maintaining that role and

your thoughts about who you are" (107). This becomes the constant source of tension for Henry VI, and while his costume proclaims some other status than monarch, he is still inevitably confined to the monarchical position.

This chapter has compared the way in which Shakespeare and the contemporary costume designer influence the presentation of a narrative and its characters. Specifically, the chapter addresses how Shakespeare's verbal cues and the costume designer's visual cues contribute to the presentation of character identity. Both Shakespeare and the costume designer pull from differing sources to produce their work. For Shakespeare's construction of the histories, his references point at Holinshed's *Chronicles*, at other playwrights and writers, his contemporary culture, and other resources. Likewise, the costume designer works in a collaborative setting that is informed by a variety of forces including the playscript, the film script, the actors, the director, and a broad sense of a contemporary audience and their aesthetics. In a more narrowed focus, the



differences become more apparent. Shakespeare crafted character interactions and built identities through dialogue, which could then influence or inform the visualization of a costume. That is, the ways in which Shakespeare's characters represent themselves and how other characters understand them suggest a particular type of dress that compliments the relationship of the character in the narrative world. The costume designer approaches costume differently. The designer is directly producing a piece of a character's material reality that identifies them as unique within a specific production, for a specific actor, and for a specific aesthetic. In both instances, the playwright and the designer are seen and unseen contributors to the development of identity, working in different mediums to produce individually recognizable characters.

**Jumps and Stays: Costume's Part in the Palimpsestic Relationship of *Henry V* and  
*Richard II***

Screen adaptations of literature become part of the palimpsestic process of a literary work. That is the adaptation enters into a sort of network that participates in and contributes to the work beyond the text. Shakespeare's work has a long history of adaptation, from published collections like the Bowdler Shakespeare, a collection siblings Thomas and Harriet Bowdler edited under the pretense of creating a family friendly Shakespeare, to screen performances like Baz Luhrmann's *Romeo + Juliet* (1996) that embraced a grungy, 90s southern California aesthetic in fair Verona Beach. The first record of Shakespeare's plays on screen are three brief segments of Herbert Beerbohm Tree's production of *King John*. These segments are incomplete, black and white, and silent, but Tree's production opened the gates to presenting Shakespeare in a new medium. However, it wasn't until 1944 that Laurence Olivier's *Henry V* became the first commercially successful full-length Shakespeare on screen in vibrant Technicolor. The most recent surge in interest for Shakespeare on screen followed on the heels of Kenneth Branagh's 1989 *Henry V*. The 1990s produced Franco Zeffirelli's *Hamlet* (1990), Branagh's *Much Ado About Nothing* (1993) and *Hamlet* (1996), Trevor Nunn's *Twelfth Night* (1996), and Gil Junger's *10 Things I Hate About You* (1999) among others. As with other contributors of the palimpsest, each screen adaptation acknowledges, in conscious or unconscious ways, its engagement with its contemporary moment and the past.

According to Gerard Genette in *Palimpsests*, the palimpsest itself is an overwriting of what came before that retains traces of prior iterations. Scholars like Linda Hutcheon, Thomas Leitch, and Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan have looked broadly at Genette's work with

the palimpsest because of its potential uses in adaptations. In particular, Leitch points out that “Genette’s classifications have the considerable merit of subsuming film adaptations, a phenomenon he never discusses but that clearly fits into the category of hypertexts, into a larger matrix of intertextual (or as Genette would say, transtextual) relations” (94). Leitch and his contemporaries have found value in considering the contributions of adaptations as part of a palimpsestic process of overwriting. Genette defines hypertextuality as “any relationship uniting a text B (which I shall call the hypertext) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary” (5). Essentially, the palimpsest’s hypertextuality acknowledges the connections between past works and contemporary creation. Shakespeare himself participated in the overwriting of his own work through hypertextual links between *Richard II* and *Henry V* by drawing parallels between Richard and Henry’s role and responsibility as monarch.

While Shakespeare wrote *Richard II* (1595) before *Henry V* (1599), Olivier’s adaptation of *Henry V* established the potential wide-spread success of Shakespeare on screen. For that reason, I begin with *Henry V*, then move on to *Richard II*, mindful of the mimetic connection between the kings in both. That is, the characters of Richard and Henry explore the complexities of the king’s two bodies. The king’s two bodies is a medieval concept that fractures the role of king into two separate parts. One part is the mortal body of the man who has dominion over the land and its people. The other part is the divine, a gift from God bestowed on the rightful king to represent Heaven on earth. Thus, the king’s judgment, decisions, and governance are supported by God. As Ernst H. Kantorowicz says, “Shakespeare’s Henry V is disposed to recall Shakespeare’s Richard II, who—at least in the poet’s concept—appears as the prototype of ‘that kind of god that suffers more under mortal griefs than do his worshipers’” (26). Kantorowicz is

pointing to the struggles of Henry V and Richard II in presenting the two bodies of the king—the divine, eternal body of the monarch and the confining mortal bounds of a man.

I assert that while the relationship between the king's two bodies in *Henry V* and *Richard II* is visually different, the presence of the conflict between man and divine still manifests through the visual component. What I target is the text-to-screen work that Thomas Leitch calls "pictorial realization." Leitch considers pictorial realization "a celebration of cinema's power to show things words can present only indirectly" (97). That is the hypertext is creating a visual representation that adds or creates an element unique to an adaptation that communicates partially through images. In *Henry V*, the conflict between Henry's two bodies presents itself in the playscript's tension between Henry's identification with the soldier and the king. To explore Henry's dual nature of base man and divine ambassador on earth, I consider moments in the playscript which reveal Henry's struggle, then I target the wooing scene between Henry and Katherine of Valois, which condenses Henry's two-body conflict by juxtaposing both soldier and king, finally I turn to the screen adaptations' visual presentations the wooing scenes and how the costumes overwrite and inform each other. Similarly, I examine Richard's conflict with his two bodies in screen adaptations of *Richard II*. I examine where these pictorial realizations begin in the playscript, how the realizations change on screen from a king blessed by the divine to a king linked to a suffering Christ, and I identify the instances in which the realizations are informed by or overwrite the visuals from prior adaptations.

Overall, the palimpsestic relationship between *Henry V* and *Richard II*, which considers the conflict of the king's two bodies, demonstrates movement and exploration of the concept from play to play and adaption to adaptation. In particular the costumes as a component of the visual realization of the text supports the productive variations that contribute to the palimpsest.

Through creative decisions the screen adaptations present unique angles from which to explore the conflict between the king's two bodies. Realizations of Henry conjure a nostalgia for a simpler version of divine right which Richard held early in his play, but the reality of Henry's situation, as he acknowledges, points at England's disillusionment with the majesty of monarchical rule.

### **Jumps: Mimetic Realizations of the Contention Between the King's Two Bodies in *Henry V***

Screen adaptations of Shakespeare's *Henry V* participate in a palimpsestic mimesis that continually reimagines the ideas in the playscript. Specifically, costumes contribute to mimesis as part of a screen adaptation's pictorial realization of the tension between the king's two bodies. According to Genette's concept of mimesis, "it is impossible to imitate a text [...] every act of imitation. . . will be a unique performance. . ." (83). Genette's position comes from a classical understanding of mimesis that aligns with the overwriting of the palimpsest. Essentially, imitating hypotexts will produce differences or distortions in the hypertexts. The screen adaptations' costumes are differenced across realizations but not wholly reinvented. The consistency of the costumes points at palimpsestic overwriting and the possibilities of unique creation in imitation, or mimesis. As Hutcheon explains, "like classical imitation, adaptation also is not slavish copying; it is a process of making the material one's own" (20). That is the reimagined material is overwritten, not invented anew. The costumes in the *Henry V* screen adaptations provide meaningful contributions to how each production visualizes the tension between the monarch's divinity and mortality.

To explore costume's contribution to mimesis as it engages with the two-body tension in *Henry V*, I address the playscript before moving to the screen adaptations. First, using

Shakespeare's playscript, I clarify the mimetic relationship between Richard II and Henry V. According to Kantorowicz, when Henry "bemoans a twofold estate, [he] immediately associates that image with King Richard II" (26). Kantorowicz links Richard and Henry as monarchs caught between being a king, beholden only to God, and a man, subject to the whims of mortals. The link between Richard and Henry plays a role in the palimpsest as Shakespeare overwrote Richard when constructing Henry. After clarifying that linkage, I also use the playscript to point to how Henry conceives of his contested position between divine and man. Similar to Richard who associates with Christ and Jesus, Henry creates relationships for himself within this dual relationship. In particular, Henry divides himself into a king and soldier. Essentially, the king is the anointed body, while the soldier is the man. In the playscript, I look specifically for the division between king and soldier. Then I examine the screen adaptations of *Henry V*. These adaptations include Laurence Olivier's *Henry V* (1944), David Giles' *Henry V* (1979), Kenneth Branagh's *Henry V* (1989), and Thea Sharrock's *Henry V* (2012) for *The Hollow Crown* series. Specifically, I target the wooing scene between Henry and Katherine of Valois, which condenses the tension of the monarch. The scene summarizes the roles Henry plays across the narrative into a single instance where both king and soldier exist. I target the costumes and how they contribute to the complex negotiation of Henry's presentation as monarch. I address how Henry and Katherine's costumes are realized to determine the mimetic distortion each adaptation has made. Essentially, the costumes suggest whether Henry the king or Henry the soldier dominates the production's conclusion.

In *Henry V*, Shakespeare overwrites Richard II to create the character of Henry V through mimesis. At different times throughout the playscripts, both Richard and Henry present themselves as Kings. For Kantorowicz, the King is "the indelible character of the king's body

politic, god-like or angel-like” (27). Shakespeare shows Richard and Henry participating in the role of King, or God’s anointed deputy, in two ways, First, by calling on religious imagery to signal their divine power. For example, as Bolingbroke marches through England with an army, Richard warns that for every traitor “God for His Richard hath in heavenly pay / A glorious angel. Then if angels fight, / Weak men must fall, for heaven still guards the right” (*R2* 3.2.60-62). Richard ties himself to God as His Richard, assuring that for each man against him, God will provide an angel to uphold Richard as His minister on earth. Like Richard, Henry also inhabits the role of the King, the “mirror of all Christian kings” (*H5* 2.0.6). When the French Ambassador arrives with the Dauphin’s insulting gift of tennis balls, Henry proclaims, “I will rise there [France] with so full a glory / That I will dazzle all the eyes of France, / Yea, strike the Dauphin blind to look on us” (1.2.279-81). Henry’s threat recalls Acts 22 when Saul observes a bright light and converses with God. Saul claims, “Because of the dazzling glory of the light, I couldn’t see—I was left blind” (Acts 22:11). God’s dazzling presence blinded Saul in the same way Henry’s arrival in France would blind the Dauphin. Both kings use images of the divine to emphasize the King’s power.

The second way in which Richard and Henry perform the role of King is through creating distance between themselves and others suggesting they’re heaven’s fair, impartial judges. For example, during the conflict between Mowbray and Bolingbroke, Richard announces,

Now by my sceptre’s awe. I make a vow  
 Such neighbour nearness to our sacred blood  
 Should nothing privilege him [Bolingbroke] nor partialize  
 The unstooping firmness of my upright soul. (*R2* 1.1.120-21).

Richard poses as an impartial judge in the argument, assuring Mowbray that his familial relationship to Bolingbroke will not factor into any decision he makes. In particular, Richard's assurance of impartiality relies on divine qualities: his sacred blood and his steadfast soul that bows to no one but God. Similarly, when Henry confronts Grey, Scroop, and Cambridge who had been involved in an assassination plot, he says,

Touching our person seek we no revenge,  
But we our kingdom's safety must so tender,  
Whose ruin you have sought, that to her laws  
We do deliver you. (*H5* 2.2.175-76)

Henry positions himself above revenge and reactionary responses against his person. Henry's inaction to bodily harm recalls Jesus who refused to seek revenge against those who had wronged him. By denying revenge, Henry reinforces his earlier claim to the Dauphin's messenger that he is "no tyrant but a Christian king" (*H5* 1.2.142). Henry and Richard establish their relationship with heaven through these moments of governance that sets them apart from mortal men.

Similar to the performative qualities of Kingship, Richard and Henry both confront the limitations of being the god on earth. According to Kantorowicz, the god on earth is the most miserable "in the wretchedness of man" (34). Essentially, all the woes of the body on earth, including the deeds of men, bear down on the king. For example, Richard demonstrates the limitations of being king when he asks, "What must the King do now? Must he submit?" (*R2* 3.3.143-46). Several times Richard asks what he must do because Bolingbroke has brought his army to Flint Castle, supported by other men of status that have abandoned Richard as monarch. As a king on earth, Richard prepares his surrender, conceding to the whims of the men of



England. Like Richard, Henry feels the limitations of his power weigh on him. During the night before the battle at Agincourt, Henry considers the expectations subjects place on the monarch. He laments, “Twin-born with greatness, subject to the breath / Of every fool whose sense no more can feel / But his own wringing!” (*H5* 4.1.231-33).<sup>xv</sup> Henry identifies the king’s two bodies, but he targets the restriction rather than the glory. The acknowledgement suggests Henry knows that unlike Richard’s claim, “The breath of worldly men cannot depose / the deputy elected by the Lord” (*R2* 3.2.65-67), kings serve men. Essentially, Henry is a subject to his people, like Richard who asks what he must do at Bolingbroke’s command. Henry and Richard realize that their divinity is limited and they themselves serve the people who, as Richard too-late acknowledges, are never contented: “In humours like the people of this world, / For no thought is ever contented” (*R2* 5.5.10-11). These similarities suggest the material from *Richard II* provides the hypotext for the kingship in *Henry V*.

The hypertext of Shakespeare’s *Henry V* retains the conflict between the king’s two bodies, but it distorts aspects of the king’s character. That is, *Henry V* makes unique changes during its mimesis in how Henry represents himself. Specifically, Henry casts himself as King and as soldier. Whereas Richard descended to earth as the suffering Christ, or Jesus, Henry makes use of his role as the earthly soldier. For example, at the gates of Harfleur, Henry announces, “I am a soldier, / A name that in my thoughts becomes me best” (*H5* 3.3.5-6). The soldier Henry warns he will raze the town if the people don’t surrender. He claims, “The gates of mercy shall be all shut up, / And the fleshed soldier, rough and hard of heart, / In liberty of bloody hand shall range. . .” (*H5* 3.3.5-12). Henry describes the soldier as fleshed, bound to the physical world and engaged in its suffering. In his monologue, Henry goes on to detail the horrors of war that await the people of the town at the hands of soldiers. Then, Henry urges the

town's governor to surrender while the King still governs them: "Whiles yet the cool and temperate wind of grace / O'erblows the filthy and contagious clouds / of heady murder, spoil and villainy" (3.3.30-32). Henry balances the distinct roles. The King is Henry anointed by God and the soldier is Henry as a man, both working toward claiming France, which is condensed into the wooing scene.

The wooing scene in *Henry V* summarizes Henry's two roles of King and soldier he used to obtain France. As Richard II announces of his own state, "Thus play I in one person many people" (*R2* 5.5.31), so too does Henry. In pursuit of the King of France's daughter, Katherine of Valois, Henry uses both roles, which miniaturizes his quest for France in this single scene. For example, Henry opens the scene discussing matters of the monarchy with the King of France where he speaks in verse. The moment Henry is alone with Katherine, he moves to prose to ask, "Will you vouchsafe to teach a soldier terms / Such as will enter at a lady's ear. . ." (*H5* 5.2.99-100). He begins his wooing not in the elevated position of the king, but as a man. Henry changes his tactic when Katherine exclaims, ". . . *les langues des hommes sont pleines de trumperies!*" (*H5* 5.2.116).<sup>xvi</sup> The soldier, aligned with men, gives her pause, prompting Henry to call himself "such a plain king that thou wouldst think I had sold my farm to buy my crown" (*H5* 5.2.125-26). The line provides a bridge between Henry's kingship and still grounding himself in the earthly world, which makes him accessible to Katherine as a mortal woman. Essentially, Henry is a king of the earth, dropping the royal "we" that implies his two bodies and continues to use prose. As he encourages Katherine to accept his marriage proposal, he puts the two roles side-by-side: "...take me, take a soldier; take a soldier, take a king" (5.2.165-66). However, as Katherine accepts, Henry begins the transition back to King. When he tries to kiss Katherine and she seems astonished, he remarks, "O Kate, nice customs curtsy to great kings" (*H5* 5.2.213). By the

conclusion of the scene, as other characters enter, Henry returns to verse and the use of the royal “we;” he is again the King, now of England and France. The conquest of France plays out in the wooing scene as Henry is both the earthly soldier at Harfleur and the King who offers safety through his divine grace that can control the passions of base men.

In the wooing scene of the screen adaptations, the costumes contribute to the mimetic distortion. That is, the costumes suggest whether the adaptation views Henry’s victory over France as divinely sanctioned and cause for celebration or if Henry’s victory was won through the struggling of men on earth and the losses of war still weigh on the countries. Earlier screen adaptations’ costumes did suggest Henry’s victory was a cause for celebration. For example, Olivier’s *Henry V* supports a celebratory view because of its vibrant, Technicolor spectacle. According to Ace Pilkington, Olivier used devices, like costume, to remind the audience of the film as an artistic performance (109). Figure 9 offers a glimpse of Roger K. Furse’s costumes of the wooing scene. In the scene, Furse costumes Henry (Olivier) in red velvet with yellow-gold embroidery on the sleeves; the prominent image on Henry’s sleeve is that of the crown, which the lions on his coat-of-arms also wear.<sup>xvii</sup>

Henry’s accessories, buttons, and belt are all composed of the same yellow-gold as the embroidery. Katherine (Renee Asherson) wears a predominantly blue surcoat.<sup>xviii</sup> The surcoat has embroidered fleur-de-lis at the sleeves and one centered on the neck of her under gown. Like Henry’s red and gold, Katherine represents



Figure 9: Henry V (Laurence Olivier) and Katherine (Renee Asherson) in *Henry V* (1944)

France's blue and white. Together, Henry and Katherine's costumes recall Henry V's arms, which Olivier wore as a tabard during his battlefield scenes, and the costumes united convey a cheerful unity between characters and countries.

Similar to Olivier's celebration of Henry's victory, Giles' *Henry V* for the BBC produces unique pictorial realization in its palimpsestic overwriting, while still pointing at the divinity of the union between England and France. Though Giles "admits to being haunted by it [Olivier's *Henry V*]" (Pilkington 90). Cartmell and Whelehan believe that all adaptors, including scholars more broadly, must acknowledge previous work to be able to use and adapt the material (22). Giles' comment combined with consideration for Cartmell and Whelehan's point, suggests the importance of mimesis as a unique performance. Indeed, Giles does establish something unique. In the wooing scene, costume designer, Odette Barrow, costumes Henry (David Gwillim) in a pale golden silk houppelande with a floral design, trimmed in white fur at the collar. The houppelande is secured at the waist with a darker belt. While the English have been redressed, the French are still identifiable by a predominantly blue palette. Katherine's (Jocelyne Boisseau) dress is not as overt as that worn by Asherson, but Barrow still costumes Boisseau in a pale, blue-green during the wooing scene. In addition, Giles includes the presence of the clergy at the end of the scene. As figure 10 below shows, Barrow costumes all these characters in light colors, which reinforces the celebratory and divine nature of the union, with Canterbury (Trevor Baxter) positioned between Katherine and Henry as the bridge uniting them. Despite Giles' concern of following Olivier's production—which was the first commercially successful Shakespeare adapted for the screen—Giles differentiated his imitation of *Henry V*, making a unique contribution to the palimpsest.



Figure 10: Katherine (Jocelyne Boisseau), Canterbury (Trevor Baxter), and Henry V (David Gwillim) in David Giles' BBC Collection Henry V (1979)

Not all adaptations conclude that the wooing scene is a moment of celebration or that Henry's war was divinely won. According to Genette "to reproduce is nothing, and imitating supposes a more complex operation, the completion of which raises imitation above mere reproduction: it becomes a new production—that of another text in the

same style, of another message in the same code" (84). That is, the work of the imitation is to produce different results despite using the same hypotext material. Giles differenced his production from Olivier's and similarly, Branagh distinguishes himself by producing a different message. Branagh's 1989 *Henry V* film uses designer Phyllis Dalton's costumes in the wooing scene to suggest there was a shadow over the relationship between England and France. In the scene, Henry's (Branagh) red doublet and the repetition of symbols in the scene are the most prominent points of connection to Olivier's own costume. Unlike Furse's costume for Olivier, Dalton's costume for Branagh has forgone the brightly colored threading and replaced it with an understated embroidery at the forearm and a prominent livery collar. Though the crown is no longer on Henry's sleeve as it was for Olivier, it is still present as an accessory: his royal crown. The crown features St. George's cross and the fleur-de-lis. By incorporating these symbols Henry announces his rightful claim to England and France. Like Olivier before him, Branagh's Henry reaffirms the political motivations behind scene. While Dalton's costume design for Henry recalls Furse's for Olivier, Katherine's (Emma Thompson) pastel pink and white satin

gown is more reminiscent of Barrow's final costume for Boisseau's in Giles' adaptation. As figure 11 highlights, together in the wooing scene, the costumes communicate both a union and a conquest. Alongside the dominating influence of Henry's darker, richer red costume, Katherine's costume, rather than causing her to stand out, visually represses her. In part, her repression comes because the pink of the costume is subservient to the primary red color in Henry's costume. The costumes themselves suggest an inevitable union between Henry and Katherine as individuals. Henry's light-hearted pursuit of Katherine in her pastel colors threatens to trivialize the scene except for the presence of Katherine's maid, Alice (Geraldine McEwan). Alice's black mourning costume, more than her presence, reinforces the adaptation's claim that the war with England has cast a pall over France and the wooing scene is not a celebration. Her black costume matches the somber colors of the rest of the French court after Henry's victory and her intrusion into this mirthful moment between Branagh and Thompson serves as a reminder of the scene's darker politics. Alice is positioned like Giles' Archbishop of Canterbury, between Katherine and Henry. She

reinforces the grittier style of Branagh's production, which still provides the visual spectacle, but is no longer



Figure 11: Katherine (Emma Thompson), Alice (Geraldine McEwan), Henry V (Kenneth Branagh) in Kenneth Branagh's 1989 Henry V.

the colorful celebration of Olivier's adaptation.

The palimpsest is meant to be overwritten and nothing unique in a hypertext's performance exempts it from mimesis, including its pictorial realizations. According to Hutcheon, "the novelty [of adaptation] is in what one does with the other text" (20). Hutcheon makes no distinction between whether that text is a hypotext or another hypertext. Sharrock's 2012 *Henry V* for the BBC's *The Hollow Crown* series seems to use both for a complex effect. Essentially, Sharrock's adaptation suggests the union between England and France, Henry (Tom Hiddleston) and Katherine (Mélanie Thiéry), is a complex mix of celebration and domination. Costume designer Annie Symons costumes Henry in a doublet of simple red velvet; a gold accent is present in his small round buttons. His wooing scene doublet recalls his earlier doublet of a reddish leather, visually associating Henry with red like Dalton's and Furse's designs. Similarly, Katherine wears a light periwinkle, suggesting again a relationship with the blue that represents France, but also recalling Dalton's and Barrows' lighter costume design. The image of Henry in red and Katherine in blue reflect Olivier's wooing scene, making claims that each character stands for their country. As figure 12 shows, Katherine's costume is light, similar to Thompson's, while Henry's is darker like Branagh's costume. In the background, Alice is framed between the two characters. Sharrock's imitation of Branagh's shot composition is different here, changing Branagh's Alice-in-mourning to an Alice in white. Again, this character positioning recalls Giles' Canterbury, but implies a more light-hearted tone. Alice's costume reaffirms the correctness of the scene's actions, which in turn confirms Henry's claim that he was justified, in the eyes of God, to fight for France, while Henry's costume in particular points at the soldier come to France (Katherine).

Across the screen adaptations of *Henry V*, the wooing scenes' costumes change as each adaptation is overwritten and another imitation emerges to reinterpret the hypotext and the palimpsest of screen



Figure 12: Katherine (Mélanie Thierry), Alice (Geraldine Chaplin), Henry V (Tom Hiddleston) in Thea Sharrock's 2012 *Henry V*.

adaptations. In some ways, the costumes of these productions, specifically in the wooing scene, reflect the needs of their time. For Olivier, his audience was in the midst World War II and the colorful spectacle that celebrated Henry's victory there was an escape into a charming past. Likewise, Giles' audience would have the Vietnam War, while Branagh's audiences, with Vietnam casting a long shadow, would turn to acknowledging the realities of war and its traumas. As for *The Hollow Crown*, its complex position on Henry's victory offers tentative hope on the other side of war. Within the larger narrative of the histories on screen, the wooing scene is a reprieve between the battle at Agincourt and the strife of Henry VI's England. Overall, the palimpsest is a complex web of forces and mimesis is influenced by more than the hypotexts that came before. In particular, the contemporary moment of a screen adaptation influences the presentation of the wooing scene and how adaptations contend with Henry's victory over France.

Palimpsestic mimesis impacts adaptations of *Henry V* and costumes play a role in imitation. In particular, Richard II and Henry V participate in mimesis, or imitation, by pointing at the similarities in how they present their Kingship. Essentially, these kings perform through



the language that links them with the divine, which calls on heaven and God to support and elevate them above common men. Likewise, each king acknowledges their limitations as sovereigns governed by their subjects. Both kings realize they are not only governed by God alone, instead they must try to satisfy a country of people that will never be wholly satisfied. To that end, though Richard and Henry share many of the same characteristics in terms of how to display monarchical power, I suggest that they contend with the mortal world, its earthly woes, and the king's two bodies differently. Where Richard clings to Christ the divine until he plunges to the suffering Christ, or Jesus, Henry navigates his roles carefully between King anointed by God as His deputy and a bone and blood soldier lacking the grace of a King. Henry displays this role management concisely in the wooing scene, shifting between the two to woo the French Katherine, which screen adaptations have pictorial realized. Each adaptation's costume, as part of that realization, points at how to perceive the victory of Henry and the pursuit of Katherine. Essentially, the costume designers contribute to a realization that endorses the divine right of Henry to rule England and France, the war was a soldier's war that was hard won with significant loss, or the costumes indicate the "wooing" and winning of France was a combination of the two. Ultimately, mimesis in a palimpsest continually provides new distortions, which in turn offers unique performances of adaptations of Shakespeare's *Henry V*.

### **Stays: Amplifying Richard II's Christological Connection in Pictorial Realizations of Costume**

Adaptations of *Richard II* on screen amplify Richard's connection with Christ through costume. Specifically, adaptations use costume to visually reinforce the Christological connection to the king that Shakespeare has already established in the playscript. The

palimpsestic link that bridges the hypotext to the hypertext in this instance is amplification. Through amplification, the hypertext differentiates itself from the hypotext. According to Genette, “. . .one cannot augment without adding, [which] involves significant distortions” (254). Essentially, Genette contends that one cannot make changes, including adding, without producing distortions between the hypotext and the hypertext. I agree with Genette; as this section will show, each new adaptation of *Richard II* will amplify Richard’s link with Christ through pictorial realization. This type of realization, as Martin Meisel describes means “to move from mind’s eye to body’s eye. . . when words become picture. . .” (30). Already, the term indicates the potential for change in the type of communication: from text to visual. As each adaptation of *Richard II* on screen produces its own pictorial realization of Richard’s tie to Christ, the adaptation will create significant distortions that build from what came before. By producing these distortions, each adaptation defines its place within the palimpsest.

To address the distortions that occur when screen adaptations pictorially realize Richard’s Christological link, I follow a progression from hypotext to hypertext. I begin by addressing moments in Shakespeare’s playscript that communicate Richard’s relationship with Christ. As Charles A. Forker observes “Richard is psychologically wedded to Christological kingship. . . [which] is obvious in his language. . . and in his comparisons to himself as Christ” (18). What’s more is that other characters also encourage the linkage. By pointing to some of these moments, I suggest that these are the sites in the hypotext that inform the amplification on screen. Then, I examine how the screen adaptations realize Richard’s relationship through costume and how those costumes change as Richard’s relationship changes. Specifically, I look for the king, the fool, and the god. According to Kantorowicz, one of three ever-present relationships with the king’s two bodies always dominates Richard’s character in the playscript. For Kantorowicz, the

king is the eternal, angelic body politic, the god is the all-powerful made miserable by mortal constraints, and the fool is the intermediary between the two. I suggest that in pictorial realizations of Richard these three competing relationships present themselves unevenly on screen, but as the adaptations overwrite the palimpsest Richard makes greater connections to a divine Christ and a suffering Christ-as-Jesus through his costume. I would contend the divine Christ is Kantorowicz's king and Jesus is that of his god on earth. The screen adaptations I address include *Age of Kings: Richard II* (1960), *The Life and Death of King Richard II* (1960), *King Richard II* (1978), *Richard II* (1997), and *The Hollow Crown: Richard II* (2012). Ultimately, I demonstrate that while each adaptation amplifies the relationship between king and Christ from the playscript, the palimpsestic overwriting of the screen adaptations contributes to the distortions taking place in the costumes.

For the process of amplification, Shakespeare's *Richard II* plays a significant role in the hypertext's pictorial realization of Richard's costume. Essentially, Shakespeare established the connection between Richard and Christ that adaptations have been building from. Kantorowicz points at Richard II's own identification with Christ in the playscript, which Forker later reaffirms. While they are correct in their observations, they minimize the importance of other characters reinforcing the relationship. That other characters also associate Richard with a Christ figure places the relationship back into a social context because England is still holding onto the divine right of kings. Richard does not establish his relationship with Christ in isolation and John of Gaunt provides the most thorough acknowledgement of the link:

God's is the quarrel, for God's substitute,  
His deputy anointed in His sight,  
Hath caused his [Gloucester] death, the which if wrongfully,

Let heaven revenge, for I may never lift

An angry arm against His minister. (1.2.38-41)

Gaunt calls Richard “God’s substitute,” “his deputy,” and “his minister,” arguing that if Gloucester’s death was wrong it’s for heaven to decide. Essentially, Richard was chosen by God to be heaven’s representation on earth. If Richard, in such a position, committed a crime, God must be the one to rectify it. If Richard, in a position given to him by God, didn’t commit a crime in Gloucester’s murder then any revenge or justice Gaunt would seek on earth would be an act against heaven. In a few short lines, Gaunt connects Richard to heaven repeatedly. There are other characters, like Salisbury (2.4.18-20) and Northumberland (3.3.101-03) who make similar associations, but Gaunt offers the most concise acknowledgment of Richard’s relationship early in the playscript.

Shakespeare establishes early, including in Gaunt’s death scene, how disillusioned England has become with Richard’s rule, which suggests characters are less likely to want to acknowledge the connection between King and Christ. This leaves Richard as the primary character to reinforce his relationship. Kantorowicz claims that “the ‘King’ dominates in the scene on the Coast of Wales. . .” (27). Indeed, Richard presents the strength of a monarch with the forces of heaven behind him as he learns Bolingbroke has returned to England with an army of men. Richard announces,

Not all the water in the rough rude sea

Can wash the balm off from an anointed king

The breath of worldly men cannot depose

The deputy elected by the Lord. (3.2.54-61)

Richard's lines recall Gaunt's. For the second time Richard is an anointed deputy of God. What is unique to Richard is the division between the divine and the mortal world. Richard makes a point to claim that neither the sea nor the breath of worldly men can strip him of his position. Similarly, Richard reasserts a scene later, "For well we know no hand of blood and bone / Can gripe the sacred handle of our sceptre, / Unless he do profane, steal or usurp" (3.3.79-81). Again, Richard clutches to the protections of heaven by separating his position as monarch from the earthly world. That is, his right to rule can't be taken by mortal hands without committing an offense against God—a similar concern Gaunt had been faced with in revenging Gloucester. Despite Richard's desire to separate himself as divine monarch from other men, his position shifts later in the playscript.

As Richard surrenders his throne to Bolingbroke, his language suggests Christ restricted to a mortal body: Jesus. During Richard's deposition, he recalls for a second time the Judases that surround him: "Did they not sometime cry 'All hail' to me? / So Judas did to Christ, but He in twelve / Found truth in all but one; I, in twelve thousand, none" (4.1.170-72). Forker points out that Judas was a common name for a betrayer (327), but the reverse coronation in the same scene in which Richard formally strips himself of his right to rule points at his continued descent into being a mortal man that suffers through worldly woes. Richard's descent combined with E.K. Chambers' position that Richard never fully surrenders his right to divine authority suggests Richard's connection with Christ changes rather than disappears. For example, at his death, Richard exclaims to Exton, his attacker, "That hand shall burn in never-quenching fire / That staggers thus my person. Exton, they fierce hand / Hath with the King's blood stained the King's own land" (5.5.108-10). For the last time, Richard ties himself to divinity by suggesting his murderer will burn in eternal fires, and once more Richard refers to himself as King. At the end

of Shakespeare's *Richard II*, Richard comes closest to Christ as Jesus in a mortal body—a Christ capable of suffering. Richard's relationship with the divine persists though it changes, and this provides fruitful ground for screen adaptations to amplify through pictorial realization.

The first pictorial realizations of Richard's relationship with the divine through costume amplifies the suffering Christ-as-Jesus later in the adaptations. For Kantorowicz analyzing the playscript, this is the god on earth. According to Kantorowicz, "it has dawned upon Richard that his vicariate of the God Christ might imply also a vicariate of the man Jesus, and that he. . . might have to follow his divine Master also into his human humiliation. . ." (30). For example, Michael Hayes' 1960 *Age of Kings: Richard II* approaches a pictorial realization of the relationship in "Richard II: The Deposing of a King." By Richard's (David William) death scene, costume designer Olive Harris offers a costume that fully realizes Richard's relationship with Jesus. Harris costumes Richard in a light colored, rough shift that drapes the slender frame of the actor; his hair is longer and unkempt; and his facial hair is also unchecked. In Richard's final moments during his murder by Exton, he is thrown against the bars of his cell. Several of the scene's shots allude to Christ crucified. Figure 13 shows a shot within the scene moments before

Richard's death, which draws connections between Richard and the crucified Christ. Moments later, Exton stabs Richard and the camera reveals a closeup of Richard's agonized face and rolling eyes. Figure 14 reveals the horror on Richard's expression—eyes rolling,



Figure 13: Michael Hayes' *Richard II* from the 1960 BBC series *Age of Kings*. David William as Richard II in "Richard II: The Deposing of a King"



Figure 14: Close up of Richard (David William) in Michael Hayes' BBC Age of Kings adaptation of Richard II.

mouth agape, the light and shadow of the black and white scene creating deep lines and contrast on Richard's face—as the dagger is thrust into his back. These shots are similar to Figure 15 below, “The Crucified Christ” by Peter Paul Rubens. In particular, the sequence of shots in Hayes' scene recalls Rubens'

depiction of Christ's arms braced, the wide, rolling eyes, and the anguished expression of Hayes' Richard after Exton's attack. In Ruben's work the eyes are cast upward, the mouth slightly open. Again, as in Hayes' production, there is the play of light and shadow. Similarly, the Australian British Broadcasting Corporation (ABC) TV film *The Life and Death of King Richard II* (1960) focuses its amplification of Richard's (Ric Hutton) relationship late in the adaptation. The ABC adaptation, directed by Raymond Menmuir, shows Richard in his death scene stripped of the houppelande he wore earlier. Costume and décor designer Desmonde Downing places Richard in a lighter, more pious costume than in previous scenes. The fabric is stiff, thick, possibly felted; his beard and hair are maintained. Around his neck, Richard wears a large wooden crucifix gifted to him alongside more opulent treasures during the opening credits of the adaptation. The accessory's early

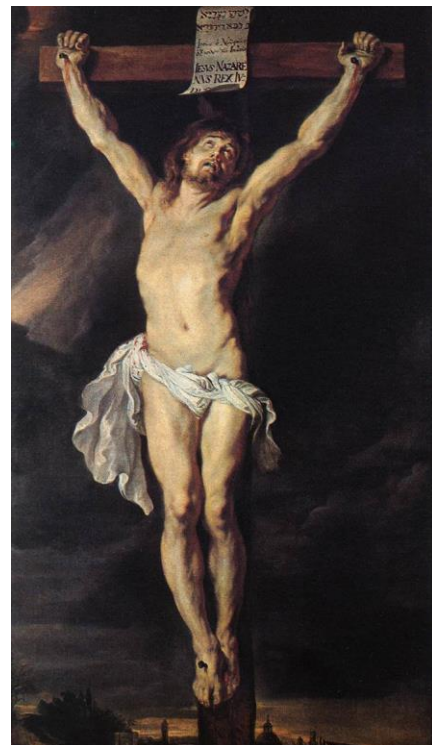


Figure 15: Peter Paul Rubens' *The Crucified Christ*, c. 1610-11.

introduction suggests Richard's fall from his lofty state, pointing at a future alignment with Jesus. By revisiting the cross again in Richard's death scene, Hutton's Richard is inhabiting Kantorowicz's god limited in his link to heaven. Though the ABC and *Age of Kings* adaptations amplify Richard's relationship through different costume choices by Harris and Downing, they both emphasize Richard's link to Jesus by focusing on the death scene and the image of Christ and the cross.

In overwriting the palimpsest, the image of the cross appears in later screen adaptations alongside different pictorial realizations of Richard's relationship with Christ. As Hutcheon claims adaptations offer "repetition with variation, from the comfort of ritual combined with the piquancy of surprise" (4). To Hutcheon, adaptations will provide consistency alongside creative differences. For example, the 1978 BBC production, *King Richard the II*, directed by David Giles incorporates the cross and takes advantage of the production's access to reduced costs in filming color for its pictorial realizations. Like previous adaptations, designer Robin Fraser-Paye provides the consistency of the cross in Richard's (Derek Jacobi) death scene. The crucifix necklace is not as prominent or ornate as Downing's crucifix for Hutton, but large enough to be visible and play on Richard's connection to Jesus. Giles' adaptation provides Hutcheon's surprise by Richard's opening costume recalling imagery of the Bible that points at the Transfiguration. That is to say Fraser-Paye's design for Richard's costume is a white and gold houppelande, that suggests the Biblical moment in which Jesus reveals his divinity to the select few of his Apostles: "His clothes became dazzling white, whiter than anyone in the world could bleach them" (Mark 9:3).<sup>xix</sup> In the opening scene of Giles' *Richard II*, Richard's costume amplifies the divine connection to Christ. The duality of the king's two bodies is represented in this moment. Similarly, Hildegard Bechtler's designs in Deborah Warner's 1997 *Richard II*



establish a connection to Christ through the white costume.<sup>xx</sup> In the opening scenes, Bechtler drapes Richard (Fiona Shaw) in a costume reminiscent of Faser-Paye's design in its coloring. The white theme continues through Richard's deposition and imprisonment, but in these scenes Richard's costume hangs on the body indicating a less delicate fabric. Essentially, Bechtler uses subtle costume changes in consideration for the production budget to move from King to god, Christ to Jesus without the presence of the cross imagery. In the palimpsest of *Richard II* on screen, the amplification of Richard's Christological relationship shifts over time from easily identifiable accessories and references like the cross, to costumes in a color production that point at the Transfiguration.

The challenge of amplifying the hypotext through pictorial realization on screen depends partially on a budget and advances in film technology and technique. Rupert Goold's *Richard II* (2012) for *The Hollow Crown* series has been the best situated to expand on Richard's relationship on screen. According to Genette, "the procedure [of expansion] consists in doubling or tripling the length of each sentence in the hypotext" (260).<sup>xxi</sup> Designer Odile Dicks-Mireaux, continues to make use of the white costume to connect Richard and Christ, while Goold increasing the number of shots devoted to strengthening the relationship. For example, figure 16

offers a long, wide shot prior to the deposition scene. In the shot, Richard (Ben Wishaw) rides across a sparse space, traversing the length of the screen. Dicks-Mireaux costumes Richard in white on a donkey like Christ



Figure 16: *Richard II* (Ben Wishaw) rides to his deposition in *The Hollow Crown's Richard II*.

riding into Jerusalem. This moment in the adaptation marks the beginning of Richard's relationship with Jesus as the arrival to Jerusalem was the beginning of the Passion. In the deposition scene, Wishaw's presence in his white costume alludes to depictions of Christ before



Figure 17: Jacopo Tintoretto's Christ Before Pilate (1519-1594)

Pilate.<sup>xxii</sup> Figure 17 shows a painting by Jacopo Tintoretto of Christ before Pilate. The white robe stands out against the earthy dress of the men surrounding Christ. Similarly, in Goold's scene Richard stands before Bolingbroke (Rory Kinnear) and other men who are wearing browns, blacks, and grays like in figure 18. Figure 18 is a high angle shot that first introduces the spatial setting of the deposition scene and indicates the characters present. The transition into this particular shot moves from a front shot to bird's eye to the position behind and slightly above Richard. Shot

within the scene, like figure 18, establish Richard's grace, like Tintoretto's painting. The presentation of the high angle shot behind Richard positions the viewer as a heavenly entity gazing down. In a similar move, the light in the Tintoretto painting suggests a divine presence within the image. Furthermore, Richard's visual appearance continues to reinforce his



Figure 18: Richard II (Ben Wishaw) in the deposition scene of The Hollow Crown's Richard II.

connection with the divine; as Richard debates turning the crown over to Bolingbroke, he places the crown on his head and extends his arms. The costume combined with the shot and warm lighting allude to depictions of Christ the Redeemer. A similar shot comes again later in the scene as Richard collapses to the floor next to the crown, cast in cool lighting, arms splayed beside him as the camera captures a birds-eye shot. The shot may be similar but is less glorified, portending a coming crucifixion.

The death scene follows the trajectory of the Passion established before the deposition and, unlike other adaptations, the pictorial realization of Richard's relationship continues after his death. The death scene leaves a thin Wishaw bare-chested with fabric wrapped around his waist. During Richard's murder, a shot of Wishaw standing reveals a bloodied torso. The shot parallels some depictions of Christ at the column where he is whipped before crucifixion. Figure 19 shows the final shot of Richard. The birds-eye shot reveals a thin, dirty, and wounded man in a too-small casket; he still wears only a cloth around his waist.

Richard resembles the crucified Christ. I contend the visual recalls the crucifixion rather than the entombment because of the emaciation, filth, and



*Figure 19: Richard II's (Ben Wishaw) body brought to Henry IV (Rory Kinnear) after his murder. BBC The Hollow Crown.*

cramped space. In most depictions of Christ's entombment, he is held by his followers or set out in a well-sized coffin. The shot emphasizes the loss of glory and, without a careful entombment by Richard's followers and denies the monarch a resurrection. Furthermore, the shot slowly pans upward to reveal a crucified Christ above the throne, near the ceiling, a halo behind the statue

marking the figure's divinity, but the material object is bathed in a cool light and makes no effort to enliven its stone construction. The king's mortal body is subject to suffering, death, and the whims of men. The final shot of Richard paints a grim picture, devoid of divine presence, except in the allusion of Christ's vacant body.

Screen adaptations of *Richard II* amplify the relationship between Richard and Christ in Shakespeare's playscript through costume. To do demonstrate the amplification, I have assessed moments in Shakespeare's playscript that emphasize Richard's link with Christ and addressed how adaptations built pictorial realizations to strengthen that connection on screen. Specifically, Shakespeare's text emphasizes Richard as the King beholden to no one but God and then a god on earth, troubled and governed by mortal whims. I suggest that each screen adaptation expands the hypotext by creating its own unique distortion through a visual interpretation. No costume or accessory pointing at Richard's relationship is the same. However, the screen adaptations overwrite one another. They offer familiarity through similar costumes and accessories like the repetition across most adaptations of the cross or crucifixion. Overall, even later adaptations return to Richard's relationship to Christ-as-Jesus as a site of particular interest. It may then be no surprise that Shakespeare himself returned to the complicated relationship of the king's two bodies and the god on earth in *Henry V*.

Costumes participate in the palimpsestic process of adapting *Richard II* and *Henry V* by building from other participants in the palimpsest—no adaptation exists outside the influence of what came before. Both mimesis and amplification contribute to the process of creating pictorial realizations of costumes on screen. Mimesis in adaptations of *Henry V* provide the groundwork for advancing pictorial realizations through costume. Mimesis as imitation, not replication, allows hypertexts of *Henry V* to build on the communicative properties of costumes within the

larger context of the realization. Similarly, amplification is another site of expansion into pictorial realization. As I have shown, Shakespeare's *Richard II* serves as the hypotext from which hypertexts, or adaptations, draw their pictorial realizations of costume. These costumes reinforce Richard's identification with Christ from the playscript and as the palimpsest continues to overwrite each hypertext, the pictorial realization of that relationship expands. In part, the reason for this expansion is the advancements in filming technology and its availability for an individual screen adaptation. However, I also suggest that hypertexts, which create inevitable distortions during the process of adding onto the hypotext, provide fruitful ground for even more unique performances and, in turn, costumes as realizations. Overall, costumes, as part of a palimpsest, play an integral role in the pictorial realization of Shakespeare's *Richard II* and *Henry V* on screen.

## **Hook and Eye: Seeing the Contemporary's Past Through Shakespeare's Histories on Film**

Screen adaptations of Shakespeare's histories provide a valuable site for historical discourse by highlighting contemporary concerns. Costumes establish a connection between the literary past and the contemporary through adaptation, which provides a lens that allows the contemporary to reflect on itself through its relationship with the past. In using "literary past" I take from Donatella Barbieri's and other scholars' understanding that we can only engage with history through recreation.<sup>xxiii</sup> This field of history on screen seeks to identify and validate the contributions history on film can bring to historical research. The field pushes against older academic methodologies that narrowly define legitimate avenues for comprehending the past. All history is mediated through a contemporary position including contemporary interpretations of source documents and material artifacts. The field proposes history on screen is similarly mediated and provides a valuable site for discourse on the significance of recreating a historical past.

On screen, material objects are one of the more accessible ways of understanding how the contemporary views the past because of their visual immediacy. I argue that in filmic adaptations of Shakespeare's histories, costumes exist at points of tension between contemporary film and literary past. In this chapter, I examine several costumes from the BBC's *The Hollow Crown* (2012). Costumes in particular have the capacity to reveal and expose points of tension, bringing the conflicts between the filmic present and literary past to the fore; they are representations of a past created by the present. Because of that dual perspective, visual readings of material detail and costuming in these adaptations must migrate between multiple time periods. Thus, costumes are never "pure" and cannot be fully conceptualized from either vantage point, past or present.

*The Hollow Crown* seeks to recreate the late medieval past of the English monarchy from Richard II to Richard III, which is still accessible because of its contemporary relationship to my project. Additionally, the series creates a second historical point of reference, the early modern, by using Shakespeare's playscript as the foundation of the filmscript. The contemporary adaptations must contend with historical people and events that Shakespeare has already mediated. Therefore, I acknowledge three distinct historical sites at work within the screen adaptation that these costumes connect: late medieval, early modern, and contemporary.

To draw connections between all three historical periods, I consider two elements. Each is intended to access the two pasts from the contemporary position. First, to contend with *The Hollow Crown's* historical period, I address points, brief instances, on the costumes that represent the late medieval, which ground *The Hollow Crown's* events in the past. Second, I address moments of anachronism related to the costumes. These anachronisms are integral features of contemporary recreations of the past, particularly when adapting Shakespeare's histories. What follows is a brief description of these two points of connection.

First, to address the costume's connection to a historical past and convey the value of only touching on that past, I build from Mark Moss and Robert A. Rosenstone respectively. Both Moss and Rosenstone suggest that history on film is connected to the past by "points" of historical accuracy. To clarify, historical accuracy is always an approximation by the contemporary to represent the past. That is, these "points" of historical grounding are more profitable in communicating on film than attempting to convey a historical period through total recreation of the past. In part, this is because films must build a digestible narrative; in an effort to tell a coherent story much of the past may be lost or sidelined. These scholars situate their reasoning within a broader context between filmmaking and academic history, acknowledging

that all representations of the past are imperfectly constructed. Rosenstone contends that while there is, as of yet, no universal methodology for determining “good” history on film, he does argue that instead of looking at what films got wrong, we may instead look to what they got right. While Moss agrees that it isn’t historical inaccuracy history on film should prioritize, he believes scholars should address what historical films show and tell about the history, and where that information originated. I take from both scholars by looking at the representation of select costumes from *The Hollow Crown* and how they resemble what scholars know about the dress of the historical period. This approach establishes the link between the late medieval, while allowing space for the other time periods these costumes must contend with.

Next, to access Shakespeare’s own period I use anachronism as a feature of the series rather than a flaw. It is anachronism in Shakespeare, according to Phyllis Rackin, that suggests artificiality and establishes a relationship between the past and other time periods. In particular, Rackin suggests Shakespeare points at his own time period while exploring historical events to build a link between the medieval and early modern. Essentially, the use of anachronism highlights the artificiality and constructed nature of the performance. This recalls Moss and Rosenstone of the previous paragraph however, Rackin contends, the anachronism in Shakespeare also serves to draw parallels between two different times by incorporating a “point” of early modern familiarity. Using Rackin’s argument as a foundation, I further her position, by exploring the way in which costumes in *The Hollow Crown* conflict with Shakespeare’s language to reinforce the performance of history as artificial rather than an immersive experience that presents a window into the historical past. The anachronism, often presented as a disparity between verbal and visual in the film, provides no resolution for itself. It implies two historical periods clashing rather than merging into a singular construction of an indeterminate past.



Overall, exploring the three “intentional” historical periods present in *The Hollow Crown* and the ways in which the contemporary accesses a past highlights similarities and differences between the periods. I use the term “intentional” here to acknowledge two issues. First, these three time periods are the most obvious or identifiable within *The Hollow Crown*. Second, Shakespeare adaptations have a long history, even on screen, and contemporary adaptations ultimately do more than pluck information from the specific periods necessary to convey the narrative. *The Hollow Crown* reveals that Shakespeare on screen is a complex interweaving of competing concerns. The costumes in particular indicate the communicative properties of dress as beholden to present concerns of audience accessibility, production, and a modernized aesthetic.

### **Applique: Applying Points of History to Film**

Representing history on screen poses unique challenges for adaptations of Shakespeare’s histories. Adaptations of the histories announce their connection with an historical past and their fictitious narrative. Like costumes contending with representations of a past, these adaptations are always bridging different times. *The Hollow Crown* attends to the recreation of history in the presentation of its costumes. Robert A. Rosenstone and Mark Moss inform my approach to historical representation on film. Both are concerned with the critical rejection of film as a viable source of history because of an academic hierarchical ordering of text and of film’s narrativization of history. Both argue that the value of history on film should not rely solely, or even predominantly, on the expectation of accurate visual depictions. This does not invalidate history on film as a viable source of information. Rosenstone argues that “To leave them [film] out of the equation when we think of the meaning of the past is to condemn ourselves to ignore

the way a huge segment of the population has come to understand the events and people that comprise history” (3). Similarly, Moss points out that people today are aware of certain historical periods because of their representation in the popular history of film and television (23). He warns that “to bemoan this fact and not to recognize it is indeed, problematic” because of how common popular history has become in the contemporary.

I look at specific costumes in *The Hollow Crown* that indicate “points” of historical representation. These “points” as I’ve termed them which engage with a historical past in various ways are called “traces” by Rosenstone and broadly termed by Moss as “historical shorthand.” In essence, we are all discussing the same indicators of a historical past that may be found on film. In identifying these points, I first look to the deposition scene in *The Hollow Crown’s Richard II*, which includes Richard’s costume. I’ve selected this scene and its costumes to demonstrate that despite the fictional scene, the costumes help ground the visual in the late medieval. Then, I look to Henry IV’s and Henry V’s costumes. Specifically, I examine the crowns of these characters. In these examples, the crowns themselves are the points and the deviation sites. That is, the crowns serve as the historical points, while their details serve as creative contemporary constructions. The crowns demonstrate how minor the point of historical grounding can be and how much the contemporary can modify the details of the historical grounding without causing a disruption. Finally, I conclude with the symbols of heraldry represented in *Henry VI* during the Wars of the Roses. I select this accessory because of its complex relationship with history, the text, and the contemporary adaptation. Ultimately, these indicators remain fragmentary in their representations of history, each tethering the past and present. These fragments then allow the contemporary adaptation to reimagine an accessible historical past by coupling with visuals accessible in the present.

In some respect, Rosenstone may disagree with my approach of beginning with identifying historical points. In *History on Film/Film on History*, he states "...the accuracy of historical fact is hardly the first or even the most important question to ask about the kind of thinking that takes place on the screen" (Rosenstone 15). Indeed, I agree, but where Rosenstone deals with two historical periods – the historical event and the contemporary adaptation – I am addressing three. Addressing the historical points and the deviations looks at the negotiations taking place within the material objects of the film. Rosenstone himself wishes to liberate film from the limitations of adaptation fidelity, that is the claim that for an adaptation to be good it must be faithful to its source. In this case, the historical event. However, as Rosenstone and Moss have already identified, the past does exist at points or in fragmentary pieces of material objects and in costumes specifically. Indeed, where Rosenstone would agree with my process is "focusing on what we might call their [film's] rules of engagement with the traces of the past, and investigating the codes, conventions, and practices by which they bring history to the screen" (12). By beginning with historical points located in costumes, I address these rules of engagement to understand how *The Hollow Crown* specifically is bringing history to the screen.

The first example comes from *The Hollow Crown's Richard II* in the deposition scene. Of the scene from the playscript and source for the film adaptation, Peter Saccio claims, "Shakespeare creates the splendid and quite unhistorical scene of Richard's public deposition before parliament," which Saccio says, "was thought so inflammatory that it was censored out of the earliest editions of *Richard II*" (32). Therefore, there was no historical basis for the public deposition; the scene is a piece of dramatic fiction that requires interpretation by costumers. To identify the points representing the historical past in the costumes, I begin by considering the costumes of the religious characters. In particular, I focus on the Bishop of Carlisle and the

Abbot of Westminster. I select these costumes as examples because their characters have clear societal roles and therefore have strict expectations of dress to socially identify them.

Furthermore, their costumes visually distinguish the characters from the crowded scene.

Within the deposition scene, Carlisle and the Abbot wear white robes under black mantles. In terms of costume, the only distinguishing feature between them is the Abbot carries a crosier.<sup>xxiv</sup> Prior to and during the Renaissance, white was commonly associated with bishops, which we can see in *Henry IV part 2* when Westmoorland speaks to the Archbishop of York, commenting, “You, Lord Archbishop... / Whose white investments figure innocence, / The dove and very blessed spirit of peace...” (4.1.41-46).<sup>xxv</sup> This comment from Westmoorland also may elucidate the historical significance of white clothes.<sup>xxvi</sup> However, though the white suggests a point of historical grounding regarding bishops in particular and religion more broadly, the costumes deviate from the historical past in two ways. First, the men’s costumes are more indicative of the Dominican monks’ white robes with black mantles (Leventon 95; Hartley 7). This order originated in Spain and would not include Carlisle or the Abbot. This leads to the second issue, which is the difference in positions. Between the positions, the Abbot holds a rank as a monk of the Benedictine tradition, which has a long history in England; the bishop is a clergyman elected by the church. Furthermore, the Benedictine abbots would wear solid black robes and the bishop would (in many cases) wear white with some decoration. Therefore, while both characters have touches of historical grounding in their costume’s colors, neither character represents the historical past in a way that would be historically accurate. Moss claims that “the use of period clothes, costumes, furniture, and consumer products. . . break down the barriers of complexity and become historical shorthand for making the point” (139). The historical shorthand can serve as an establishing marker of a distant past that may still be somewhat

familiar to the contemporary, but the complexity is obscured by distance. This collapsing of differentiation then suggests some other motivation within the scene. One possible motive may be Carlisle and the Abbott's allegiance within the narrative that positions them in support of Richard's reign.

Within the same scene is also Richard's (Ben Wishaw) costume, and with it the crown as transferrable accessory, which contributes to the historical shorthand of the deposition. Though the public deposition is a fabrication, Richard's surrendering of the crown is not. Saccio identifies the bias of the Parliamentary Roll and Lancastrian reporters that claimed the abdication was "cheerful" (32). It is only in Holinshed's *Chronicles* that Saccio sees a more honest report as Holinshed had access to the protests of the historical Bishop of Carlisle, Thomas Merke. Instead of the "cheerful" abdication Saccio says of the Holinshed report that, "Richard in fact set his crown upon the floor and resigned it to God..." (32). Like this representation of the historical event suggests Richard (Ben Wishaw) didn't give the crown to Bolingbroke, instead it was returned to God and therefore could be claimed by whomever might pick it up.

In the scene, Richard is dressed in light, flowing fabric that allows ease of movement rather than the heavy fabric of, for example, a houppelande, that would have been historically popular at the time. This lighter costume helps dramatize the historical move reported later in time by Holinshed, dramatized by Shakespeare, and adapted for *The Hollow Crown*. After Wishaw delivers the line "Long mayst thou [Bolingbroke] live in Richard's seat to sit, / And soon lie Richard in an earthy pit" (4.1.208-09), he collapses to the ground. By meeting the floor, he comes closer to his earthy pit and foreshadows his death. Richard is also physically below Bolingbroke and in this moment; Wishaw perpetuates the historical representation of not giving Bolingbroke the crown but discarding it in his direction, thereby heightening the drama of the

moment. Richard rolls the crown to Bolingbroke, thus completing Richard's transition from king to subject. Richard doesn't give the crown so much as foists it at Bolingbroke's feet. The moment aligns with Holinshed's reporting of events and plays on the language Shakespeare established, but is executed through the material possibilities of the costume. Rosenstone argues there are specific traditions of representing history on film, one of which is how the past should look, including a character's costume. He remarks of costume that it "confines, emphasizes, and expresses the body at rest and in motion" (Rosenstone 42). That is costume itself provides audiences a representation of what this imagined past looked like and how its inhabitants lived. By taking a point, that is the setting of the crown on the floor, the adaptation expands the audience's sense of what this moment could have looked like, providing a costume that allows liberal movement. Richard is able to resign his crown and it is the crown that serves as another point of historical grounding, passed on to the next king of England.

The crown links the fictional scene of the deposition with the reality of the transition of the monarch. It likewise serves as a shorthand in recognizing the monarchical authority and leadership of the past; the crown is still recognized today as a symbol of power. However, like previous examples, the crown is only a point of grounding, a connection and indicator to the past, which must still communicate to the contemporary. Moss claims "portraying a past that is based upon common referents and popular culture icons makes that past accessible which allows the audience to understand the eras reflected in these films" (139). Here I will first detail the representation of the crown on the film before discussing the historical accounts of Henry IV's crown.

Though Richard's (Ben Wishaw) crown was decadently jeweled, and we see Bolingbroke (Jeremy Irons) accept that crown at the conclusion of the scene, it is not the crown Henry IV

continues to wear in *Henry IV*. Instead, it's replaced by a more modest representation. In *Henry IV*, Henry's (Jeremy Irons) understated royal crown replaces the jeweled crown of Richard II. The golden metal band of Henry's crown is edged with a lighter, appearing as a tarnished silver, and its points are made of the same golden material as the bulk of the crown. The points of Henry IV's crown vary between a cross, the fleur-de-lis, and oak leaves. The crosses and fleur-de-lis may indicate a religious connection and a claim to France, but the oak leaves are less obvious. According to William Newtown's *A Display of Heraldry*, "oak leaves... [have] always been the symbol of victory" (325). Furthermore, images associated with the oak tree itself, including its leaves and acorns "symbolize power, authority, and victory" (Gauding 171).<sup>xxvii</sup> Therefore the leaves present on Henry IV's crown within the film may imply a victory over Richard II's perceived tyranny of the state, the desired victory of the English monarchy to rule France, or Henry IV's right, given by God (the crosses) to serve as primary authority over England (and France). Henry IV's crosses may alternatively be symbols of St. George, the patron saint of England, whereby Henry IV may then be making claims on his own role in England. Of these different potential meanings, it is important to recall Moss' remark that "images are 'polysemic'" (53). Though the crown's symbols may contain varied meaning, historically, this was not Henry IV's crown nor is it the imperial crown suggested by Shakespeare's text.<sup>xxviii</sup> Essentially, the crown is the historical point of accuracy, while its detail marks its departure from history.

The historical figure supposedly wore a crown more extravagant. According to Robert Chambers, "In the very costly and magnificent crown of Henry IV, the strawberry-leaves, eight in number, alternated with as many fleurs-de-lis, the whole alternating with sixteen small groups of pearls" (589). But Chambers only relays a portion of the extravagance of the crown. Ian

Mortimer describes the crown, which he calls the Crown Henry, but is listed as the Harry Crown, by Nicholas Harris Nicolas, as being “made predominately of gold. Rising from its circlet it had a series of gold fleur-de-lys interspersed with pinnacles of jewels. The fleurs-de-lys were each garnished with a ruby, a balas ruby, three great sapphires and ten great pearls. Each pinnacle was garnished with two sapphires, one square balas ruby, and six pearls” (211). According to Nicolas and Chambers respectively, the crown was broken up and distributed to further fund Henry V’s war with France. Mortimer clarifies that the crown was given as surety to Henry’s brother Clarence, who then broke up the crown as payment the men he provided for the war effort. Ultimately, the crown of the film is a much more modest representation that seems to offer, rather than to rely on historical accuracy or fidelity to the text, a simplified means of communicating the evolving narrative and a consistent visual look to a character who contrasted Richard II. Here is where Moss’s barrier of complexity shifts from the historically accurate to the adaptation.

The barrier of complexity contends that inevitably in reproduction something will be lost or simplified. For Moss specifically, he identifies that this simplification results in complexities being “boiled down, disparities. . . conveniently erased and troublesome questions run the risk of being banished” (9). At this visual point between history and the crown there is a loss regarding the representation of Henry IV as a king but also of the monarchy. With the modest turn of Henry IV’s crown, the frivolous fashion and expenditure of Richard II stands in contrast to a new regime that promises reform and restraint. Without the visual change, the deviance from history, those troublesome questions about true governmental change and the consistency of character with the adaptation’s narrative go unresolved.



Though the complexity is no longer as prevalent with concern for historical grounding, the crown still represents a complex series of choices about visual representation and communication to the audience by the costume department. The choice for a more modest crown than historically worn by Henry IV works to confirm that Henry IV's reign would be different and that he himself would be a different king. The change of the crown widens the visual gap between the two characters; it reflects an attempt by the adaptation to clarify rather than complicate this moment of transition.

The series' desire to clarify extends beyond this one point in *Richard II*. It appears again through distinct colors that, like the crown, try to simplify a complex historical event. In *Henry V*, Henry V's (Tom Hiddleston) costumes are primarily red and the French are costumed in predominantly blue. Essentially, the French are identified by their blue costumes to distinguish them from the English, including Henry's future wife, Katherine of Valois. This type of aggressive visual flattening and reduction to a specific color collapses the historical nuance in dress to a shorthand or a generalization. However, Rosenstone emphasizes that accepting generalization "is to become involved in a particular 'reading' of screen images that is not literal, but one that accepts the specific detail as a symbol of a larger meaning" (37). Essentially, identifying these generalizations accepts that they are fragmentary and part of a larger discourse taking place implicitly within the film.

What this collapse of representation assists in doing is communicating the divide between the English and French. It also builds on the historical point. The banner as the historical point in *Henry V* works in connection with the costumes by reinforcing the different color schemes of red and blue. The banner depicts three golden lions in a red field and the fleur-de-lis on a blue field.<sup>xxix</sup> Essentially, the banner is split, depicting one half as that of the three lions associated

with the Royal Arms of England, while the other half represents a claim from the English monarchy on the French throne<sup>xxx</sup>. Figure 20 below provides one example of the English Royal Standard depicting the split fields.

This representation is more obvious in *Henry V*'s battlefield and army scenes but is reinforced in the wooing scene. In both scenes, the red costumes of Henry V are contrasted with the blue costume of Katherine of Valois. Like the

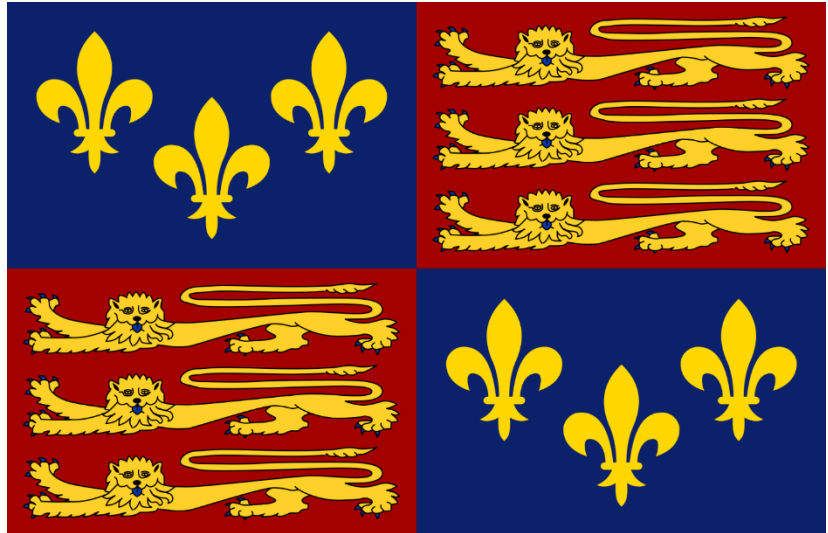


Figure 20: Royal Standard of England 1406-1603

standards and banners of the battlefield, the scene's costumes themselves suggest the unification of England and France under one house. In the wooing scene, the unification comes not through battle, but through the proposition of marriage and the unification of two separate households. Again, this representation of a historical fact – the marriage of Henry V to Katherine of Valois after the Battle of Agincourt – simplifies a complexity of history. The representation of the red and blue costumes, which reflect the red and blue of Henry's banner, become Moss' historical shorthand to make the point: Henry's desire is to unify England and France under his rule. Both the banner and the wooing scene that compliment it reinforce that historical point. The use of the color scheme instead of elaborating in the narrative does play into losing the complexity, but as Moss says, "snippets and angles can be presented and the films can be used as foundations for further inquiry, not as definitive history" (131). Indeed, locating points of the past and their

deviations can provide a groundwork for further investigation, but points may serve another purpose as well.

The final purpose I address in this section relates to the collapse between the present and the past through an expanded historical point. Rosenstone claims that “portraying the world in the present tense, the dramatic feature plunges you into the midst of history, attempting to destroy the distance between you and the past and to obliterate – at least while you are watching – your ability to think about what you are seeing” (15). He suggests that the objects on screen determine a large portion of the way audiences imagine the past. Likewise, the objects audiences see also serve as a gateway to engagement that brings the past into the immediacy of the present.

In *The Hollow Crown*, heraldry badges serve as that historical point which expands across *Henry VI* to assist the audience in bridging the distance between the contemporary and complexity of the Wars of the Roses. *The Hollow Crown* maintains and expands on the clear division of loyalties between York and Somerset in *Henry VI* by using livery badges to represent the factions. By choosing the historical point of the livery badge, the adaptation then deviates by taking inspiration from the Temple Garden scene to detail the physical objects. Audiences may make connections between characters and understand allegiances based on the accessory affixed to their costume.

Livery badges were commonly used to display house fealty at that time and heraldic symbols appeared on items such as banners, clothing, and livery collars.<sup>xxx1</sup> By the mid-1300s in England, during the ongoing war with France, heraldic images were “increasingly used to help foster a sense of national identity” (Ailes 87). Many of the images united the monarch’s symbols with that of the French’s *fleur de lis* to represent Edward III’s claim to rule both countries. What the display of heraldry shows is the English people accustomed to the significance of these

images and the propagandist political motives behind them. Badges in particular “proved the most popular form of livery, since they could be cheaply produced and easily distributed” (Ailes 94). Citing an example, Adrian Ailes in “Heraldry in Medieval England: Symbols of Politics and Propaganda,” looks to the 1454 order by the duke of Buckingham to produce 2000 livery badges to give to a number of men he wished to enlist (94). Buckingham’s order confirms that these badges could be made quickly, but that they were also given to identify men entering a battlefield as a form of representation and identification. Therefore, the use and spread of badges in *The Hollow Crown* during the Wars of the Roses has reasonable historical grounding, but the badges themselves move away from the point of accuracy to serve another purpose.

Despite Shakespeare’s show of Somerset and York announcing roses as their symbols in Temple Garden, in the fifteenth century, York’s more commonly used badge was the falcon and fetterlock rather than the less often used white rose. Even during the Wars of the Roses York didn’t march under the rose. According to Ailes, “Richard [Duke of York], had borne the royal arms differenced with a white label bearing three red roundels on each point” (99). Then, in October of 1460 when York proceeded to London, “he summoned trumpeters and had them issued with banners displaying the royal arms of England undifferenced -- the sovereign’s arms” (Weir 248). In expanding Shakespeare’s instigating moment – as much a deviation from the historical past as the deposition scene – for the Wars of the Roses, *The Hollow Crown* takes the two defining symbols in the garden and carries them throughout the rest of the conflict.

Much like the crown as a point historical grounding it is the heraldry badge that tethers the adaptation to the past. Similarly, just as the crown was modified from its historical appearance, the badges likewise undergo a transformation to engage in broader concerns of orienting the audience to the participants of each faction. As Rosenstone claims, “we must never

forget that the present moment is the site of all past representation” (18). The contemporary film’s historical costume serves as a contested site of representation between a historical past and fiction. While these deviations, generalizations, and modifications may obscure the complexity of the historical events, they engage and orient an audience, clarifying the dense web of forces that played on England during this period of upheaval. Such a move allows, as Rosenstone said, the destruction of the distance between past and present. As with all imperfect representation and communication, this type of divergence from the historical past and clarity chooses a particular path. It risks glorifying some and vilifying others through the simplicity of its depictions and threatens to establish the vision of a historical past that never was. However, much of what Moss and Rosenstone have established is that the surface meaning of a historical film is only the beginning, not a definitive site of information. Rather it is a source of inquiry for reading history on film and exploring the historical event itself. In the next section I will address how inaccuracy, in particular, anachronism in Shakespeare’s histories, demands audiences think beyond surface content by pointing at rather than disguising the thread that connects the past and present.

### **Distressing: Temporal Disruption is a Feature**

Temporal disruption, or anachronism, within screen adaptation of Shakespeare’s histories is a valuable device that points at the bridging work of designers. Essentially, these disruptions address moments of collision between the filmscripts, which are founded on the Renaissance texts, and the visual as a recreation of a historical past. I build specifically from Phyllis Rackin’s observations in “Anachronism and Nostalgia,” which contends Shakespeare’s anachronisms were intentional devices, calling attention to the contemporary moment. Rackin suggests the

anachronism bridges the gap between the historical past and the contemporary present by pointing at something within the production that was temporally displaced. For example, in *2 Henry IV*, Falstaff berates his Page by saying “Thou whoreson mandrake, thou art fitter to be worn in my cap than to wait at my heels” (1.2.14-16). James C. Bulman acknowledges this clothing reference, saying “Falstaff alludes anachronistically to the Elizabethan fashion of wearing a jewel as decoration on the hat” (184). Rather than a concern with maintaining a strict adherence to the past, Shakespeare offers a contemporary reference to English fashion. By including this anachronistic reference, the illusion of the past on stage is disrupted; it becomes present. The play announces its own artificiality as a production and an imagining of the past written in the present, not a window into an earlier time. The issue then becomes how Rackin’s ideas about anachronism are applicable to Shakespeare’s histories on film.

The issue of managing multiple historical periods again becomes the primary force behind my project. Like Rosenstone and Moss, Rackin is only dealing with multiple periods in history. According to Rackin, Shakespeare’s anachronisms were designed for his audience, speaking to their contemporary culture. I extend Rackin’s work to address Shakespeare’s histories on film by renegotiating the relationship between the contemporary and the anachronism.

From a contemporary position, Shakespeare’s anachronisms are as distant as the historical events of his plays; they no longer pull the past forward. Instead, I argue it is the fixed position of Shakespeare’s anachronism in the original text coupled with the contemporary desire to continually reimagine the historical past that produces temporal displacement. Essentially, filmscripts using Shakespeare’s texts, including *The Hollow Crown*’s histories, conflict with the contemporary drive to construct a historical past because the anachronism remains at a third

historical site. The visual recreation of the historical past and the verbal anachronism then creates what Rackin terms “radical dislocation” (94). According to Rackin this type of anachronism “invades the time-frame of the audience, and its effect is no less striking than that of a character stepping off the stage to invade the audience’s physical space or addressing them directly to invade their psychological space” (94). Even for adaptations of Shakespeare’s histories on film the anachronism collides with the present, disrupting the sense of viewing the past on screen.

I address three moments within *The Hollow Crown* which identify an anachronism in the filmscript that conflicts with the visual costume. These three moments are scenes from *Henry IV part 2* in which the dialogue directs the audience to a ruff, *Henry IV part 2* that acknowledges a specific type of crown, and *Henry VI* which adopts an anachronistic badge of heraldry. Overall, these particular plays contain larger points of anachronism, entire characters and events, that would disrupt an audience familiar with and expecting a historical recreation. I do not address them here as moments of temporal disruption for the contemporary because my approach to temporal disruption is focused on costume. Specifically, I focus on the conflict between the contemporary’s desire to visually represent a historical past through costume that collides with the playscript making an anachronistic reference that isn’t resolved for an immersive experience. For example, the historical figure John Oldcastle represented as Falstaff had fled to the Welsh Marches because of his lollard beliefs before Henry V set sail for French shores. Unlike Falstaff who died before Bardolf and Pistol go with Henry’s army to France in what would have been 1415, Oldcastle was captured and hanged in 1417. Shakespeare’s historical anachronisms such as the disparity between Oldcastle/Falstaff doesn’t appear as a visual conflict between playscript and contemporary representation of Shakespeare’s *Henry V*.

The following moments from *Henry IV* and *Henry VI* serve as the most disruptive conflicts between playscript and visual costume. That is to say, the temporal disruption offers a gap in the filmworld's ontology and in turn its immersion, drawing attention to the immediacy of the presentation as performance. Like Rackin claims of Shakespeare's anachronisms invading his audience's space, the film's temporal disruption in costume signals the production as fiction, not a window to history. In both examples in *Henry IV part 2* the verbal-visual conflict is apparent through the misalignment of dialogue and material objects. In *Henry IV*, the anachronism highlights how "it [the anachronism] calls attention to its own theatricality and to the anachronism that is finally inseparable from the project of historical recuperation" (Rackin 120). Essentially, this moment of anachronism emphasizes the interconnected relationship between anachronism and text. In the case of the anachronistic moment within *Henry VI*, the feature defies contemporary desires to recreate a historical past. Instead, the anachronism lends itself to the creation of the past. It is at that point of creation that the anachronism identifies itself as temporally displaced and reveals its artificiality.

The ruff of the character Doll Tearsheet in *Henry IV part 2*, presents one of the most obvious temporal disruptions between text and visual. In *The Hollow Crown* scene, Doll, a prostitute working in the Boar's Head Tavern, bickers with the drunken Pistol over a costume piece that she isn't wearing. Pistol threatens the woman by saying, "...but I will murder your ruff for this!" (2.4.134-35). To which, Doll demands to know why Pistol may be called captain; one reason she considers is "for tearing a poor whore's ruff in a bawdy house" (2.4.144-45). According to Bulman "prostitutes during Elizabeth's reign were known for wearing large ruffs around their necks, and the tearing off (murder) of such ruffs signified sexual assault in drama of the period" (260). An early modern audience likely would have recognized the ruff as a visual



indicator of a prostitute. For Rackin who is concerned with how Shakespeare incorporated early modern anachronisms into his history plays, this would have been the temporal disruption. It would signal the immediacy – the “presentness” – of the performance. In the filmic adaptation, the dialogue pointing to a ruff remains, but collides with an absent visual.

The visual components of the scene in *The Hollow Crown* reveals there’s nothing around Doll’s neck even though both lines about the ruff remain. In fact, the costume Doll wears exposes her neck and shoulders as bare rather than attempting to disguise the fact that she doesn’t wear a ruff or any accessory that might otherwise serve as a replacement for the ruff. It is simply not present despite the lines and even the threatened violence suggesting it is and should be a tangible object.<sup>xxxiii</sup> Its absence, despite the verbal cue, calls attention to dislocation. The anachronistic moment is “reminding the audience of the present theatrical occasion” (Rackin 96). While Rackin deals with Shakespeare’s anachronism calling attention to the immediacy of a staged performance and its contemporary relevance, this *Hollow Crown* anachronism points at the artificiality of film.

Shakespeare’s anachronism, unattended in the contemporary visual costume, draws attention to itself because the ruff is verbally but not visually there. Costumer designer, Annie Symons, maintaining the overall aesthetic of a historical past may have prioritized a late medieval design over the text of the filmscript. The moment of presence-absence separates the late medieval and the Renaissance, denying their collapse into one condensed past, and suggesting the contemporary involvement in reimagining history. That is, in this moment with the ruff, the present is making itself known by choosing which past, Shakespeare’s or Henry IV’s, to visually represent. By making such a decision, the two pasts become more apparent, as does the contemporary distance from which audiences are viewing this temporal displacement.

These negotiations between the filmscript and the visual are not always as blatant. Unlike the scene with the ruff, the next moment in *Henry IV part 2* which looks at the crown does have a visual representation, but it again doesn't match the verbal call for a specific accessory. In the scene, Hal kneels beside his dying father's bed, considering "this imperial crown, / Which, as immediate as thy place and blood, / Derives itself to me" (4.5.41-43). In this moment, Hal, as the son of Henry IV, ruminates on the matters of monarchy and succession, concentrating primarily on the crown before him. Hal's lines identify the crown. While it would be possible Hal is speaking of crowns, their symbolism, and function generally, he remarks "*this* imperial crown," which suggests he means no other than the one in front of him. The crown Hal is addressing visually is a royal crown.<sup>xxxiii</sup>

There are two significant issues relevant to Hal mentioning the imperial crown in this scene that identify it as anachronism: its appearance and its historical use. In appearance, the imperial crown is a specific type of crown in which the "points meet at the top, forming a dome" (Lublin 48).<sup>xxxiv</sup> For a contemporary point of reference, one of the most recognizable imperial crowns is the Imperial State Crown belonging to the current English monarchy.<sup>xxxv</sup> The crown Hal takes from his father's bedside is a smaller crown with some decorative features but it is not a domed imperial. The second defining issue of the imperial crown is its introduction as an accessory of the English monarchy. According to Lublin, "although Henry VIII was the first king of England recognized by Parliament as an Emperor, the imperial crown was worn occasionally by earlier monarchs, starting with Henry V" (48). Despite the small timeframe between the end of Henry IV's reign to Henry V, the imperial crown wasn't part of Henry IV's rule. The crown in *The Hollow Crown* scene neither fits the visual appearance of a specific material object nor sees use of that object in the historical period. Again, the past is broken apart,

dividing Shakespeare's anachronism from the historical past. As Rackin claims of Shakespeare's anachronisms more broadly, "they break the frame of historical representation to mark the difference between the historical past and present reconstruction of the past" (98). More specifically suited to the scene in *The Hollow Crown*, the visual representation of the crown serves as the break, misaligning with the dialogue from the filmscript, and pulling the past forward by highlighting the artificial recreation of the past through a contemporary production. Much like the scene with the ruff, the crown points at the reflective nature of *The Hollow Crown*, calling attention to the present as shaping recreations of the past.

In recreating a multiply sited past, these temporal dislocations can be obvious, but in *Henry VI* Shakespeare has created the moment in which the anachronism enters the film-world. Within Shakespeare's playscript, set to ignite the open hostilities of the Wars, York claims,

Let him that is a true-born gentleman  
And stands upon the honour of his birth,  
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,  
From off this brier pluck a white rose with me.

During the incident in Temple Garden, York asks men who would believe he has a stronger claim to the throne than Somerset to take from the rosebush the white rose and one of the symbols of the House of York. York does more than ask the men in his company to wear a rose, but also challenges their own familial lines; if they believe themselves true born, they should side with him.

Not to be outdone, Somerset must suggest an opposing force, which prompts him to declare,

Let him that is no coward nor no flatterer,

But dare maintain the party of the truth,  
Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.

Somerset therefore establishes a similar plea but implies those not siding with him are cowards and dishonest. He chooses the alternative symbol available to him: the red rose.

The event which would have taken place in 1455 in Temple Gardens in London is a narrative device. Historians like Alison Weir point out that, when the event was supposed to take place, York was at Sandal Castle in Wakefield, far north of London (197). It collapses the multifaceted tensions of the Wars of the Roses to a single, digestible moment, functional for a dramatic presentation on the stage. In marking out the roses as symbols it also establishes clear sides to the war, though by doing so it integrates these anachronistic Lancastrian accessories into costume. In turn, this approach to anachronism complicates identifying the disruption through the anachronism of the red rose.

Where once the red rose was considered part of the historical past for the House of Lancaster, newer information suggests otherwise. Many scholars now believe that the Tudor king, Henry VII, popularized the red rose as a badge of Lancaster as a way to incorporate and unite Lancaster and York under the Tudor badge of Rose and Crown (Weir 197). John Ashdown-Hill explores the various heraldic symbols attributed to the monarchy and magnates in and around the Wars of the Roses in “The Red Rose of Lancaster?”. He points to many instances where roses were used as decorative features, which accounts for the prior belief that it was a symbol for Lancaster. However, there was no indication before or during Henry VI’s reign that the rose was a heraldic symbol for the family. Most of what is presented as historical fact comes from the Tudor period of Henry VII, including a portrait of Henry IV held by the National Portrait Gallery, which in some prints shows the monarch holding a red rose (Ashdown-Hill

411). Furthermore, Ashdown-Hill points to the coin production during the change between Edward IV and Henry VI. When Henry VI briefly retook the throne prior to Richard III, coins were issued without the rose; Edward IV's rose and sunburst (both symbols of York) were replaced.

The temporal dislocation of the roses again becomes integral to breaking apart the different time periods. As Rackin says, "anachronism is built into the entire project of history-making, since the historian always constructs the past in retrospect, imposing the shapes of contemporary interests and desires on the relics of a former age" (94-95). Rackin uses "historian" loosely here, identifying anyone engaged in recreations of the past as historian. In this view, Henry VII reconstructed history to suit his contemporary interests by claiming Lancaster used the red rose. He was able to design a symbol suggesting unity between two previously warring factions. Similarly, Shakespeare's creation of the scene in Temple Gardens again imagines a simplified history that suits the dramatic retelling of a historical past for his age. To address the contemporary adaptation, the roses continue through the film, evolving in form from natural flowers to artificial representations, signaling to audiences the division between York and Lancaster.

By using the red rose as a costume piece, Moss would contend it is historical shorthand. Essentially, it helps the audience identify a large cast of characters based on a concise visual symbol established early in the conflict of the film. A mention of the rose occurs once more in Shakespeare's play, but it is *The Hollow Crown* adaptation that carries it through the production. Audiences removed from the historical event have a visual key to help them connect to the events of the film. Like Henry VII and Shakespeare, the contemporary defines its own needs

when recreating the historical past. In this instance it's through the visual communication of the costume.

Anachronism in adaptations of Shakespeare's histories plays an important part in communicating how the present represents and recreates the past. Rackin demonstrates how it is applicable to Shakespeare's theatre-going audiences in that the familiarity of the anachronistic reference establishes a relationship between the past and present. Rackin's work also disrupts the historical representation, pointing at its artificiality. I have extended Rackin's work by incorporating the third time period of a contemporary present, which uses both pasts as sites of disruption. By furthering Rackin's claims, I participate in the same recuperative work of Rackin's historian who bridges the past and the present, uniting them as I also pull them apart. Underlying both positions is the connection that the contemporary makes with the pasts that it attempts to represent. Ultimately, the anachronism fractures the illusion of viewing a perfect historical experience by looking at an audience's own time period as the site of creation. The temporal dislocation of the object, in this case, costume, disrupts a sense that there is an accessible, accurate history available to the present. The anachronistic costume piece identifies the tensions and collisions between periods.

With consideration to the present and its process of recreating the past, this chapter concludes at the point of communicating with the contemporary. That is, it ends at the point in which the anachronism of the red rose of Lancaster is used to assist contemporary audiences in comprehending the complexity of the Wars of the Roses. In doing so, this chapter begins to move away from the distant past. It suggests, as Rackin does, that the forces at play on recreating history have as much to do with contemporary concerns as portraying a version of the historical past. The next chapter will further the way in which Shakespeare's histories develop on screen

by attending to *The Hollow Crown* and its predecessors. In brief, I explore the history of Shakespeare's histories as they have been represented on film. I will analyze these past adaptations' costumes as specific sites of evolution in creating multiply sited histories for the screen. I will attend to the ways in which the costumes communicate, and which forms of communication continue over time. In particular, I will analyze how select costumes participate in the palimpsestic process of mimesis and amplification. I will suggest that contemporary visual representation builds, in part, from what came before. In doing so, these prior films contribute to the ways in which Shakespeare's histories appear on film.

Overall, the project suggests that costumes crafted to visualize a literary past are impure adaptations themselves. That is the costumes are, by their nature, fragmentary representations of times, places, and contexts carefully assembled into one realization. The material of the costume includes its historical inspiration, material references, the literary text that produces the social world of the narrative, and contemporary demands that influence the physical design. All these materials already exist; by drawing these often-disparate pieces together the costume itself points at the unique way in which the contemporary contends with representations of the literary past. In adaptations like Shakespeare's histories on screen the costumes serve as points of distortion – the feature Genette argues is necessary in mimesis to avoid replication – that differentiate one adaptation from another, suggest new perspectives, and encourage further consideration of the material. Even in instances in which the costume is reused in a new context, the costume, like the literary text, is revitalized. For instance, Laurence Olivier's *Henry V* (1944) wooing scene costume appears again in Michael Hayes' 1960 *Henry VI*, worn by Suffolk (Edgar Wreford). Broadly, costumes like Olivier's confirms it belongs to no time or place. The costume, like other

adaptations, is dynamic and significant precisely because it is an impure representation of the literary past.



## NOTES

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<sup>i</sup> The concept of the “impure costume” is informed by Andre Bazin’s “Pour un cinema impur: defense de l’adaptation,” which prompted the title for Deborah Cartmell and Imelda Whelehan’s *Screen Adaptation: Impure Cinema*. Cartmell and Whelehan embrace the impurity of adapting the literary to the screen.

<sup>ii</sup> At the time this writing, Bridget Escolme’s *Shakespeare and Costume in Performance* has recently released, which also attends to Shakespeare and the communicative work of costume in contemporary stage performance.

<sup>iii</sup> Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass explain in “The Circulation of Clothes and the Making of the English Theatre” the formidable budgets for costumes in the English theatre as often exceeding all other costs.

<sup>iv</sup> Falstaff is targeted primarily by Henry V as being overweight. Similarly, Richard III is targeted in *Henry VI* by his physical disability.

<sup>v</sup> According to the stage directions in the playscript, “Enter Eleanor [barefoot, and] a white sheet [about her, with a wax candle] in her hand, [and verses written on her back and pinned on. . .]” (225, brackets in original). I have omitted the stage directions which condense the descriptive dialogue of the costume because stage directions are not for the audience and can be attended to or discarded to suit the needs of the production whereas the dialogue is a component of the playscript productions must contend with either removing the lines or approximating the costume.

<sup>vi</sup> There are no clear shots of the papers on Hawkins’ back as she is in motion for the brief time they’re visible.

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<sup>vii</sup> While I have not included the producers, the studio, or a number of other less apparent contributors to the shaping of screen productions in the main text, I acknowledge them here as having a stake in the creative direction.

<sup>viii</sup> Egerton also designed the series' *Richard III* (2016) and worked as costume supervisor on *Richard II* (2012). Egerton was nominated for a BAFTA Television Craft Award in 2017 for Best Costume Design for his work on *Richard III*.

<sup>ix</sup> Most of the costumes that required construction were made at Sands Films is a production company with an outstanding costume shop. Sands has worked on a number of period films including selections from *The Hollow Crown*, *Lincoln*, *Les Misérables*, and *Marie Antoinette*.

<sup>x</sup> Dress historian, Margaret Scott cautions against relying on artistic renderings of the period because they are meant to be creative interpretations rather than accurate depictions.

<sup>xi</sup> Egerton uses the descriptor of “clerical” to indicate the often severe and/or modest appearance of headgear. Essentially a reference to the clergy. I mention this here for clarity.

<sup>xii</sup> There are approximately twenty-one primary named characters in Cooke's *Henry VI Part I* alone.

<sup>xiii</sup> Historically, Philip the Good was involved in the Armagnac-Burgundian Civil War in France during Henry V of England's conquest for the French throne.

<sup>xiv</sup> A chaperon is a type of head covering of the period.

<sup>xv</sup> The contrast from Richard's “The breath of worldly men cannot depose / The deputy elected by the Lord” (*R2* 3.2.56-57) suggests Henry has earned Richard's proclamation not to be true.

<sup>xvi</sup> The tongues of men are full of deceits.

<sup>xvii</sup> It is worth mentioning that Olivier's wooing costume reappears in *Age of Kings, Henry VI* (1960). It is worn by Suffolk, but the distinct sleeve embroidery is unmistakable. While not part

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of the discussion of this chapter, the implications of recycled costumes and their material life and revival may be significant in terms of a rhizomatic approach to adaptation.

<sup>xviii</sup> Briefly, the surcoat (or surcote) is an outer layer, robe-like garment. Indeed, most of the French except a select few do wear blue.

<sup>xix</sup> Revelations mentions white dress several times as connected to ascension, but it is likely the moment of Transfiguration that Richard is performing

<sup>xx</sup> Fiona Shaw's *Richard II* was adapted for the screen from a staged production. I have opted to include it in the discussion because there was some attempt to convert the stage direction to the screen. Not only was the staging altered, but the location for production takes place outside of the theatre in which it was originally produced. I acknowledge that it is problematic in that it toes a fine line between Shakespeare for film and Shakespeare on stage being filmed. However, it is also significant in bridging the filmic gap between the Giles *Richard II* and Rupert Goold's *Richard II* in terms of costume.

<sup>xxi</sup> Though it appears here that Genette is focusing on the written word, his ideas extend across mediums and forms of communication. As the visual in film serves as communication, Hayes' scene is an extension of the hypotext's dialogue.

<sup>xxii</sup> Also see Mihaly Munkacsy's "Christ in front of Pilate" (1881)

<sup>xxiii</sup> See Robert Brent Toplin's *Reel History*, Jonathan Stubbs' *Historical Film: A Critical Introduction*, Marnie Hughes-Warrington's *The History on Film Reader*, et al.

<sup>xxiv</sup> The crosier is a hooked staff that may be carried by abbots, bishops, and other ranking officials of the church to mark their rank.

<sup>xxv</sup> See also *What People Wore When* for the symbolism behind the white robes.

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<sup>xxvi</sup> This perception of white, when considering the ritual of Western Catholic weddings, has not changed much.

<sup>xxvii</sup> See also Mike Robinson and Helaine Silverman's *Encounters with Popular Pasts*.

<sup>xxviii</sup> Lublin suggests that Shakespeare was, perhaps, more interested in how his English monarchs appeared rather than historical accuracy (49).

<sup>xxix</sup> These were traditionally considered leopards.

<sup>xxx</sup> This claim via the monarchy's arms begins with Richard III and is variously adopted in coats of arms until at least 1801.

<sup>xxxi</sup> One prominent example of the livery collar is the Collar of Esses, which has been used by the House of Lancaster since the 14<sup>th</sup> century.

<sup>xxxii</sup> Also missing from Doll's costume is the half-kirtle she mentions in *Henry V*. Though she never claims it as a costume that is part of the action, Doll does say she will forswear the piece we never see her wear.

<sup>xxxiii</sup> There are many other versions of crowns not attributed to royalty, it is therefore important to mark the difference as the "royal crown" and not another type like a coronet.

<sup>xxxiv</sup> It is important to note that while audiences today may make not be aware of the differences marked by the term "imperial crown," that the crown, like the ruff, nevertheless is a point of tension between history, the text, and the film.

<sup>xxxv</sup> The Imperial State Crown is used by monarchs – currently Elizabeth II – during the opening session of Parliament. Though Elizabeth II no longer wears the crown, it does still accompany her. The Imperial State Crown also features in more contemporary film and television, making it an identifiable cultural reference.

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