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*Reimagining Shakespeare:
A comparative study of Shakespearean
restoration in Garrick and Capell's
adaptation of Antony and Cleopatra*

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INTRODUCTION

During the late Seventeenth and early Eighteenth centuries, there was a notable resurgence in the circulation and staging of Shakespearean works. Various factors contributed to this trend, including the enactment of the Licensing Act of 1737, which imposed strict censorship measures on playwrights and dissuaded them from creating new works. Consequently, previously approved plays, particularly those authored by Shakespeare, gained heightened favour among theatre companies. Shakespeare's plays, recognized for their adaptability, became platforms for integrating new theatrical advancements of the eighteenth century. This preference arose from the challenges inherent in developing new productions, given the regulatory constraints imposed by the Licensing Act.

As demonstrated by Arthur Scouten and earlier scholars, «Garrick could not have been the chief cause of the Shakespearian revival and that instead of one “revival” there was a series of revivals¹». Garrick was not the instigator of the Shakespearean restoration but with no doubts played a significant role in this process. George W. Stone's observations further elucidate this notion.

During the forty years preceding Garrick's appearance on the stage 2,020 performances of Shakespeare were given to London audiences by all the London theatres, and in some years as many as five were doing business. On the other hand, for the thirty-five years of Garrick's connection with the stage, 1,448 performances of twenty-seven Shakespeare plays were given at his theatre alone, of which only eight can be said to have undergone serious alteration².

This dissertation is dedicated to an examination of the enduring connection between David Garrick and William Shakespeare, a bond that significantly influenced Garrick throughout his life and beyond. This investigation is conducted by focusing on the adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra*, co-authored with the essential collaboration of

¹ See ARTHUR H. SCOUTEN, *The Increase in Popularity of Shakespeare's Plays in the Eighteenth Century: A Caveat for Interpreters of Stage History*, in «Shakespeare Quarterly», Oxford University Press, vol. 7, no. 2, 1956, pp. 189-202, ref at p. 194.

² See GEORGE W. STONE, *David Garrick's Significance in the History of Shakespearean Criticism: A Study of the Impact of the Actor upon the Change of Critical Focus during the Eighteenth Century*, in «PMLA », vol. 65, no. 2, 1950, pp. 183–197, ref. at pp. 185-186.

Edward Capell, a close associate and friend, as well as on the Shakespeare Jubilee. Both cultural endeavours shared analogous destinies and receptions.

The adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra* was only performed five times between January and April 1758. Contemporary critiques of these performances are scarce, and the majority of available comments are notably negative, however lacking sufficient and reliable arguments. Furthermore, there is a lack of documentation regarding the setting and costumes used in these performances. The only accounts testifying David Garrick's portrayal of *Antony and Cleopatra* are those from the pageant originally intended for the 1769 Shakespeare Jubilee, which was later postponed and transformed into a theatrical play called *The Jubilee*. Garrick's decision to feature the protagonists of a play that had been perceived by some critics as a failure at such a significant event strengthens the theory proposed in this dissertation: that the adaptation gradually gained acclaim with each staging, but the audience may not have been prepared to appreciate it fully. Given these circumstances, the production of *Antony and Cleopatra* on January 3rd, 1759, holds particular importance.

In the present dissertation the adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra* is juxtaposed with the original Shakespearean text, scrutinising the omissions, amendments, and novel insertions implemented by Capell under the direction of Garrick³. The aim of this examination is to elucidate how Garrick's ongoing endeavour of reviving Shakespeare's works throughout his career influenced this particular adaptation, and to assess the impact of this endeavour on the perception of Shakespeare and his renown across Europe.

The analysis of the Capell-Garrick text begins with a thorough examination of the volume utilised by Garrick and the collaborative efforts of Edward Capell. This volume, sourced from Tonson's 1734 edition, contains ink and pencil annotations believed to be the work of Capell⁴. Essential to this analysis is the Pedicord edition of Garrick's

³ See WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Antony and Cleopatra*, edited by John Wilders, London, Routledge, 1995 ACW. The Routledge edition overseen by Wilders adheres closely to the Folio, will be therefore used as a source for the original text and will be henceforth referred to as ACW

⁴ Capell's copy can be accessed on the computer of the reader's room of the British Library through the Shakespeare in Performance database which offers prompt books from the Folger Shakespeare Library. See WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Antony and Cleopatra*, [edited by] Edward Capell and [directed by] David Garrick, London, printed for Jacob Tonson, 1734. Shakespeare in Performance, https://www.shakespeareinperformance.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Details/FSL_ANTHONY_AND_CLEOPATRA_Ant_3. (Accessed from 25 September to 17 October 2023). As reported on the website some of the metadata for this document has been drawn from the Folger Shakespeare Library's online catalogue and *The Shakespeare Promptbooks, A Descriptive Catalogue* by Charles H. Shattuck.

adaptations of Shakespeare, renowned for its meticulousness, clarity, and fidelity to Garrick's original texts⁵. To ensure comprehensive coverage, any modifications made by Capell and Garrick are cross-referenced with Gerald Berkowitz's edition of Garrick's adaptation, thus ensuring thoroughness and accuracy in the assessment of their collaborative work⁶.

The dearth of contemporary commentary presents a significant challenge in comprehensively studying and analysing the reception of the adaptation, compounded by the scarcity of evidence concerning the production's setting and costumes. Despite these challenges, this dissertation has managed to identify a noteworthy aspect in comparing the *Folio* edition with the Capell-Garrick adaptation: the shift from the public domain to the private sphere, as evidenced by the truncation of *Antony and Cleopatra*, reflects a broader trend toward the bourgeoisification of theatre.

Stone's article *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra* stands as the foremost study of the Capell-Garrick adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra*, offering reliable conclusions that underscore the play's discontinuation despite its popularity⁷. Stone outlines three potential reasons for the critiques gained by adaptation. Firstly, the influence of a group of critical voices, perceived as hostile, and their impact on the sensitive manager could have played a role. Secondly, there's a prevailing sentiment that Garrick's talents were not fully showcased in the role of Antony compared to his iconic performances, attributed in part to his perceived diminutive stature and the nature of the role itself. Additionally, the necessity to share the limelight with Cleopatra played by Mrs. Yates might have been viewed as a hindrance for Garrick.

While Stone's analysis serves as a crucial foundation for this dissertation, it lacks a neutral assessment due to the absence of a detailed scene-by-scene analysis comparing the Shakespearean original play with the Capell-Garrick adaptation. This gap was addressed by the present dissertation, providing a comprehensive examination of the differences between the two versions.

⁵ See DAVID GARRICK, *The plays of David Garrick*, edited by Harry W. Pedicord, 8 vols., Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1981, vol. 4. This work will be henceforth referred to as GSH.

⁶ See DAVID GARRICK, *The plays of David Garrick*, edited by Gerald M. Berkowitz, 4 vols., New York, Garland Publishing, 1981, vol. 2.

⁷ GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, in «The Review of English Studies», vol. 13, no. 49, 1937, pp. 20–38.

The first chapter serves as a foundational exploration of the historical context, providing a comprehensive understanding essential for the subsequent analyses. It delves into the political and theatrical landscape during the Restoration era, shedding light on the life and achievements of David Garrick. The chapter further investigates the backdrop of the Licensing Act of 1737, a pivotal element in Garrick's transformative adaptations of Shakespeare. Additionally, it scrutinises the diverse social strata and dynamics influencing the audience, pivotal factors considered by playwrights, including Garrick, in the adaptation process, exemplified through his joint work with Edward Capell on *Antony and Cleopatra*.

The second chapter focuses on the contextual framework that shaped the conception of the *Antony and Cleopatra* adaptation. Initially, it provides an overview of Edward Capell's career, highlighting key facets. The chapter then deals with the origins of Shakespeare's Roman plays, offering a brief exploration of their historical background and sources. Additionally, the analysis follows a trajectory influenced by Antony Brano, examining the potential impact of engravings accompanying Shakespeare's collected editions on the Capell-Garrick adaptation. Finally, the chapter explores the process that elevated Shakespeare to the status of an English and European celebrity.

The third chapter primarily centres on analysing the disparities between Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* and the Capell-Garrick adaptation. Commencing with an overview of Edward Capell's career, the chapter then undertakes an examination of scholarly endeavours aiming at identifying the main author of the adaptation. Subsequently, the analysis delves into the differences between the two plays, providing a character evaluation specific to the Capell-Garrick adaptation. The chapter concludes with an examination of critical responses to the adaptation and an exploration of the factors contributing to the perceived failure of the adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra*.

The fourth and concluding chapter focuses on the Shakespeare Jubilee that took place in Stratford-upon-Avon in September 1768. The chapter delves into the various dynamics that prompted Garrick to organise the Jubilee. Providing a detailed examination, based on the meticulous study by Christian Deelman, the chapter covers the three days of the festival. Subsequently, the critical reception and the aftermath of the Jubilee are thoroughly analysed.

This thesis owes much to the inspirations derived from Antony Brano and Christian Deelman, whose works have been extensively referenced throughout the chapters. Without their contributions, this thesis would likely have taken a substantially different form and certainly lacked a foundational part of its structure⁸.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

- ACW WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Antony and Cleopatra*, edited by John Wilders, London, Routledge, 1995.
- GSH DAVID GARRICK, *The plays of David Garrick, Garrick's Adaptations of Shakespeare 1759–1773*, edited by Harry W. Pedicord, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1981, vol. 4.

⁸ See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, in EMMA DEPLEDGE (edited by), *Canonising Shakespeare: Stationers and the Book Trade, 1640–1740*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2017, pp. 63-78; CHRISTIAN DEELMAN, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee* New York, Viking Press, 1964.

CHAPTER 1

STAGING THE ICON: DAVID GARRICK AND THE THEATRICAL LANDSCAPE OF HIS TIME

Although a few introductory lines will not summarise all that would need to be stated to provide with a complete picture of the English geopolitical scenario from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, they can offer a useful outline of events for a discussion on David Garrick's contribution to the history of Shakespearean performances.

In the year 1642, following the culmination of the English Civil War, which pitted the forces of the Crown against those of the Parliament, the Puritan government issued a decree for the closure of theatres. This prohibition of theatrical activities persisted even after the conclusion of the conflict. Subsequently, in 1649, King Charles I met his demise through execution, having faced charges of high treason. The year 1653 witnessed the self-appointment of Oliver Cromwell to the office of Lord Protector of the Commonwealth, an authority that approximated monarchical powers.

By 1658, the passing of Cromwell precipitated a significant political crisis in Britain. Charles II, after his convocation, returned from exile and was restored to the thrones of England, Wales, and Scotland in the year 1660. In the same year, in the immediate aftermath of the Restoration of the English monarchy, theatres were once again permitted to operate and the exclusive rights to stage performances were granted to the King's and Duke's Companies. Within this context the Caroline playwrights Thomas Killigrew and William Davenant, respectively, led such Companies. It was during this period that a significant transformation occurred, as actresses were permitted to perform on the English stage for the first time.

Subsequently, in 1662, the establishment of the Royal Society marked a pivotal development in London's intellectual landscape. However, following this, the city faced one of its most grievous historical calamities with the outbreak of the Great Plague in 1665, which resulted in the death of over 100,000 individuals. The city's misfortunes

persisted, as the Great Fire of London in 1666 engulfed approximately two-thirds of the capital in flames within a mere four days.

Towards the close of the 17th century, the English Crown witnessed the passing of Charles II and the ascension of James II to the throne in 1685. Shortly thereafter, the Glorious Revolution commenced in 1688. In 1689, two seminal legislative acts were promulgated: the Bill of Rights, which affirmed the supremacy of the Parliament, and the Toleration Act, which granted religious freedoms to dissenters. Concurrently, significant milestones were being achieved on the English stage, with notable productions such as *Venice Preserv'd* premiering at the Duke's Theatre in 1682, and *The Provoked Wife* making its inaugural appearance at Lincoln's Inn Fields.

The onset of the 18th century was marked by the Act of Union in 1707, a momentous event in the political and constitutional history of England and the newly formed United Kingdom¹.

1.1 *Theatrical tendencies from the restoration to Garrick*

In the dedicatory poem of Richard Brome's work *Five New Plays* (1653), Aston Cokaine, infused with optimism for the restored theatre, demonstrated a remarkable prescience in forecasting the emerging trends that would characterise the reopening of playhouses. Cokaine's visionary projection encompassed a concerted effort to reinvigorate the English dramatic canon, indicative of a prevailing inclination among the pre-Restoration theatre practitioners to engage in the revival of dramatic works. Furthermore, playwrights of this era were not only dedicated to reviving these plays but also adept at tailoring them to suit the specific requirements and capabilities of their respective troupes of actors².

¹ See ANDREW SANDERS, *The Short Oxford History of English Literature*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2004, pp. 186–332.; STEPHEN GREENBLATT (edited by), *The Norton Anthology of English Literature: The major authors*, 6 vols., New York, W.W. Norton & Company, 2018, vol. 1, pp. 2057–2827; ROBERT BARNARD, *A Short History of English Literature*, New Jersey, John Wiley and Sons Ltd., 1994, pp. 52–73; WILLIAM L. LANGER, *The Encyclopedia of World History*, Norwalk, Easton Press, 2006, pp. 369–482; JOHN POWELL, *Great Events from History: The 18th Century (1701–1800)*, 2 vols., Pasadena, Salem Press, 2006.

² See MICHAEL DOBSON, *Adaptations and Revivals*, in DEBORAH PAYNE FISK (edited by), *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 40–51, ref. at p. 40.

The French court theatre had a significant impact on King Charles II during his exile, for instance influencing the reversal process of Puritan sobriety measures in theatre. His first approach to the London stage consisted in granting royal patents to Killigrew's King Players and Davenant's Duke's Players. Both companies at the beginning started their acting in converted indoor tennis courts, but later, in 1671 and 1674, Dorset Garden and Drury Lane were built, hosting Davenant's and Killigrew's troupes respectively. The overall success of the two theatres can be attributed to the characteristics and priorities of their owners³.

Restoration playwrights treated inherited plays with what a modern eye would see as a great deal of innovation. Some late seventeenth century commentators defined them as «ignorant vandals, uncomprehendingly vulgarising the masterpieces of the previous era in quest of novel but crassly simple dramatic effects and the easy popularity they might earn»⁴. Restoration playwrights' new plays, though a minority, found opportunities for performance. The repetition of admired productions became a frequent occurrence, with each play being staged one or more times during the season or revived after breaks. Prioritising classical works from earlier periods often occurred, sometimes adapted to fit evolving conditions and fresh audience preferences⁵. For instance, under Davenant's direction, *Macbeth* was transformed into a spectacular masque, boasting alterations, amendments, additions, and new songs, as highlighted in the 1673 edition⁶.

The Duke's Company and the King's Company displayed distinctive approaches in their handling of available dramatic materials. Innovation became a defining characteristic of the Duke's Company, not only in the treatment of old plays but also in various other aspects. In contrast, the King's Company adhered to a more conservative stance. When it came to the Shakespearean plays assigned to the Duke's Company, many of which had not been performed for generations, a more radical approach believed to be necessary. The seemingly unpromising and archaic nature of these dramatic materials

³ See JUDITH MILHOUS, *Theatre companies and regulation*, in JOSEPH DONOHUE (edited by), *The Cambridge History of British Theatre*, 3 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, vol. 2, pp. 108–125, ref. at p. 112.

⁴ See MICHAEL DOBSON, *Adaptations and Revivals*, cit. p. 41.

⁵ See JOSEPH DONOHUE, *Introduction: the theatre from 1660 to 1800*, in JOSEPH DONOHUE (edited by), *The Cambridge History of British Theatre*, 3 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, vol. 2, pp. 3–52, p. 11.

⁶ WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Macbeth, A Tragedy. With all the alterations, amendments, additions and new songs*, [edited by] William Davenant, London, P. Chetwin, 1674.

spurred Davenant to be increasingly inventive in adapting them to suit the new possibilities offered by the Restoration playhouses and the evolving preferences of the Restoration audience. The patents granted to both companies stipulated that any old plays had to be reformed and adapted before being revived. From 1662 onward, Davenant seemed to have taken this directive to heart, focusing on aesthetic rather than moral reformation⁷. While it is true that the practice of comprehensive adaptation began with the experiments of Davenant on Shakespearean works in the 1660s, the distinction between “adaptation” and “revival” during the Restoration era, however, is more nuanced than the aforementioned discussion implies⁸.

The evolution of adapting Shakespearean works within English drama spans a considerable period, commencing during the Restoration era and reaching its zenith with Garrick and his contemporaries. According to Tiffany Sterne, the rationale behind these adaptations probably aimed to standardise Shakespeare’s plays to align more closely with the eighteenth-century conception of theatrical productions. Notably, Aristotle’s principles for drama had been embraced as the authoritative model for plays. However, Shakespeare’s compositions deviated from these guidelines, appearing «ungainly and ignorant» to the adapters of the time. The intention behind “solving” or “curing” Shakespeare of these perceived inaccuracies was to generate a flawless performance text, one that would hypothetically align with the expectations of an eighteenth-century playwright⁹.

A central aspect of this discourse revolves around the audience, as the primary recipient of the plays. The composition of the audience underwent fluctuations during these periods. In the seventeenth century, prior to the rise of Cromwell, theatres accommodated a diverse cross-section of London society, typically with more men than women. It is possible that the audience encompassed individuals from various social strata, including servants to royalty. John Loftis asserts that the most comprehensive information regarding the Restoration audience is available for the period documented in

⁷ See MICHAEL DOBSON, *Adaptations and Revivals*, cit., p. 42.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ See TIFFANY STERNE, *Shakespeare in drama*, in FIONA RITCHIE (edited by), *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 141–158, ref. at p. 148.

Pepys's diary, spanning 1660-1669. During this time, instances of royalty attending plays in public theatres were common¹⁰.

Craik, through a detailed analysis of Pepys's diary, cautions against assuming that the prevalence of courtiers in the audience excludes individuals of modest wealth and intermediate social standing¹¹. On 26th December 1668, Pepys commented on the presence of "ordinary citizens" in theatres in a disparaging manner¹². In the prologue to *Marriage à la mode* first staged in 1673, John Dryden sarcastically referred to their preference for alternative forms of entertainment¹³.

Our City Friends so far will hardly come, / They can take up with Pleasures nearer home; / And see gay Shows, and gawdy Scenes elsewhere: For we presume they seldom come to hear¹⁴.

In this prologue, Dryden concedes that the theatre has recently experienced a decline in attendance among its fashionable patrons due to the repercussions of the Third Dutch War¹⁵, during which a considerable number of young gentlemen were enlisted in the military. Dryden encourages the citizens to fill the void left by the absent audience members¹⁶. Certainly, the tone in references to "citizens", both by Pepys and Dryden, implies that at least the more modest members of the business community were

¹⁰ See KEENAN SIOBAHN, *Travelling Players in Shakespeare's England*, London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, pp. 40–43; THE SHAKESPEARE GLOBE TRUST, *Shakespeare's world Audiences*, "Shakespeare Globe", 2023, <https://www.shakespearesglobe.com/discover/shakespeares-world/audiences/>. (Accessed 7 March 2024); JOHN LOFTIS, *The social and literary context*, in THOMAS W. CRAIK (edited by), *The Revels History of Drama in English*, 8 vols., London, Methuen, 1976, vol. 5, pp. 1–80, ref. at p. 16.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 17. Loftis also made reference for this assertion to EMMET L. AVERY, *The Restoration Audience*, in «Philological Quarterly» vol. 45, no. 1, 1966, pp. 54–64, ref. at p. 55, ProQuest, <https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/restoration-audience/docview/1290924299/se-2>. (Accessed 7 March 2024); HELEN MCAFEE, *Pepys on the Restoration Stage*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1916; ALLARDYCE NICOLL, *A History of English Drama 1600–1800*, 6 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1959, vol. 1, pp. 5–19; HAROLD LOVE, *The Myth of the Restoration Audience*, in «Komos», vol. 1, no. 1, 1967, pp. 49–56; LEO HUGHES, *The Drama's Patrons: a Study of the Eighteenth-Century London Audience*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 1971.

¹² See JOHN LOFTIS, *The social and literary context*, cit., vol. 5, pp. 1–80, ref. at p. 17; for an insight into Dryden see PAUL HAMMOND, *Dryden, John (1631–1700), poet, playwright, and critic*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2024, Oxford University Press, pp. 1–20, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8108>. (Accessed 7 March 2024); MICHAEL R. BOOTH, *The social and literary context*, in THOMAS W. CRAIK (edited by), *The Revels History of Drama in English*, 8 vols., London, Methuen, 1976, vol 6, pp. 1–58, ref. at pp. 17.

¹³ See ARTHUR H. SCOUTEN, *Plays and playwrights*, in THOMAS W. CRAIK (edited by), *The Revels History of Drama in English*, 8 vols., London, Methuen, 1976, vol 6, pp. 179–296, ref. at pp. 174–178.

¹⁴ JOHN DRYDEN, *Marriage à la mode. A Comedy*, London, printed by T.N. for Henry Herringman, 1673.

¹⁵ For an historical account see JONATHAN ISRAEL, *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585–1740*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1990; CLARE JACKSON, *Devil Land; England under Siege 1588–1688*, London, Penguin, 2021.

¹⁶ See JOHN LOFTIS, *The social and literary context*, cit. vol. 5, pp. 1–80, ref. at p. 17.

considered outsiders in the playhouse. During the Restoration period and the initial half of the eighteenth century, the theatre audience failed to encompass significant numbers of individuals from middle and lower social strata primarily due to a statistical constraint. The limited seating capacity of theatres meant that only a small fraction of London's swiftly expanding population could be accommodated within these venues¹⁷.

In the 18th century, the audience gradually expanded beyond the limits of higher social classes. Although attendees were seated in distinct sections of the auditorium according to their wealth and social standing, the audience represented a diverse spectrum of society, encompassing individuals from various walks of life. The theatres functioned as spaces for social interaction. Inside the theatre there was the possibility of encountering notable nobility, and, in some instances, even royalty. These elements contributed to what a critic described as the "drama of the audience's self-presentation"¹⁸.

The pre-civil-war theatrical legacy served as a testing ground for the Restoration stage. The revivals and adaptations of the period can be regarded as experiments aimed at negotiating the political position of the restored theatres and investigating new genres that could prosper within them. The open revival of pre-civil-war drama, and by extension, the Royalist culture of the Caroline court could be interpreted, as Michael Dobson suggests, as a deliberate expression regarding the British Empire's defeat in 1660¹⁹. Samuel Pepys and others probably recognised a political purpose behind the early King's Company's repeated performances of plays, such as Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, which were explicitly anti-Puritan²⁰. During the constitutional crises of the late 1670s

¹⁷ See *Ibid* p. 17, 22; details regarding the attendance figures at Restoration theatres are notably scarce, with one study addressing this issue being presented in WILLIAM VAN LENNEP (edited by), *The London stage, 1660–1800: a calendar of plays, entertainments and afterpieces together with casts, box-receipts and contemporary comment*, 2 parts, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1959, Part 1, pp. xlii–xliii. Additionally, a separate investigation conducted by Harry W. Pedicord on theatre attendance in the mid-eighteenth century, focusing on London, Westminster, Southwark, and their adjacent areas—constituents from which Drury Lane and Covent Garden drew their audiences—indicates that approximately 1.7 percent of the population attended these theatres during the period of Garrick's management. See HARRY W. PEDICORD, *The Theatrical Public in the Time of Garrick*, London, Carbondale, 1966, pp. 16–17.

¹⁸ See GILLIAN RUSSEL, *Theatrical culture*, in THOMAS KEYMER (edited by), *The Cambridge Companion to English Literature, 1740–1830*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 100–19, ref. at p. 100.

¹⁹ See MICHAEL DOBSON, *Adaptations and Revivals*, cit., p. 45.

²⁰ About Pepys observation on this matter see KATE LOVEMAN (edited by), *The diary of Samuel Pepys*, New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 2018; SAMUEL PEPYS, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, HENRY B. WHEATLEY (edited by), London, George Bell & Sons, 1893; available online at SAMUEL PEPYS, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys Daily entries from the 17th century London diary*, "The Diary of Samuel Pepys", site run by Phil Gyford, www.pepysdiary.com/. (Accessed 7 March 2024).

and 1680s, the political climate became more tumultuous. Playwrights found themselves with a convincing platform for covert political observations due to the blurred boundary between adaptations and revivals, as well as the additions to a play versus what was originally part of its script. Playwrights would have been cautious about expressing their views in scripts perceived as completely their own work²¹. Old plays with nominal reverence could be revived through careful revisions, attempting to bridge the cultural gap between the pre–Commonwealth and post–Restoration eras seamlessly. However, the extent of alterations these plays required often highlighted the impracticality of this endeavour, turning cultural nostalgia into cultural innovation. The restoration of the monarchy itself may have been a comparable exercise in the so–called “revival with alterations”. Over time, the ratio of unmodified revivals of plays by Jonson and Fletcher in the repertoire decreased, suggesting a change in the theatre towards prioritising adaptation over revival²².

The emergence of exceptional actors and the expansion of numerous theatres across the country can be considered as a favourable setting for 18th-century British drama. As the 18th century commenced, the realm of theatre was primarily the domain of urban and noble elites. However, as the century drew to a close, it had transformed into a genuinely widespread and popular mode of entertainment. Virtually every significant British town featured at least one theatre by this time. At the outset of the century, only two establishments in the city, the patent theatres, were authorised to stage spoken drama. The first of these venues was the renowned Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, strategically located in the burgeoning West End. Drury Lane had its origins in the endeavours of theatre manager Thomas Killigrew, who oversaw its construction in 1663. Unfortunately, the inaugural structure suffered a fire and necessitated rebuilding, believed to have been designed by the architect Christopher Wren in 1674. This theatre remained operational throughout the entire 18th century, firstly under Killigrew’s management and subsequently under the stewardship of his successor, Colley Cibber²³.

²¹ See MICHAEL DOBSON, *Adaptations and Revivals*, cit., p. 45.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 46.

²³ Colley Cibber, an English figure renowned as an actor–manager, playwright, and Poet Laureate, had a notable successor in his son, Theophilus Cibber. The younger Cibber distinguished himself as an English actor, playwright, and author, following in the footsteps of his accomplished father. See LEONARD R. N. ASHLEY, *Colley Cibber*, New York, Twayne Publishers, 1965; HELENE KOON, *Colley Cibber. A Biography*, Lexington, University Press of Kentucky, 1986; RICHARD H. BARKER, *Mr. Cibber of Drury Lane*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1939.

A sequence of events unfolded, reshaping the theatrical landscape during this period. Notable occurrences included the departure of Thomas Betterton and many esteemed actors in 1694, the collaboration between Young Colley Cibber and Christopher Rich, the temporary silencing of Rich by the Lord Chamberlain in 1707 and the issuance of new patents to William Congreve and Sir John Vanbrugh under the directive of Queen Anne. Meanwhile, Christopher Rich, who had acquired the old Lisle's Tennis Court with the intention of renovating it, continued to sulk within the confines of a dark and barricaded Drury Lane. However, he was eventually ousted from Drury Lane by William Collier, a lawyer and Member of Parliament. Collier, having obtained legal rights in the lease of the building and a licence to establish a company there, forcefully entered Drury Lane on November 22, 1709. In 1714 Queen Anne died, Collier's patent expired, and he was succeeded by Richard Steele. Christopher Rich passed away in the same year, shortly before the completion of the refurbished Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre. Following his father's death, John Rich assumed the role of the new manager, inheriting the Duke's company patent²⁴.

John Rich's aspirations to create a theatre that could compete with Drury Lane came to fruition in 1728 when he achieved remarkable success with John Gay's highly acclaimed production, *The Beggar's Opera*. This production not only garnered unparalleled theatrical triumph but also provided Rich with the essential funds for his venture. In 1732, Rich moved his theatre company to Covent Garden and constructed a new venue on the site of today's Royal Opera House. On the opening night *The Way of the World*, penned by William Congreve²⁵, was performed, regarded by scholars as one of the finest exemplars of Restoration comedy. Despite its initial disappointing reception, the play was staged multiple times within the century, accumulating approximately 300 performances throughout the eighteenth century in London²⁶. Covent Garden Theatre boasted exceptional acoustics, opulent embellishments, and state-of-the-art stage and scenic technologies. The venue could host over 1,000 spectators, with seating

²⁴ See MARION JONES, *Actors and repertory*, in THOMAS W. CRAIK (edited by), *The Revels History of Drama in English*, 8 vols., London, Methuen, 1976, vol 6, pp. 119–158, ref. at pp.123–126; ALLARDYCE NICOLL, *A History of English Drama 1600–1800*, cit., vol. 2, p. 282.

²⁵ WILLIAM CONGREVE, *The Way of the World, A Comedy*, London, printed for Jacob Tonson, 1700.

²⁶ See ROBERT D. HUME, *Theatres and repertory*, in JOSEPH DONOHUE (edited by), *The Cambridge History of British Theatre*, 3 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, vol. 2, pp. 53–70, ref. at p. 64.

arrangements adhering to the traditional fourfold divisions of box, pit, middle gallery, and upper gallery. Although the price of admission determined one's seating, there appeared to be well-established social habits influencing the choice of seating divisions²⁷. It was the largest theatre in London at the time. One observer noted that the venue was designed "to impress and exude grandeur"²⁸.

As of the 1720s, an increasing number of theatres and performance spaces began to emerge in the city of London, extending their presence beyond the confines of the West End. Among these include: the Little Theatre in the Haymarket, established in 1720, two additional theatres in Goodman's Fields situated in the eastern part of London, inaugurated in 1729 and 1732, Sadler's Wells in Islington, founded in 1733, multiple theatres in the western locality of Richmond, as well as performances hosted at fairs and within newly established "pleasure gardens" such as those located in Vauxhall and Chelsea. In 1737, Robert Walpole's government aimed to halt the rapidly increasing theatrical enterprise by issuing the *Licensing Act*.

The situation before the licensing act is efficiently analysed by Joseph Donohue²⁹, David Thomas³⁰, and Degli Esposti³¹. Before 1737, censorship in the realm of theatrical performances was characterised by a lack of a clear organisational structure, leading to conflicts due to flexible policies. The absence of a well-defined framework can be attributed, in part, to the influence of civic bodies strongly aligned with Puritan beliefs, resulting in a repressive stance towards theatrical events. In contrast, the Master of Revels³², the official responsible for regulating performances, tended to lean towards acceptance rather than prohibition, effectively assuming the role of a protector of

²⁷ See JOHN LOFTIS, *The social and literary context*, cit. vol. 5, pp. 1–80, ref. at p. 16.

²⁸ See WILLIAM VAN LENNEP (edited by), *The London stage, 1660–1800: a calendar of plays, entertainments and afterpieces together with casts, box-receipts and contemporary comment*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1959, p. xxxi.

²⁹ See JOSEPH DONOHUE, *Introduction: the theatre from 1660 to 1800*, cit., pp. 3–52

³⁰ See DAVID THOMAS, *Theatre Censorship: From Walpole to Wilson*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2007.

³¹ See PAOLA DEGLI ESPOSTI, *Tra censura e monopolio: il controllo dell'attività spettacolare nel Romanticismo inglese*, in «Romanticismi – La Rivista del C.R.I.E.R.», vol. 3, no. 1, 2018, pp. 35–48. Dipartimento di Lingue e Letterature Straniere dell'Università di Verona, <https://romanticismi-rivistadelcrier.dlls.univr.it/article/view/127>. (Accessed 7 March 2024).

³² Regarding the figure of the Master of Revels see JUDITH MILHOUS, *Theatre companies and regulation* cit. p. 111; ARTHUR F. WHITE, *The office of revels and dramatic censorship during the Restoration period*, in «Western Reserve University Bulletin», vol. 34, no. 13, 1931, pp. 5–45.

theatrical endeavours³³. Various factors, including the turbulent political history of the seventeenth century, contributed to fluctuations in censorship policies. These ranged from the complete prohibition of elaborate events during the Cromwellian period to a morally permissive atmosphere of considerable scale during the Restoration. In the early eighteenth century, the situation became notably confusing, marked by significant jurisdictional conflicts between the Master of Revels, the patent holders (granted by Charles II, allowing self-censorship for spoken drama), and the Lord Chamberlain utilizing the royal prerogative. This confusing scenario resulted in the ineffectiveness of control bodies, particularly strained by the prevalent political themes of the time³⁴.

In the escalating debate surrounding the permissible extent of freedom of speech, Sir Robert Walpole, a shrewd Whig politician, a key minister under both George I and George II from 1721 onward, and Henry Fielding, known as a novelist and judge, played pivotal roles³⁵. The 1737 legislation emerged from the monarchy's need to regulate London performances which frequently contained criticism of the royal family and government, with notable targets including Robert Walpole, especially apparent in works by writers such as Henry Fielding. The law required submission of plays for approval, limited licensed theatres, and enabled retrospective checks on censorship compliance; moreover, the criteria for censorship were not specified, relying on the censor's discretion. The Licensing Act, crafted to address the pressing concerns of monarchical authority by restoring order and restricting satirical comedy, had certain inherent limitations that could be exploited to evade imposed restrictions. Specifically, weaknesses in its formulation were evident in two key areas: the geographical reach and the genres subject to supervision³⁶.

The enactment of the Licensing Act had significant and, in some respects, profound effects on the operations of dramatic production, theatrical management, and

³³ See PAOLA DEGLI ESPOSTI, *Tra censura e monopolio: il controllo dell'attività spettacolare nel Romanticismo inglese*, cit., p. 35.

³⁴ *Ibid.*

³⁵ See JOSEPH DONOHUE, *Introduction: the theatre from 1660 to 1800*, cit., p. 48. For detailed biographical information regarding Robert Walpole, see BRYAN W. HILL, *Sir Robert Walpole: sole and prime minister*, London, Penguin, 1989; JEAN B. VAN LOO, *Walpole, Robert, first earl of Orford*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2024, Oxford University Press, pp. 1–46, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28601>, (Accessed 7 March 2024). About Fielding life and accomplishments see MARTIN C. BATTESTIN (edited by), *Henry Fielding: A life*, Milton, Taylor & Francis, 2023.

³⁶ See PAOLA DEGLI ESPOSTI, *Tra censura e monopolio: il controllo dell'attività spettacolare nel Romanticismo inglese*, cit., pp. 36–37.

acting companies. Walpole's bill introduced stringent control over theatre companies and the plays they could stage. It confined the King's authority to grant patents to the city of Westminster and constrained dramatic performances to the two patent theatres, namely Drury Lane and Covent Garden. To enforce play censorship, the bill established the position of Examiner of Plays within the office of the Lord Chamberlain. Theatre managers were required to submit all new plays, revisions to existing plays, and even prologues and epilogues for licensing at least fifteen days prior to performance; violation of this requirement carried a fine of £50. Walpole strategically created division among his adversaries, pitting theatre management against dramatic authors. Silenced as a playwright, Fielding turned to novel writing and, somewhat ironically, embarked on a career as a magistrate. Soon after, at least two plays were denied a license, establishing a chilling precedent that endured, with varying severity, for over 230 years until the law's repeal in 1968³⁷.

1.2 David Garrick: the "actor manager"–producer, playwright and, adapter

Regarding David Garrick's date and place of birth, various theories have been offered, among which those of Knight and Parsons seem to be the better founded. His mother was Arabella Clough: a woman of Irish descent; his father was Peter Garrick, son of a French Huguenot who fled from France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685³⁸.

³⁷ For an in–depth exploration of the history and aftermath of the Act, Loftis advises referring to: WATSON NICHOLSON, *Struggle for a Free Stage in London*, New York, B. Blom, 1966; DEWEY GANZEL, *Patent wrongs and patent theatres: Drama and the Law in the Early Nineteenth Century*, in «PMLA», vol. 76, no. 4, 1961, pp. 384–396; LEONARD W. CONOLLY, *The Censorship of English Drama, 1737–1824*, San Marino, Huntington Library, 1976. See JOHN LOFTIS, *The social and literary context*, cit. vol. 5, pp. 1–80, ref. at pp. 22–23.

³⁸ See GEORGE W. STONE, *David Garrick: a critical biography*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1979; KALNAM A. BURNIM, *David Garrick Director*, Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh University Press, 1961; THOMAS DAVIES, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq.*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014; DAVID GARRICK, *The Letters of David Garrick*, edited by George M. Kahrl, 2 vols., Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 2014; JAMES BOADEN, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the Most Celebrated Persons of His Time*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013. Regarding the exact day of birth, all scholars agree on February the 19th, whereas on the year they differ. Matthews agrees with Hedgcock in claiming that Garrick was born in 1716 whilst Kalnam, Thomson, Knight and, Parsons claim that Garrick's birth was in 1717. See BRANDER MATTHEWS, *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States: From the Days of David Garrick to the Present Time; Garrick and His Contemporaries*, 3 vols., New York, Cassel and Company, 1886, vol. 1; FRANK A.

Garrick's family decided to interrupt his education at the Lichfield Grammar School and sent David in 1729 to Lisbon. The decision was probably dictated by the poor financial status of the family at the time; the young Garrick was thus asked to learn the vintner profession from a homonymous uncle who was living there. One year later David was already back at his studies because his father, originally officer in a garrison town, later going with the rank of captain, decided to volunteer for the Gibraltar posting to address the financial problems of the family. Garrick received education in Greek and Latin from Samuel Johnson at Edial Hall, and they both later headed to London to make a fortune after the school shut down³⁹.

They reached the capital on March 2nd, 1737. David's father convinced him to enrol at Lincoln's Inn desiring for his son a bright future through legal studies. The course was soon deserted after Peter Garrick's death in the same month. The sequence of mourning the Garrick's family experienced between 1737 and 1740 was crucial for David's incoming career. His homonymous uncle died in December 1737 and left to his nephew a £1000 inheritance that would soon afterwards convince David to work with his brother Peter as wine trader. Mrs. Garrick died on September 28th, 1740; her demise represented the last step before David's decision to become an actor, since he refused to worry his declining mother with the knowledge that his son would embark on such a

HEDGCOCK, *A Cosmopolitan Actor: David Garrick and his French Friends*, New York, Blom, 1969.; PETER THOMSON, *Garrick, David (1717–1779), actor and playwright*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2024, Oxford University Press, pp. 1–20. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10408>, (Accessed 7 March 2024); JOSEPH KNIGHT, *David Garrick*, London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Truber & Co, 1894; CLEMENT PARSONS, *Garrick and his circle*, New York, Blom, 1969. Knight signals that from 1706 Peter Garrick was quartered in Litchfield, David was born in 1716/17 and then Peter quartered in Hereford; Parsons claims that David was born on February 19th, 1717, at the Angel Inn in Hereford, because his parents were there due to Peter Garrick's recruiting service as lieutenant. Soon after the family returned to Lichfield. Surely the Garrick's returned to Litchfield where David was first educated. Hedgcock offers an interesting study upon Garrick's surname in See FRANK A. HEDGCOCK, *A Cosmopolitan Actor: David Garrick and his French Friends*, cit., pp. 17–21.

³⁹ See BRANDER MATTHEWS, *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States: From the Days of David Garrick to the Present Time; Garrick and His Contemporaries*, cit., p. 62; PETER THOMSON, *Garrick, David (1717–1779), actor and playwright*, cit. pp. 1–2. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10408>, (Accessed 7 March 2024).

dishonourable career⁴⁰. In a letter sent to his brother Peter, David recognised that he «has been always inclin'd to the Stage»⁴¹.

Garrick made his first appearance as a professional actor in March 1741 at Goodman's Fields. To circumvent the 1737 Licensing Act, Henry Giffard made the audience pay for concerts, announcing the plays afterwards as free of charge. Garrick first appeared on the stage to substitute Richard Yates in the role of Harlequin because, as he confessed in a letter to his brother, Yates was ill and unable to perform. From his debut to May 1742 Garrick performed more than eighteen roles, and during his Dublin visit of the following summer he played Hamlet for the first time⁴². Garrick's versatility⁴³ was what put him one step ahead of the other actors of his time because they were usually

⁴⁰ Wood claims that when David Garrick arrived in London only the Drury Lane and the Covent Garden were given the possibility to stage performances, whereas plays in Goodman's Fields, Lincoln's Inn and Little Theatre were banned by the Lord Chamberlain thanks to the new Licensing Act; see EDWARD R. WOOD, *Plays by David Garrick and George Colman the Elder*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982, p. 1. See also PETER THOMSON, *Garrick, David (1717–1779), actor and playwright*, cit. pp. 2–3. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10408>, (Accessed 7 March 2024); CAROLA OMAN, *David Garrick*, London, Hodder and Stoughton, 1958, p. 19; FRANK HEDGCOCK, *A Cosmopolitan Actor: David Garrick and his French Friends*, cit., p. 3. The anecdote on Garrick's worries for his mother is reported by Hedgcock, referring to Sir Joshua Reynold's *Memoirs* edited by James Northcote, for details see *ibid.*, p. 32.

⁴¹ See DAVID GARRICK, *The Letters of David Garrick*, cit., vol. 1, p. 28, letter from David Garrick to his brother Peter on October 20th, 1741.

⁴² See PETER THOMSON, *Garrick, David (1717–1779), actor and playwright*, cit. pp. 4–5. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10408>, (Accessed 7 March 2024). Regarding Henry Giffard who was a British stage actor and theatre manager, and gained recognition as the director of the Goodman's Field theatre and for his discovery of David Garrick's talent, see CHARLES BRAYNE, *Giffard, Henry (1694–1772), actor and theatre manager*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2024, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 1–3, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-39767>. (Accessed 7 March 2024); WILLIAM R. CHETWOOD, *A general history of the stage, from its origin in Greece to the present time*, Dublin, Printed by E. Rider, 1749, pp. 166–167; KALNAM A. BURNIM, *A biographical dictionary of actors, actresses, musicians, dancers, managers & other stage personnel in London, 1660–1800*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1973. See also EDWARD R. WOOD, *Plays by David Garrick and George Colman the Elder*, cit., p. 1; DAVID GARRICK, *The Letters of David Garrick*, cit., vol. 1, p. 34; BRANDER MATTHEWS, *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and the United States: From the Days of David Garrick to the Present Time; Garrick and His Contemporaries*, cit., pp. 63–64.

⁴³ Hedgcock in FRANK HEDGCOCK, *A Cosmopolitan Actor: David Garrick and his French Friends*, cit., p. 39; signals a letter from Rev. Thomas Newton to Garrick in which the variety of Garrick's acting is remarked, as Garrick seemed a completely different person in Lear from who he was in Richard even though there is a sameness in every other actor. Newton ended the letter by saying that he «never saw four actors more different from one another than you are from yourself». On Garrick's acting, see also *ibid.* pp. 38, 56; FREDERICK and LISE–LONE MARKER, *Actors and their repertory*, in THOMAS W. CRAIK (edited by), *The Revels History of Drama in English*, 8 vols., London, Routledge, 1996, vol. 6, pp. 95–144, ref. at pp. 96–97; JOSEPH PITTARD, *Observations on Mr. Garrick's acting*, London, J. Cooke and J. Coote, 1758; and DAVID WILLIAMS, *A letter to David Garrick*, London, S. Blandon, 1772.

specialised in no more than three acting lines and styles⁴⁴. Garrick played at Goodman's Fields until the end of May 1742, then moved to Dublin, where acted for season at the Smock Alley Playhouse. Here was warmly acclaimed, together with Peg Woffington, an Irish actress with whom fell in love and had a romantic relationship until 1746. After the suppression of the Goodman's Field, due to Drury Lane and Covent Garden managers' complaints of law circumvention, Garrick was briefly engaged at Covent Garden.

In 1747 he deserted Covent Garden to become the partner of Lacy in buying the Drury Lane licence. As an actor-manager he recruited a company composed of Mrs. Pritchard, Mrs. Woffington, Mrs. Clive, Mrs. Cibber, Mr. Barry, Mr. Macklin, besides himself. In 1749 he married Mrs. Eva Maria Violette, a notable dancer and protégée of Lady Burlington. The period between 1750 and 1751 was characterised by a rivalry with Barry which culminated in the triumph of Garrick.

In 1751 Garrick visited Paris for the first time, and during this voyage he met the French ballet reformer Jean Georges Noverre. The meeting between the two resulted in an invitation for Noverre to come to London in 1755, where he stayed for two years from 1755 to 1757. Unfortunately, with the staging in London of the French ballet *Les Fêtes chinoises* (1755), in which French designer Luis-René Bouquet was also engaged, David Garrick suffered his career's greatest economic damage. In this occasion a mob sacked the Drury Lane, triggered by the contemporary English hostility against France. Notwithstanding this unfortunate episode, the figure of Noverre had a crucial influence on Garrick, as the choreographer's element of idealisation permeated the actor-director's art⁴⁵.

⁴⁴ The Elizabethan acting company established a system of character specialisation, allowing each member to play various roles within their designated specialty. By the late 18th and early 19th centuries, especially with the advent of melodrama, this system became firmly entrenched. Actors were hired for specific roles, known as "lines of business", such as juvenile lead, character actor, or comedian. This structure, with variations and the doubling of parts, enabled the company to handle a diverse repertoire. Each actor developed a stock of characters within their line, understanding essential characteristics while adapting to variations in personality and social type. See DENNIS KENNEDY (edited by), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Theatre and Performance*, 2 vols, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2003, vol 1, p. 749. For a comprehensive study of lines of business in England from the Elizabethan period to the Eighteenth century, refer to JAMES C. BURGE, *Lines of business casting practice and policy in the American theatre 1752 – 1899*, New York, Peter Lang, 1986, pp. 20–130.

⁴⁵ See PETER THOMSON, *Garrick, David (1717–1779), actor and playwright*, cit. p. 5. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10408>, (Accessed 7 March 2024). Regarding the figure of Peg Woffington and her relationship with Garrick see *ibid.*, p. 6; CLEMENT PARSONS, *Garrick and his circle*, cit., pp. 48–55; DAVID GARRICK, *The Letters of David Garrick*, cit., vol. 1, p. 65. See also EDWARD R. WOOD, *Plays by David Garrick and George Colman the Elder*, cit., p. 1; BRANDER MATTHEWS, *Actors and Actresses of Great Britain and*

During the 1762–63 season Garrick’s attempts to control audience behaviour spawned another incident, similar to the 1755 riot, but fortunately less injurious. He attempted to end the practice of half-price admission after the main piece’s third act. This measure triggered the reaction of a mob fomented by Fitzpatrick. Altogether, this distressing event, his popularity on the wane, and the health issues that his wife and himself were facing possibly provided the reasons that motivated his travels from 1763 to 1765. On the continent he visited France and Italy, receiving warm welcome in both countries. During this prolonged voyage he met and provided inspiration to Denis Diderot for his *Paradoxe sur le comédien*⁴⁶.

On his return to England, Garrick reduced his acting parts and increased his theatrical productions. Some remarkable works from this period are: *Neck or Nothing* in 1766, *Cymon* and *A Peep behind the Curtain* in 1767, *The Irish Widow* in 1772, *A Christmas Tale* in 1773, *The Meeting of the Company* in 1774, *Bon Ton*, *May-Day* and *The Theatrical Candidates* in 1775⁴⁷. *The Jubilee* of 1769 was Garrick’s most successful piece, originated after the outcome of the Stratford–Upon–Avon Shakespeare Jubilee, an event to which I will devote a chapter in this dissertation.

the United States: From the Days of David Garrick to the Present Time; Garrick and His Contemporaries, cit., p. 64. For an interesting study about Mrs. Garrick’s birth and parentage see FRANK HEDGCOCK, *A Cosmopolitan Actor: David Garrick and his French Friends*, cit., p. 36. For a further study on Noverre’s life and career achievement see JUDITH CHAZIN–BENNAHUM, *Jean-Georges Noverre: Dance and Reform*, in MARION KANT (edited by) *The Cambridge Companion to Ballet*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2007, pp. 87–97; DERYCK LYNHAM, *The Chevalier Noverre: father of modern ballet; a biography*, Alton, Dance Books, 2010. For information regarding the interaction between Garrick and Noverre, see LAURENCE MARIE, *Le comédien anglaise David Garrick, source d’inspiration pour la danse pantomime?*, in «Musicorum», vol. 1, no. 10, 2011, pp. 267–273. For a detailed article on the mob triggers during Garrick’s 1755 Chinese Festival, see HSIN–YUN OU, *The Chinese Festival and the Eighteenth–Century London Audience*, in «The Wenshan Review of Literature and Culture», vol. 2, no. 1, 2008, pp. 31–52, <https://www.wreview.org/index.php/archive/23-vol-2-no-1/51-the-chinese-festival-and-the-eighteenth-century-london-audience.html>, (Accessed 7 March 2024). See also FREDERICK and LISE–LONE MARKER, *Actors and their repertory*, cit., vol. 6, pp. 95–144, ref. at p. 98. On this page, it is also cited an intriguing letter from Noverre regarding his thoughts on Garrick, see JEAN J. NOVERRE, *Letters on Dancing and Ballets*, Southwold, Dance Books, 2004, Letter IX, pp. 78–98.

⁴⁶ See PETER THOMSON, *Garrick, David (1717–1779), actor and playwright*, cit. p. 13. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10408>, (Accessed 7 March 2024). Thadeus Fitzpatrick was a pamphleteer who was engaged in a dispute with Garrick over many years. See also HEATHER MCPHERSON, *Theatrical Riots and Cultural Politics in Eighteenth–Century London*, in «The Eighteenth Century», vol. 43, no. 3, 2002, pp. 236–52; MICHAEL R. BOOTH, *The social and literary context*, vol. 6, pp. 1–59, ref. at pp. 32–33.

⁴⁷ See PETER THOMSON, *Garrick, David (1717–1779), actor and playwright*, cit. p. 14. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10408>, (Accessed 7 March 2024).

Besides the attempt of bringing Noverre and the French ballet to London, in 1770s Garrick tried to engage artists capable of bringing to the Drury Lane scenery and lighting effects innovations. In 1771 met Philippe–Jaques de Louthenburg thanks to a common acquaintance: Jean Monnet. De Louthenburg was introduced to Garrick by Monnet as one of the best of the French landscape painters. He later revealed his potential as theatrical set designer in different successful Drury Lane plays such as *A Christmas Tale*. After witnessing the popularity of the first plays on which he worked, Garrick decided to entrust Louthenburg with more plays, also profiting from the public’s appreciation for French artists. He still collaborated with Drury Lane even after Garrick’s retirement until 1781. In 1776 Garrick took his farewell from the stage acting as Don Felix in Susannah Centlivre’s *The Wonder*. After his farewell as an actor and the sale of his share of the Drury Lane patent, he still continued to collaborate with the theatre⁴⁸.

During the last three years of his life, the retired actor enjoyed the company of his high society acquaintances. His kidney diseases worsened until his death on 20 January 1779⁴⁹.

1.3 Garrick’s heritage

David Garrick’s career as an actor–director has undeniably left an indelible mark on the 18th century theatre.

Garrick had earned the reputation among his peers as “the definitive Hamlet”. At the time of his retirement in 1776, he had enacted the role of Hamlet eighty-seven times—surpassing his performances as Macbeth, Richard III, or Lear. This particular role played

⁴⁸ For more information about De Louthenburg’s life, career and relationship with Garrick see PAOLA DEGLI ESPOSTI, *La tensione prerregistica. La sperimentazione teatrale di Philippe–Jacques De Louthenburg*, Padova, Esedra, 2013. See also *ibid.*, pp. 44, 87.

⁴⁹ The correspondence between Garrick and the Countess of Spencer are collected at the British Library Archive in the Althorp Papers titled Add MS 75685 and part of them are copied and printed in CHRISTOPHER DOBSON, *Letters of David Garrick, and Georgiana Countess Spencer, 1759–1779*, Cambridge, Roxburghe Club, 1960. See also PETER THOMSON, *Garrick, David (1717–1779), actor and playwright*, cit. p. 15. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10408>, (Accessed 7 March 2024).

a crucial role in solidifying Garrick's reputation as the foremost interpreter and successor to Shakespeare⁵⁰.

No one prior to Garrick had managed to revolutionise English acting to the extent that he did, in part thanks to his ability to alter the expectations of audiences. Throughout his initial sixteen seasons as a manager, David Garrick maintained an average of approximately ninety personal yearly appearances, surpassing the typical count for leading actors. However, it's crucial to note that this accounted for only half of the total playing nights, illustrating a strategic balance in his theatrical engagements. With Garrick at the helm, Drury Lane undoubtedly emerged as the leading theatre in Britain. In the earlier half of his career, Garrick tended to push the limits in his efforts to make the comic more amusing and the terrible more frightful. Garrick did not strive merely for realism; instead of imitating nature, he patterned himself after an ideal character who, in the specific situation, would be profoundly affected by the emotions of the scene⁵¹. Frank Hedgcock's quotation of Diderot is particularly suitable in describing Garrick's acting mentality: «If you act only according to your own standard, [...] or indeed according to the most perfect natural model that exists, you will never be more than mediocre»⁵².

The legacy bestowed upon the British stage extends beyond mere performance, as Garrick played a significant role in the recognition of Shakespeare as a cornerstone of English theatre and national poetry. Garrick's tenure at Drury Lane marked the pinnacle of the theatre's success, and no other director has reached such an apex in the venue's history⁵³.

One of the director's noteworthy accomplishments was the introduction of innovative lighting, which was inspired by his travels to both Italy and France. Garrick made significant changes after 1765 by reducing the quantity of chandeliers and

⁵⁰ See MICHAEL DOBSON, *The making of the national poet: Shakespeare, adaptation and authorship, 1660–1769*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 2001, p. 165. For detailed statistics on this matter, refer to GSH. See also EMILY H. ANDERSON, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2018, p. 60.

⁵¹ See FRANK HEDGCOCK, *A Cosmopolitan Actor: David Garrick and his French Friends*, cit., pp.16, 56; PETER THOMSON, *Garrick, David (1717–1779), actor and playwright*, cit. p. 8. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10408>, (Accessed 7 March 2024).

⁵² See JULES ASSÉZAT (edited by), *Oeuvres complètes de Diderot*, 11 vols., Salon de 1767, Salon de 1769, Salon de 1771, Paris, Garnier, 1966, vol. 11, p. 16.

⁵³ See FRANK HEDGCOCK, *A Cosmopolitan Actor: David Garrick and his French Friends*, cit, p. 16.

increasing the lighting from battens and concealed sconces⁵⁴. The greatest advancements in lighting the sets were achieved due to the engagement of the Alsatian scene designer, de Louthembourg.

Garrick's authoritative approach elevated discipline, rehearsal, and casting standards. The director's most radical change was the removal of the seated audience from the stage. This widespread practice caused several problems; it was not only unaesthetic but also impractical, as the audience reduced the space available to the actors on stage and on occasion picked up objects dropped by the actors. On important events, as many as 200 spectators could have sat on benches constructed in the shape of an amphitheatre behind the actors, in addition to the usual idlers who crowded the side entrances and obstructed the actors. Garrick excluded audience members from the stage of Drury Lane during the 1762–1763 season, as much as four years after their removal from the Comédie in Paris. This achievement, combined with the introduction of brighter lighting, produced two outcomes. Firstly, it enhanced the potential for stage pictorialism, paving the way for the theatre's development in the following decades. Secondly, it intensified the visual presentation of the performer's postures, movements, and transitions⁵⁵.

George Winchester Stone, Jr., observed that during this era, the attainment of freshness and novelty occurred not solely through text adaptation, as seen in notable Restoration playwrights⁵⁶. Instead, with Garrick leading the path for innovation, there was an increasing emphasis on achieving these qualities through the introduction of a new style of acting:

A traditional comic Shylock became Macklin's fearsome character; an eloquently declamatory Tancred of Quin became Garrick's lively and passionate frustrate; a traditional minor comic Abel Drugger became, in Garrick's humorous depth-treatment, an idiosyncratic tobacconist⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ For a detailed explanation about stage lighting in Eighteenth-century Britain see EDWARD R. WOOD, *Plays by David Garrick and George Colman the Elder*, cit., p. 2.

⁵⁵ See FREDERICK and LISE-LONE MARKER, *Actors and their repertory*, cit., vol. 6, pp. 95–144, ref. at pp. 103–104; EDWARD R. WOOD, *Plays by David Garrick and George Colman the Elder*, cit., p. 5.

⁵⁶ See JENNY DAVIDSON, *Shakespeare Adaptation*, in FIONA RITCHIE (edited by), *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2012, pp. 185–203.

⁵⁷ See GEORGE W. STONE, 'The Making of the Repertory', in ROBERT D. HUME (edited by), *The London Theatre World, 1660–1800*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1980, pp. 181–209, ref. at pp. 186–187.

Garrick was the most significant actor of the European 18th century. His style and manner of acting were integral to the process of the theatre's bourgeoisification that he undertook. What he did as an actor diverged from neoclassicism as a mode of performance. He was less formalistic, focusing much more on psychological nuance, engaging in work that was more about the character than previously, emphasising external form rather than personality. In Diderot's work *Paradoxe sur le comédien*, an anecdote was fabricated in which Garrick continuously changed his expression from outside a sliding door to demonstrate his versatility.

Garrick will put his head between two folding doors, and in the course of five or six seconds his expression will change successively from wild delight to temperate pleasure, from this to tranquillity, from tranquillity to surprise, from surprise to blank astonishment, from that to sorrow, from sorrow to the air of one overwhelmed, from that to fright, from fright to horror, from horror to despair, and thence he will go up again to the point from which he started. Can his soul have experienced all these feelings, and played this kind of scale in concert with his face? I don't believe it; nor do you⁵⁸.

For Diderot and his contemporaries, Garrick served as an acting reference point.

⁵⁸ See DENIS DIDEROT, *The paradox of acting*, translated by Walter H. Pollock, London, Chatto & Windus Piccadilly, 1883, p. 38.

CHAPTER 2

GARRICK AND SHAKESPEARE: A HISTORIC COUPLET OF ADAPTATION

James Granger and his work *A Biographical History of England* are cited by Fiona Ritchie in her research on the centrality of women in the promotion of Shakespeare during and after the Restoration: «It is hard to say whether Shakespeare owes more to Garrick, or Garrick to Shakespeare»¹. David Garrick is called by Robert Babcock, among countless other scholars, the *chief alterer* of Shakespeare². These two references provide a clear indication of the level of connection between the “Bard of Stratford” and David Garrick.

Throughout his entire career as both an actor and manager, Garrick consistently dedicated himself to the Shakespearean plays. By 1751, his commitment to the Bard’s works was so profound that he was ready to designate Drury Lane as: «the house of William Shakespeare»³. The strong relation between Garrick and the Shakespearean characters has been studied by various scholars, among whom Emily Hodgson Anderson in *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*⁴ provides an interesting analysis for our discussion. In the Chapter *Hamlet, David Garrick, and Laurence Sterne*, the author highlights how whilst playing Hamlet, Garrick’s identity became more and more intertwined with that of his character, ultimately merging with that of the Bard⁵. According to Anderson, as Hamlet was supposedly played by Shakespeare himself, the association with this famous character was an attempt by Garrick to promote his claim to a connection with Shakespeare⁶. Scholars have argued that Garrick merged his image with that of Shakespeare, linking himself with the Bard in the public imagination⁷.

¹ See FIONA RITCHIE, *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2014, p. 28.

² Babcock in his work provides a list of Garrick’s alterations of Shakespeare. See ROBERT W. BABCOCK, *The Attack of the Late Eighteenth Century Upon Alterations of Shakespeare’s Plays*, in «Modern Language Notes», vol. 45, no. 7, 1930, pp. 446–451.

³ See DAVID GARRICK, *The Letters of David Garrick*, cit., vol. 1, p. 172.

⁴ See EMILY H. ANDERSON, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*, cit.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 55.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 61.

⁷ See FIONA RITCHIE, *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*, cit., p. 29.

Garrick's success in aligning himself with Shakespeare within the public's perception was so great that commentators swiftly adopted and propagated this notion⁸. This association persisted even after Garrick's death, as evidenced by the inscription on the monument erected in his memory in 1797: «Shakespeare and Garrick like twin stars shall shine / And Earth irradiate with a beam divine»⁹.

The adaptation of Shakespearean plays undertaken by Garrick consisted in another attempt to bring himself closer to the Bard. Garrick, much like Shakespeare, worked on texts to make them suitable for his audience and company. Though, even before him, it was believed that the adapters of Shakespearean plays had merely replicated what Shakespeare had done as he had altered his works, borrowed stories, and had to conform his plays to the standards of his contemporary audience¹⁰.

2.1 The origins of Shakespeare's Roman plays: a brief overview of their background and sources

Understanding Shakespeare's intentions for staging plays as *Antony and Cleopatra* in a classical setting, along with his other Roman plays, is crucial for comprehending his approach to adapting these narratives to suit the sensibilities and tastes of the Elizabethan audience.

It was a prevalent belief in Elizabethan culture, in accordance with the Virgilian tradition, that the English and the Romans were descended from the ancient Trojans; through this claim they sought to establish an ancient and bloodline connection¹¹. After the fall of Troy, according to the legend, Aeneas found refuge in Lazio, establishing the gens Julia, while his great-grandson Brutus settled in Britannia due to various historical incidents. On this basis, the assertion of a familial connection between the British and

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁹ See GEORGE W. JR. STONE, *David Garrick: a critical biography*, cit., p. 644.

¹⁰ Sterne as Davies, Colman, and Gentleman, provide a compelling list of contemporary works which bolsters this assertion. See TIFFANY STERNE, *Shakespeare in drama*, cit., pp. 141–158; THOMAS DAVIES, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, 2 vols., London, [s.n], 1783, vol. 2, p. 31; GEORGE COLMAN, *The man of business: a comedy*, London, T. Becket, 1775, p. 77; FRANCIS GENTLEMAN, *Introduction to Shakespeare's Plays, Containing an Essay on Oratory*, London, John Bell, 1773.

¹¹ See GIORGIO MELCHIORI, *Shakespeare. Genesi e struttura delle opere*, Roma, Laterza, 1994, p. 393.

Roman bloodlines was founded, as both were believed to be descendants of a shared Trojan ancestry¹².

The late sixteenth-century context and Shakespeare's motivations for selecting the Roman theme for his second cycle of English histories are better understood if we keep in mind that the Tudor family's prospects for dynastic stability during this time were far from favourable. The challenges of succession, the existent socio-economic revolution and the uncertain fate of the monarchy forced the Bard to look for exemplary models for future rulers. The inspiration for addressing these issues was discovered in the history of Rome¹³.

It hath been taught us from the primal state, / That he which is was wished until
he were; / And the ebb'd man, ne'er till ne'er worth love, / Comes deard by
being lacked. This common body, / Like to a vagabond flag upon the stream, /
Goes to and back, lackeying the varying tide, / To rot himself with motion.¹⁴

This excerpt exemplifies the historical and political context of England in the late sixteenth century. On several occasions while composing his historical dramas, Shakespeare adeptly applied a filter to contemporary history. The poet vividly depicted the scenes of the London public as they filled the streets to honour Robert Devereux¹⁵, and likewise took pleasure in witnessing his execution¹⁶.

Through the historicising of the present by means of classical themes, the author essentially channelled controversial political views into Roman drama, which would have caused scandal and censorship had they otherwise appeared in theatrical plays. All this was made achievable by the Elizabethan view of the classical world, which gave a universal connotation to the Roman plays¹⁷.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 512–513.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 397.

¹⁴ See ACW, I, 4, vv. 41–47.

¹⁵ Robert Devereux was the Second Earl of Essex, who held the position of lieutenant in Ireland and faced troubles with the Crown after an unsuccessful campaign in Ireland during the Nine Years' War in 1599. Subsequently, in 1601, he instigated a coup against the government of Elizabeth I, which ultimately led to his execution for treason. For accurate studies and biographies about him see FRANCIS EDWARDS, *Plots and plotters in the reign of Elizabeth I*, Dublin, Four Courts, 2002, pp. 205–235, 266–283; PAUL E. J. HAMMER, *The polarisation of Elizabethan politics: the political career of Robert Devereux, 2nd Earl of Essex, 1585–1597*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2005; PAUL E. J. HAMMER, *Elizabeth's wars: war, government, and society in Tudor England: 1544–1604*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, pp. 204–229.

¹⁶ See JAN KOTT, *Shakespeare, Our Contemporary*, New York, Knopf Doubleday, 2015, pp. 156–157.

¹⁷ See GIORGIO MELCHIORI, *Shakespeare Genesi e struttura delle opere*, cit., p. 517.

The historical basis of the Roman theme remained unaffected by the contemporary context of Elizabethan England. Instead, it was considered a representative aspect of human history¹⁸. During the sixteenth century, Shakespeare showcased to the Elizabethan society the idealised setting of the Roman Republic for his plays. This facilitated the discovery of timeless elements, which were projected into a historical narrative transmitted by prominent ancient scholars, including Plutarch. The Roman emperors served as effective models and images for the transposition of feudal history, which Shakespeare skilfully subjected to a process of absolutisation. This resulted in the identification of traceable, cyclical structures that modern readers can detect.

Before proceeding, it is pertinent to briefly address the dichotomy in the classicist tradition where tragedy typically focused on portraying the aristocracy as central figures, while comedy was dedicated to representing the lower classes. It is crucial to emphasise that the specific group of Shakespearean plays later classified as histories were originally conceived as tragedies. These observations provide a wider context for Jan Kott's claim that in tragedies, including histories, the portrayal of common citizens on stage was infrequent, and when present, they typically remained anonymous. Their role was often limited to being recipients of crucial information, such as significant political upheavals or the demise of a ruler. However, despite the narrative unfolding at a distance from their immediate sphere, it is the ordinary citizens who bore the true consequences of these events. These characteristics are evident in Shakespeare's Roman plays, including *Antony and Cleopatra*. The scarcity or virtual absence of the lower middle classes in the Histories can be attributed to their tragic nature, as these plays, to some extent, adhere to the conventions of the tragic genre. The dichotomy between tragedy and comedy began to fracture in the 18th century with the emergence of serious drama, as theorised by Diderot and experimented with by others like Lessing. Additionally, the reform of Goldoni introduced a darker form of comedy, contributing to new genres or variations of existing ones that provided a voice for the middle class¹⁹.

Shakespeare's deliberate shift from English historical subjects to the narratives of the Roman Empire in his theatrical works was a thoughtful and apt selection. The Bard's

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 512.

¹⁹ See JAN KOTT, *Shakespeare, Our Contemporary*, cit., pp. 140-141; ROBERTO TESSARI, *Teatro e spettacolo nel Settecento*, Roma, Laterza, 1995, pp. 136-139; ROBERTO TESSARI, *La drammaturgia da Eschilo a Goldoni*, Roma, Laterza, 1993, pp. 179-192; LUIGI ALLEGRI, *La drammaturgia da Diderot a Beckett*, Roma, Laterza, 1994, pp. 5-18.

intentional move from English history to the Roman Empire was motivated by a combination of artistic, thematic, political, intellectual, and audience-related considerations, highlighting his strategic and thoughtful approach to theatrical production. The plot of *Antony and Cleopatra* reinforces the enduring tangibility of the opposition between public responsibility and private passion, whilst at the same time allowing for a comparison between the two civilisations represented by the play's eponymous characters²⁰.

Shakespeare's classic tragedies take place in a world which gains legitimacy and power through existing in a temporal gap that does not correspond directly to either the classical period or Elizabethan England. The visions of these two parallel universes coexist in this new tragic dimension. The focal point continues to be the era in which they are observed and read²¹. Shakespeare chose to delve into the history of ancient Rome to provide new perspectives on the ethical dilemmas that arose during the complex historical period of England that he had chosen to focus on in his second series of historical plays²².

As we delve into the origins of Shakespeare's Roman plays, it becomes imperative to trace the intricate web of sources that fuelled his creative reservoir, providing insights into the literary and historical influences that shaped *Antony and Cleopatra*.

The majority of Shakespearean critics²³ agree that Plutarch's *Parallel Lives*²³ were the main source for his Roman plays. Moreover, Shakespeare possibly consulted a translated version of Appian's Roman history texts²⁴, given the abundance of details that appear to originate directly from this source²⁵. At the time of writing the *Lives*, Plutarch²⁶ witnessed the Roman Empire in a phase of expansion. Despite the contemporary

²⁰ See GIORGIO MELCHIORI, *Shakespeare Genesi e struttura delle opere*, cit., p. 516.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 519.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 392.

²³ PLUTARCH, *Selected lives from the Lives of the noble Grecians and Romans*, edited by Paul Turner, Fontwell, Centaur Press, 1963.

²⁴ APPIANUS OF ALEXANDRIA, *Auncient Historie and exquisite Chronicle of the Romanes Warres, both civile and Foren*, translated by William Barker, London, Henrie Bynniman, 1578.

²⁵ Ernest Shanzer presented a convincing case for the reliability of Appian as a source for the work. See ERNEST SCHANZER, *Shakespeare's Appian*, Liverpool, Liverpool University Press, 1956; ERNEST SCHANZER, *The Problem Plays of Shakespeare*, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.

²⁶ For biographical and historical content relating to Plutarch of Chaeronea and his translators, reference has been made to ERNST A. J. HONIGMANN, *Shakespeare's Plutarch*, in «Shakespeare Quarterly», vol. 10, no. 1, 1959, pp. 25–33; CHRISTOPHER P. JONES, *Plutarch and Rome*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1972; CHRISTOPHER B. R. PELLING, *Plutarch and history: eighteen studies*, Swansea, Classical Press of Wales, 2002; TIM DUFF, *Plutarch's Lives: exploring virtue and vice*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2005.

subjugation of Greece under Roman rule, as a Greek himself, he remained neutral and focused on reviving and reintroducing the magnificent Hellenic heritage.

Although the Bard adjusted the historical timeline for the theatrical stage — sometimes expanding, reducing or even inventing details— he always considered the pages of Plutarch as a guiding compass for the development of the dramatic narrative. Shakespeare likely read Sir Thomas North’s translation of the aforementioned texts prior to composing his Roman dramas. It is noteworthy that Shakespeare did not rely on a direct translation of the Greek original into English; instead, Sir Thomas North used the work of the French bishop-translator Jacques Amyot as an intermediary between himself and the Plutarchian source. When translating the French version from 1559, Sir Thomas North made numerous mistakes due to his limited linguistic abilities in handling a foreign text.

Shakespeare’s loyalty to the text at his disposal is exhibited by his replications of North’s errors concerning the names of certain characters, such as Decius, Brutus, and Caius Ligarius²⁷. Shakespeare’s limited knowledge of Greco-Roman history and culture impeded his ability to accurately depict the original text in English. But although Sir Thomas North’s work on the same subject was not perfect from a philological perspective, the differences between his work and Plutarch’s were not significant. Therefore, Shakespeare had access to a text that closely resembled the original²⁸.

In his Roman tragedies, Shakespeare utilised multiple *Lives* as a foundation to carefully craft his characters. In his works, Shakespeare skilfully employs seemingly minor incidents and major events alike, utilizing eloquence and dialogue to their fullest potential. He adapted the historical narrative to the scripts of the plays performed in Elizabethan England, ensuring that actual events flowed in close succession rather than adhering to an exact chronological sequence²⁹.

The primary source for *Antony and Cleopatra* was Plutarch’s *Life of Antony*. Shakespeare’s portrayal of Antony aligned closely with the heroic figure depicted by Plutarch, especially in the latter part of the narrative comparatively with Julius Caesar. Nearly all significant events from the last years of the triumvir’s life are depicted by Shakespeare, except for the Parthian Campaign. The poet employed only two anecdotes

²⁷ See KENNETH A. MUIR, *The sources of Shakespeare’s plays*, Milton Park, Taylor and Francis, 1977, p. 116.

²⁸ See PLUTARCH, *Selected lives from the Lives of the noble Grecians and Romans*, cit., p. XII.

²⁹ See GIORGIO MELCHIORI, *Shakespeare Genesi e struttura delle opere*, cit., p. 398.

beyond Plutarch's meticulous chronological framework, both as flashbacks within the story. The first event pertained to the meeting of Antony and Cleopatra on the Cydnus River, a remarkable poetic creation on Shakespeare's part. The second describes a military expedition led by Mark Antony³⁰.

Kenneth Muir argues that at the time of the play's composition there were several references to mythology, such as Cleopatra being more beautiful than Venus herself, or Antony being Hercules's descendant³¹. Shakespeare incorporated these references overtly and covertly within the play, with a clear example being the following quotation: «'Tis the god Hercules, whom Antony loved, / Now leaves him»³².

Several other works have been proposed as reliable sources for the drama. Muir³³ posits that in his depiction of Cleopatra's demise, Shakespeare may have drawn from Chaucer's *The Legend of Good Women*³⁴. Westbrook³⁵ claims that another Shakespearean source was Horace's ode in honour of the Battle of Actium³⁶. Farnham³⁷ goes for Samuel Daniel's play *The Tragedie of Antonie and Cleopatra*³⁸ and points out that both Daniel's work and Shakespeare's tragedy explore similar themes surrounding Cleopatra's attitude: her desire to avoid being paraded in triumph and her loyalty to Antony³⁹. Both works refer to Antony as *Atlas*. It is of significance to observe that Shakespeare parallels the narrative of Daniel through the portrayal of Proculeius advising Cleopatra to petition Octavian for mercy, thereby implying the infringement upon her entitlement to a dignified death. Cleopatra declares her final wish, her death, in a message sent to the remaining triumvir⁴⁰.

The cultural milieu, thematic resonance, and potential structural and narrative influences from Étienne Jodelle's *Cléopâtre Captive* and Samuel Daniel's *The Tragedie of Cleopatra*, composed respectively in 1552 and in 1594, collectively contribute to the

³⁰ See PETER G. BULLOUGH, *Narrative and dramatic sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols., London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, New York, Columbia University Press, 1957, vol. 5, p. 44.

³¹ See KENNETH A. MUIR, *The sources of Shakespeare's plays*, cit., p. 223.

³² WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Antony and Cleopatra*, cit. IV, 3, 16–17.

³³ See KENNETH A. MUIR, *The sources of Shakespeare's plays*, cit., p. 223.

³⁴ GEOFFREY CHAUCER, *The Legend of Good Women*, East Sussex, Delphi Classics, 2017.

³⁵ See PERRY D. WESTBROOK, *Horace's Influence on Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra*, in «Publications of the Modern Language association of America», no. 62, 1947, pp. 392–398.

³⁶ HORACE, *Horace: The odes*, edited by Colin Sydenham, London, Duckworth, 2005.

³⁷ See WILLIAM FARNHAM, *Shakespeare's tragic frontier*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1963, p. 157.

³⁸ SAMUEL DANIEL, *The tragedie of Antonie and Cleopatra*, London, William Ponsonby, 1595.

³⁹ See WILLIAM FARNHAM, *Shakespeare's tragic frontier*, cit., p. 157.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 167

scholarly discourse surrounding the genesis of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*. Brano claimed that Jodelle's *Cléopâtre Captive* seemed to be based on the source material of Plutarch. Daniel was the sole mentioned author who refrained from assuming that Cleopatra deceived Caesar in their final act conversation⁴¹.

2.2 Bridging the temporal chasm between Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* and the 1758's adaptation: exploring Garrick's sources

In his study *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, Anthony Brano offers an interesting insight on the theatrical representations of *Antony and Cleopatra* in the timespan between the composition of Shakespeare's play and the Capell–Garrick adaptation. A brief summary of his claims will be useful, as they shed light on the process that led to the 1758's edition of *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Shakespeare's piece debuted in 1607, was included in the 1623's First Folio and then featured in subsequent collected editions of Shakespeare's plays⁴². Given the absence of evidence for performances of *Antony and Cleopatra* after 1607 or during the Restoration period, until 1734–35⁴³ audiences familiarised themselves with Shakespeare's play through either one of the Folios or via Rowe's 1709 edition of Shakespeare's works⁴⁴.

According to Stone, in 1758 David Garrick faced the challenge of producing a play that would showcase his acting skills and enhance his prospects of outshining his competitors⁴⁵. Of the dozen plays of Shakespeare he had yet to attempt⁴⁶, *Antony and Cleopatra* seemed to offer the most in the way of magnificence, poetic components, and

⁴¹ See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit., p. 78; PETER G. BULLOUGH, *Narrative and dramatic sources of Shakespeare*, cit., p. 314, 424.

⁴² Brano refers to the 1632's, 1663–1664's and 1685's Folios. See *Ibid.*, p. 78.

⁴³ The period of 1734–1735 is noteworthy for the Walker–Tonson price wars, during which all of Shakespeare's plays became accessible in affordable, individual editions. See *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁴⁴ WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *The works of Mr. William Shakespear: In six volumes. Adorn'd with cuts. Revis'd and corrected, with an account of the life and writings of the author. By N. Rowe, Esq*, NICHOLAS ROWE (edited by), London, printed for Jacob Tonson, 1709.

⁴⁵ See GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit.

⁴⁶ In *Ibid.*, are included *Two Gentlemen of Verona*, *Love's Labour Lost*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Richard Henry IV*, *Timon*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Julius Caesar*, *Troilus and Cressida*, *Pericles*, *Cymbeline*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*.

dramatic intensity. Furthermore, Garrick endeavoured to produce a theatrical performance that would aid in advancing Shakespeare's acclaim. The staging of this play had long been considered unfeasible, with no recorded post-Shakespearean performances prior to Garrick's era⁴⁷.

The Restoration of Charles II in 1660 had seen the introduction of changeable scenery. Remarkably, for the first century after the success of this scenic innovation, and until Garrick's production in 1759 it is noteworthy that *Antony and Cleopatra* stands out as the only Shakespearean tragedy not to have been performed or adapted in any form during the hundred years of Shakespearean adaptations⁴⁸. The one possible exception is John Dryden's *All for Love: or, The World Well Lost* (1677) According to Sanders, «claims to imitate the style of “the Divine Shakespeare” while radically rearranging the story of Antony and Cleopatra»⁴⁹. According to Dobson, however, *All for Love* is not a mere adaptation but an entirely new play. Dryden's play is indeed textually distinct, yet it maintains a close thematic and narrative connection to Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*⁵⁰, while developing layers of meaning which will influence later Shakespearean adaptations. For instance, its distinct approach of depicting Cleopatra as a relatively submissive lover before emphasising her regal role closely anticipates the subsequent Shakespearean revisions that would emerge⁵¹.

Dryden's *All for Love* is significant not only for the success it achieved, but also for the influence it exerted on English audiences and their tastes, laying the groundwork for Garrick's adaptation as the conditions and attitudes that contributed to the popularity of *All for Love* persisted when Garrick staged *Antony and Cleopatra*⁵².

According to Lamb, *All for Love* exemplified the triumph of neoclassical dramatic principles; in his preface, Dryden clearly outlined his motivations for revising the story, citing reasons related to morality, appropriateness, adherence to classical dramatic theory,

⁴⁷ In *Ibid.*, Stone likely refers to the absence of productions that faithfully adhered to the Shakespearean version's plot.

⁴⁸ See CHARLES B. HOGAN, *Shakespeare in the Theatre 1701–1800*, 2 vols., Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1952, vol 1, pp. 1–461.

⁴⁹ See ANDREW SANDERS, *The Short Oxford History of English Literature*, cit., p. 267.

⁵⁰ See MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, Rutherford, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1980, p. 40.

⁵¹ See MICHAEL DOBSON, *Improving on the Original: Actresses and Adaptations*, JONATHAN BATE and RUSSEL JACKSON (edited by) *Shakespeare: An Illustrated Stage History*, New York, Oxford University Press 1996, pp. 45–68, ref. at p. 57.

⁵² See MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, cit., p 37.

and standards of poetic language. In the author's opinion, Dryden attributed the enduring popularity of the subject to the «excellency of the moral»⁵³, emphasising that the central characters served as notable examples of illicit love, with unfortunate consequences⁵⁴.

After the Restoration, Dryden's *All For Love* replaced Shakespeare's original on the London stage and enjoyed great success. Dryden aimed to fix Shakespeare's violation of classically approved unities of time, action, and place by limiting the action to Alexandria on the lovers' final day. He also cut the number of named roles down to ten from thirty-four. Dryden adeptly addressed the preferences and sensibilities of his audience, substituting Shakespeare's intricately layered narrative and characterisations with a streamlined emphasis on the clash between love and honour⁵⁵.

The direct and indirect implications of Dryden's play on Garrick's version of *Antony and Cleopatra*, will be better understood if we consider the impact of the illustrations in the early eighteenth-century printed versions of the play, as foregrounded by Anthony Brano⁵⁶.

The first significant illustration in this context can be found in Nicholas Rowe's 1709 edition of Shakespeare's plays, published by Jacob Tonson⁵⁷ (see appendix, plate 1). Tonson's intention was to produce an opulent edition of the plays with the expectation of selling it to libraries and affluent readers⁵⁸. This six-volume octavo edition featured one etched illustration before each of the forty-three plays. François Boitard and his

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 39.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵⁵ See ACW, pp. 12-14.

⁵⁶ See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit. pp. 63–78.

⁵⁷ Nicholas Rowe was the first editor of Shakespeare to prepare what scholars recognise as a "modern edition" including explanatory notes and preface. For more information regarding Rowe's life and contributions see SHAKESPEARE & BEYOND, *Nicholas Rowe, early Shakespeare biographer*, Folger Shakespeare Library, 2022. <https://www.folger.edu/blogs/shakespeare-and-beyond/nicholas-rowe-early-shakespeare-biographer/>. (Accessed 7 March 2024); ARTHUR SHERBO, *Rowe, Nicholas (1674–1718), poet and playwright*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, cit. pp. 1–6, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24203>. (Accessed 7 March 2024).

⁵⁸ Jacob Tonson was a prominent English bookseller and publisher during the late 17th and early 18th centuries. He published editions of works by notable figures like John Dryden and John Milton. He is particularly renowned for purchasing the rights to William Shakespeare's plays from the heirs of the Fourth Folio's publisher, thereby acquiring the copyright. See RAYMOND N. MACKENZIE, *Tonson, Jacob, the elder (1655/6–1736), bookseller*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, cit. pp. 1–9, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27540>. (Accessed 7 March 2024). About his publication of Nicholas Rowe's 1709 edition of Shakespeare's plays, see ROBERT B. HAMM, *Rowe's 'Shakespear' (1709) and the Tonson House Style*, in «College Literature», vol. 31, no. 3, 2004, pp. 179–205.

engraver, Elisha Kirkall⁵⁹ were tasked with creating these etchings, which functioned more as summaries rather than detailed, scene-by-scene interpretations (see appendix, plate 2).

The 1709 engraving of *Antony and Cleopatra* provides an overview of the play's tone, rather than portraying a particular scene⁶⁰. It displays a remarkable image of an asp biting Cleopatra's breast, while Charmian weeps. The location depicted is Cleopatra's monument, with marble columns and stone arches as its defining features. The setting is apparently an open-air construction, exhibiting obelisks and rooftops via a backdrop opening. Presumably, this is the window from which Cleopatra and her attendants carried the dying Antony in Act 4, Scene 8⁶¹. The scene portrays the foreground characters, allowing the audience to observe Cleopatra's eyes rolling back, Charmian's nose and mouth contorting into a ghastly expression, and Mark Antony lying on the floor beside Cleopatra's bed with a dagger slipping from his nearly lifeless hand, displaying a deep sense of agony on his countenance. Charmian is shown weeping to the left of Cleopatra in her death throes, but Iras is noticeably absent from the representation. Moreover, Antony, who would have been taken off-stage during Act 4, Scene 8, is shown sitting upright next to his dagger⁶². Boitard's portrait evokes a sense of grandeur and political importance, conveying the gravity of the moment. The image suggests a living world beyond the monument. Notably, according to Brano, there is no discernible indication of a theatrical setting or stage in the visual narrative⁶³.

Brano asserts that Rowe's *Works* proved to be a triumph for Tonson. Therefore, in 1714, The publisher commissioned a second edition which included new illustrations by Louis du Guernier subsequently altering those from 1709, a fact that may have influenced readers' experience and expectations of the play.

⁵⁹ Regarding Boitard and Kirkall, illustrators of Nicholas Rowe's 1709 edition of Shakespeare's plays, see TIMOTHY CLAYTON and ANITA MCCONNELL, *Boitard, Louis-Philippe (fl. 1733–1767), engraver and designer*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, cit. pp. 1–2, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2784>. (Accessed 7 March 2024); TIMOTHY CLAYTON, *Kirkall, Elisha (1681/2–1742), engraver*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, cit., pp. 1–3, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-15654>. (Accessed 7 March 2024).

⁶⁰ ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit., p. 65.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

In the works published by Du Guernier, numerous engravings replicate those of Boitard, but the copying process resulted in some being reversed, and certain details were omitted to accommodate the smaller duodecimo size. Du Guernier kept the death scene of Cleopatra but made changes that, as Brano claims, affected future interpretations of the play. The setting underwent a significant transformation, no longer containing the columns and stones of the previous engraving, while the positions and postures of the characters remained almost identical⁶⁴.

The engraving by du Guernier does not include the window overlooking Alexandria. Rather, Cleopatra and the other figures seem to be located in a dark, enclosed space which is illuminated by an oil lamp instead of natural sunlight or moonlight. Although there is less detail in the characters' facial expressions and body language, there is no mistaking the indoor setting within the monument for this scene, contrary to the earlier depiction which implied a more open space. This minor difference became evident once again during the Tonson-Walker price war of 1734. Robert Walker inundated the market with cheap copies of Tonson's works, sparking a legal rivalry. Despite lacking grounds for a copyright lawsuit, Walker persisted. In response to Walker's reduced pricing, Tonson engaged in a price war, lowering costs until Walker ceased. The result were 115 separate printings of all thirty-seven plays by various publishers in 1734 and 1735, marking a notable chapter in the competition for Shakespeare's works⁶⁵. Readers could for the first time purchase *Antony and Cleopatra* independently with an accompanying illustration depicting the dimly lit indoor scene of Cleopatra's death. This

⁶⁴ Brano's description of the illustration says: «Antony and Cleopatra: A Tragedy (London, 1734), also issued as part of Tonson's edition of the Works of Shakespeare (London, 1735), v.7, Folger Shakespeare Library Shelfmark: PR2802 1734b copy 1, frontispiece. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library» See *Ibid.*, p. 68. The illustration is available in *Ibid.* and at the Folger Shakespeare Library.

⁶⁵ See STUART SILLARS, *The Illustrated Shakespeare, 1709–1875*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008, p. 63. For Du Guernier biographical references, see RICHARD SHARP, *Du Guernier, Louis (1687–1716), engraver*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2024, Oxford University Press, pp. 1–2, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-8188>. (Accessed 7 March 2024). See also See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit. pp. 63–78; and ARTHUR H. SCOUTEN, *The Increase in Popularity of Shakespeare's Plays in the Eighteenth Century: A Caveat for Interpreters of Stage History*, cit., p. 197. For a detailed and law centred discussion see JEFFREY M. GABA, *Copyrighting Shakespeare: Jacob Tonson, Eighteenth Century English Copyright, and the Birth of Shakespeare Scholarship*, in «Journal of Intellectual Property Law», vol 19, no. 1, 2011, pp. 21–63, <https://digitalcommons.law.uga.edu/jipl/vol19/iss1/3>. (Accessed 7 March 2024).

further disseminated the revised vision of the play, emphasising the impact of illustrations in shaping the readers' interpretation of Shakespeare's works⁶⁶.

Brano finds the alteration in the depiction of Cleopatra's death between 1709 and 1714 to be an enigmatic transformation. Tonson and Walker's 1734 editions reproduced the 1714 image instead of the 1709 one. The key transformation lies in the shift from a luminous and roomy environment to a portrayal of sombre and restrictive space. Brano suggests that the continued popularity of Dryden's *All for Love* may have influenced the editorial decision, particularly in light of the extensive revival history associated with the play. The alteration could have also resulted from advancements in stagecraft. It is conceivable that the increased utilisation of the grooves, facilitating the confinement of actors to a limited space, might have prompted the conceptualisation of an 'intimate scene'⁶⁷.

The 1714/1734 illustration exhibits similarities to important aspects of Dryden's play. In particular, the modification conceals the logistical difficulty of lifting Antony onto the monument or into it since the window, which was visible in the 1709 illustration, is absent. This slight alteration is noteworthy as it shifts the play's world from the stage to the page. It removes the pragmatic concerns of theatre in preference of a more literary and thematic portrayal of the scene⁶⁸. Furthermore, this alteration reflects the ultimate act of *All for Love* since the scenes at the Monument are entirely missing in Dryden's play. In Dryden's production, Antony is not hoisted; instead, after falling on his sword, Cleopatra, Charmian, and Iras enter and promptly seat him on a chair⁶⁹.

The depiction of Cleopatra's death in illustrations of *Antony and Cleopatra* shifted from a bright, spacious locale in 1709 to a dark, constricted space in 1714, reproduced in 1734 editions. The author suggests that the influence of Dryden's popular play *All for Love*, widely available by 1734, may have prompted this change, as readers and theatregoers would have readily identified with Dryden's more prevalent work. The etching for *All for Love* included in Tonson's 1735 illustrated edition of Dryden's

⁶⁶ See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit. p. 69.

⁶⁷ See *Ibid.* For an accurate study on the development of changeable scenery in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth centuries' British theatre, see also RICHARD SOUTHERN, *Changeable Scenery. Its Origins and Development in the British Theatre*, London, Faber & Faber, 1952, pp. 109-248.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 70.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

Collected Works, portrays the instance when Cleopatra discovers her lover after his failed suicide attempt. As Tonson had been printing Dryden's plays since 1679, according to Brano, the widespread popularity of *All for Love* played a pivotal role in shaping the iconography associated with *Antony and Cleopatra*, leading Tonson to incorporate elements from *All for Love* into the illustrations of the Shakespeare edition. The influence, however, cannot be definitively ascertained to have impacted only the printed iconography, due to the absence of supporting documentation (see appendix, plate 3). Hubert Gravelot and Gerard Van Der Gucht drew the illustrations found in the 1735 edition of Dryden's Works, which display significant variations in comparison to earlier versions. The etching from the 1735 edition, depicting Cleopatra and her retinue in eighteenth-century attire, appear to deviate from Shakespeare's historical context. Additionally, the image depicts Antony's suicide rather than Cleopatra's, as originally intended. Since the illustrators of Shakespeare could not have observed a revival of his play, it is probable that the prominent *All for Love* would have significantly influenced their interpretation and visual depiction of Shakespeare's plot⁷⁰.

In adopting a narrower scope than Shakespeare's original, *All for Love* adheres to the Classical Unities by confining its scenes to a single location—the temple of Isis. This deliberate choice is notably reflected in the visual representations of the play over time. The images from 1714 and 1735 evoke a more intimate atmosphere compared to the earlier 1709 illustration, possibly mirroring the enclosed setting and thematic focus of *All for Love*.⁷¹

Between 1709 and 1740, Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* was only visually represented in the images printed in the 1709, 1714, and 1734 editions of the play. Unintentionally, Tonson, Rowe and their artists created a new interpretation of Shakespeare by making artistic choices that could have significantly affected the future productions, interpretations, and performances of the play⁷².

Robert Walker, an esteemed English printer and bookseller known for his prolific publishing endeavours, including plays and various literary compositions during the 18th

⁷⁰ See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit. p. 70.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 72

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 73

century, earned recognition through a strategic dissemination of cost-effective editions⁷³. This method placed him in a competitive pricing dispute with Tonson. Upon his foray into the Shakespeare market, Walker encountered 1734 play editions that closely mirrored the 1714 edition of Rowe's Works. A particularly noteworthy instance is the initial standalone edition of *Antony and Cleopatra* during this period, distinguished by its frontispiece featuring an etching. This artistic representation drew substantial inspiration from Continental artists like Boitard, evident in character placement and articulation, as well as Du Guernier's intricate, Dryden-style setting⁷⁴.

The final illustration among the four of *Antony and Cleopatra*, which Brano examined in the analysis of those available to Garrick during his 1758–1759 production of the play, is sourced from Lewis Theobald's *The Works of Shakespeare* of 1740 (see appendix, plate 4). This edition showcases new etchings created by Gravelot and Van Der Gucht⁷⁵.

In their engraving for *Antony and Cleopatra*, resembling their earlier 1735 etching of *All for Love*, Gravelot and Van Der Gucht refrain from depicting the death scene and instead depict the moment just before Antony's near-death when he is being lifted to Cleopatra and her attendants. This arrangement places the figures of Cleopatra and her attendants separately from those of Antony and his men and may be seen to evoke the 1709 plate with its grand arches and Egyptian iconography. The setting of the monument in the 1740 representation is extensive and impressive, showing a grandeur of scale and scope much greater than in the 1714 representation. Gravelot, the artist, appears to have taken inspiration from the image he produced for Dryden's *All for Love* five years prior.

⁷³ See MICHAEL HARRIS, *Walker, Robert (c. 1709–1761), printer and distributor of patent medicines*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, 2024, Oxford University Press, 2008, pp. 1–5, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-64282>. (Accessed 7 March 2024).

⁷⁴ See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit. p. 73.

⁷⁵ See *Ibid.* The original edition to which Brano referred is WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *The works of Shakespeare*, edited by Lewis Theobald, London, printed for H. Lintott, 1740. For Theobald's biographical information see PETER SEARY, Theobald, Lewis (bap. 1688, d. 1744), literary editor and writer, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, Oxford University Press, 2006, pp. 1–8, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27169>. (Accessed 7 March 2024). About his works see MICHAEL J. WALTON, *Theobald and Lintott: A Footnote on Early Translations of Greek Tragedy*, in «Arion: A Journal of Humanities and the Classics», Vol. 16, No. 3, 2009, pp. 103–10.

The sombre and solitary death scene of Cleopatra, which was evident in the 1734 image, is not present⁷⁶.

When Garrick presented the play between 1758 and 1759, it seems that the 1714/1734 illustrations had an influence on his production. It is recorded that Garrick and the editor and critic Edward Capell worked together using a Tonson's 1734 edition, with Capell's copy being available at the Folger Shakespeare Library⁷⁷.

Garrick and Capell's choice to use the 1734 edition as the basis for their production text, despite having access to earlier Folios and editions from 1709 to 1740, may have been influenced by the convenience of a small, high-quality printing of the single play. The decision to work from the 1734 text suggests the utility of its clear presentation and ample margins for constructing their production. Theobald's 1740 edition, though more recent, may not have been as practical as the earlier ones⁷⁸.

Interestingly, while working with the most readable text, Garrick and Capell coincidentally utilised a text that included the image of a dark room in which Cleopatra commits suicide with Antony at her feet⁷⁹. Brano argues that this distinctive feature influenced a more private staging of Cleopatra's death Scene⁸⁰.

Illustrators of early eighteenth-century Shakespeare plays notably imitated Dryden's play. Due to the absence of revivals of *Antony and Cleopatra*, artists had to rely on gleanings from Shakespeare's text as well as revivals and printings of *All for Love*. The close connection between the two plays involves both textual and visual aspects: Tonson, responsible for printing works by both playwrights, had Gravelot and Van Der Gucht create illustrations both for the 1735 edition of *All for Love* and for the 1740 edition of *Antony and Cleopatra*⁸¹.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁷⁷ Capell's copy can be accessed on the computer of the reader's room of the British Library through the Shakespeare in Performance database which offers prompt books from the Folger Shakespeare Library. See WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Antony and Cleopatra*, [edited by] Edward Capell and [directed by] David Garrick, London, printed for Jacob Tonson, 1734. *Shakespeare in Performance*, cit.

⁷⁸ See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit. p. 74.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 75.

⁸⁰ Stage directions and scenes indicating the influence of the 1714/1734 illustration and Dryden's play on the Capell–Garrick production will be discussed in the next chapter as this section's primary purpose is to offer insight into the potential sources of influence on the 1758 Shakespeare adaptation.

⁸¹ See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit. p. 77.

Examining the engravings in early-18th-century versions of Shakespeare's plays are relevant for our study if we assume that the printing industry had an impact on the development and perception of his work. And, in fact, the widespread circulation of low-priced Shakespeare publications began to influence theatrical productions⁸². These images showcased strong Continental influences in a period during which Shakespeare was being established as the British preeminent poet.

Moreover, in 1734, market-driven competition stimulated interest in Shakespeare's plays as independent works of art. This generated a shift in readers' approach to each play as a distinct entity. Robert Walker's choice to publish plays individually allowed Garrick, decades later, to experience *Antony and Cleopatra*, among other plays, as a separate text, free from Theobald's annotations. However, it is possible that the accompanying image had effects on the great actor, which were not fully comprehended at the time⁸³.

2.3 Garrick's adaptation context

Anderson contends that the Restoration period marked a paradoxical phase in the recovery of Shakespeare, where the fervour to preserve the playwright coexisted with a strong inclination to alter his works⁸⁴. Playwrights like John Dryden and Nahum Tate endeavoured to simplify Shakespeare's language, reintroduce neoclassical unity to his plays, and infuse more realism into his characters. According to the author, critics such as Thomas Rymer⁸⁵ and Alexander Pope⁸⁶ supported these emendations. While later critics might view these revisions as misguided, during the Restoration and the eighteenth

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ *Ibid.*

⁸⁴ See EMILY H. ANDERSON, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*, cit., p. 59.

⁸⁵ On Rymer's life See ARTHUR SHERBO, *Rymer, Thomas (1642/3–1713), literary critic and historian*, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, cit., <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-24426>. (Accessed 7 March 2024). For an insight on his contributions to the English stage critic, see PAUL D. CANNAN, *A Short View of Tragedy' and Rymer's Proposals for Regulating the English Stage*, in «The Review of English Studies», vol. 52, no. 206, 2001, pp. 207–26.

⁸⁶ About Alexander Pope's life, achievement and further bibliography see GEORGE S. FRASER, *Alexander Pope*, London, Routledge, 2022.

century they played a crucial role in ensuring the continued circulation of Shakespeare's work⁸⁷.

By referring to Michael Dobson⁸⁸, Anderson argues that the process of adaptation played a supportive rather than detrimental role in Shakespeare's emerging national reputation. According to this perspective, the canonisation of Shakespeare's plays and the elevation of the author to an esteemed status arose from the extensive adaptation of his works⁸⁹.

Anderson concurs with Vanessa Cunningham's⁹⁰ assertion that Garrick, akin to the Restoration playwrights who came before him, played a pivotal role in this endeavour. Garrick's fervent dedication to Shakespeare is evident across his career, manifesting itself in his portrayals of Shakespearean characters, his managerial decisions to increase the number of Shakespearean productions in the Drury Lane repertoire, and his ventures as a playwright involving the rewriting and restaging of popular Shakespearean plays⁹¹.

In Stone's account, from 1741 to 1759, David Garrick performed fifteen different Shakespearean roles in his productions for London audiences –Richard III, Hamlet, Hamlet's Ghost, King Lear, Macbeth, King John, Falconbridge, Othello, Iago, Henry IV, Hotspur, Chorus of Henry V, Benedick, Romeo, and Leontes – and he staged eleven more Shakespearean plays during this period while not performing any of the roles himself – *The Merchant of Venice*, *The Twelfth Night*, *Measure for Measure*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, *Henry VIII*, *Coriolanus*, *The Tempest* (as an adaptation and the original), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (as an opera), *The Taming of the Shrew* (reduced to a farce, *Catharine and Petruchio*), *All's Well that Ends Well*, and *As You Like It*⁹².

Tiffany Stern argues that Shakespeare was, during this period, assimilated through the process of adapting his adaptations⁹³. Supposedly, as all Shakespearean plays at that time were essentially adaptations, it became customary to present a fictitious portrayal of

⁸⁷ See EMILY H. ANDERSON, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*, cit., p. 59.

⁸⁸ See MICHAEL DOBSON, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660–1769*, cit., p. 178.

⁸⁹ See EMILY H. ANDERSON, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*, cit., p. 60.

⁹⁰ See VANESSA CUNNINGHAM, *Shakespeare and Garrick*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

⁹¹ See EMILY H. ANDERSON, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*, cit., p. 60.

⁹² See GEORGE W. JR. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., p. 20. Scouten also offers a detailed insight on Garrick's Shakespearean productions, see ARTHUR H. SCOUTEN, *The Increase in Popularity of Shakespeare's Plays in the Eighteenth Century: A Caveat for Interpreters of Stage History*, cit., p. 200.

⁹³ See TIFFANY STERNE, *Shakespeare in drama*, cit., p. 142.

Shakespeare to validate changes to his works⁹⁴. This possibly paved the way for Shakespeare as a character to flourish independently on the eighteenth-century stage, extending beyond plays authored by Shakespeare himself and endorsing works by other playwrights. Hence, as Stern claims, Shakespeare's dramas and the Shakespeare character illustrate how the eighteenth century could domesticate and regularize its history, shaping it to fit the modern-day outlook⁹⁵.

According to the author it is worth noting that even esteemed editors, including Nicholas Rowe, Lewis Theobald, and Edward Capell, who devoted their academic efforts to establishing the 'correct' version of Shakespeare's text, tended to modify it in accordance with contemporary theatre preferences⁹⁶.

With the introduction of the Licensing Act of 1737, which made playwrights hesitant to produce new plays due to stringent censorship requirements, previous pre-approved plays, particularly those by Shakespeare, gained increasing popularity among theatre companies⁹⁷. Given their association with adaptation, Shakespeare's plays transformed into vehicles for incorporating new eighteenth-century theatrical innovations. This preference stemmed from the challenges associated with commissioning new plays, which were constrained by the restrictive regulations imposed by the Licensing Act⁹⁸.

The transition of what Shakespeare had offered on the stage of his own time to the eighteenth-century theatre did not occur seamlessly⁹⁹.

Shakespeare's rhetorical grandeur, which had a captivating effect in the early modern thrust stage setting where the actor spoke from the midst of the audience, presented challenges when performed on the vast eighteenth-century stage, separated from the audience by a proscenium. In this new context, Shakespeare's discursive qualities could appear distant and less engaging¹⁰⁰. To meet the expectations of an eighteenth-century audience seeking more diverse entertainments beyond refined speech,

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 144.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 145.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

Shakespeare's plays necessitated not only updates but also the interpolation of comedic or humorous elements to enhance their engagement.¹⁰¹

Scholars have put forth various reasons to explain why Garrick chose to revive Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* in 1758/1759. However, only hypotheses can be offered as Garrick did not leave behind any autograph material that could definitively confirm one specific reason over others.

One noteworthy hypothesis, put forth by Scouten¹⁰² and later reiterated by Loftis¹⁰³, suggests that Garrick's decision to revive Shakespeare, including *Antony and Cleopatra* in 1758/1759, was influenced by the fact that theatrical productions prior to the Licensing Act of 1737 did not require approval from the Licenser.

As previously stated, the surge in the popularity of Shakespearean plays preceded Garrick's era, and while Garrick's influence was significant on his contemporaries, several factors contributed to the overall increase in the performance of Shakespeare's plays. This rise can be attributed to various elements, such as the relative lack of compelling new plays for managers, audience resistance to new plays approved by the Licenser after 1737, and the growing interest in Shakespeare fuelled by frequent printings of his works¹⁰⁴. The patent holders of the mid-18th century theatres enjoyed little competition, except between themselves. They were able to stage the older plays without paying the authors, and Garrick at Drury Lane and John Rich at Covent Garden found it profitable to capitalise on Shakespeare's popularity¹⁰⁵. The economic dynamics of theatrical management, coupled with an increased interest in literary history and the Renaissance, contributed to the broader re-evaluation of English Renaissance literature. The "Shakespeare revival" in the mid-eighteenth century can be seen as a consequence of the growing interest in theatrical scholarship during this period¹⁰⁶.

When Garrick embarked on this significant effort to revive Shakespeare's works, he may have done so because he sought a varied repertoire which was also free from censorship. This hypothesis warrants consideration among the factors that may have

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² ARTHUR H. SCOUTEN, *The Increase in Popularity of Shakespeare's Plays in the Eighteenth Century: A Caveat for Interpreters of Stage History*, cit.

¹⁰³ See JOHN LOFTIS, *The social and literary context*, cit., vol. 5. pp. 3-80.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 80.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*

influenced Garrick's decision. In addition to audience appeal, economic and censorship concerns may have also played a role in this kind of operation.

2.4 Shakespeare as an English and European celebrity

Anderson¹⁰⁷, concurring with Scouten¹⁰⁸, acknowledges that Garrick was not solely responsible for the revival of Shakespeare on the eighteenth-century stage, a recognition granted by theatre historians. However, it is noted that Garrick, by his own aspirations, sought full credit precisely for this achievement¹⁰⁹.

By referencing Dobson¹¹⁰, Anderson asserts that as Garrick's career advanced, he made concerted efforts to intertwine his own reputation with that of Shakespeare, whom he would elevate to the posthumous status of Britain's national poet¹¹¹. Garrick staked his fame on the characters he performed from Shakespeare, the plays he cast or rewrote by Shakespeare, and the adaptations of Shakespeare that he restored. In doing so, he aimed to discover in Shakespeare a model for his own lasting legacy and endurance¹¹².

In his performances of Shakespeare, Garrick sought to find a complementary model for remembering and reviving his own career. Departing from the classical model, which emphasised commemoration through material monuments or printed texts, Garrick discovered in his restoration of Shakespeare a way of conceiving performance itself as a preferred form of commemoration¹¹³. By acting in Shakespearean roles and participating in plays like these, Garrick had established how performance could serve as an alternative and even an antidote to the commemorative associations of monuments, portraits, and printed texts. Unlike these alternative forms of memorialisation that signify the absence

¹⁰⁷ See EMILY H. ANDERSON, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*, cit., p. 6.

¹⁰⁸ See ARTHUR H. SCOUTEN, *The Increase in Popularity of Shakespeare's Plays in the Eighteenth Century: A Caveat for Interpreters of Stage History*, cit., pp. 189–202.

¹⁰⁹ See EMILY H. ANDERSON, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*, cit., p. 6. Furthermore, Fiona Ritchie has highlighted the contributions of actresses and female critics in advancing Shakespeare's national reputation. She points out that narratives emphasizing Garrick's influence tend to overshadow the efforts of these women, partially because Garrick's career received more comprehensive documentation in mainstream sources. See FIONA RITCHIE, *Women and Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century*, cit.

¹¹⁰ MICHAEL DOBSON, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship, 1660–1769*, cit. pp. 178–188.

¹¹¹ See EMILY H. ANDERSON, *Shakespeare and the Legacy of Loss*, cit., p. 6.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

of what they recall, Garrick aspired to use performance to create a fantasy wherein the missing original could come back to life¹¹⁴.

According to James Harriman-Smith, Johann Friedrich Schink's¹¹⁵ writings not only attest to the solidification of Shakespeare's European reputation but also highlight Garrick's involvement in this process¹¹⁶. In fact, one could reverse these terms and argue that Schink's text illustrates Garrick's effective cultivation of a celebrity reputation. The performance of Shakespeare, while a significant element, was just one part of this broader reputation that transcended political and linguistic boundaries¹¹⁷.

Harriman-Smith claims that the actor-manager of Drury Lane, known for his adept performances of Shakespeare's most powerful scenes of passion, undoubtedly profited from the international recognition of Shakespearean drama, as a blend of formidable, striking beauties and regrettable faults. However, Garrick not only benefited from this situation but also actively leveraged it through salon performances, gifts, correspondence networks, invitations to his home, employment contracts, play readings, and various other means that connected him to European literary circles¹¹⁸.

David Garrick undeniably stands as the actor par excellence of the 18th century, a distinction supported by a myriad of scholars throughout the centuries. Garrick's exceptional versatility in characterisation is a hallmark of his greatness, as demonstrated by his adept portrayal of a wide range of characters, seamlessly transitioning between tragic and comedic roles. Beyond mere performance, Garrick's legacy is deeply rooted in his revolutionary contributions to acting techniques. In an era where the prevailing style leaned towards exaggerated and artificial expressions, Garrick's commitment to historical credibility and emotional authenticity marked a significant departure. In 1761, during the coronation of George III, the Hanoverian Friedrich Graf von Kielmansegg privately noted that David Garrick, then at the zenith of his artistic prowess, surpassed his fellow performers. Kielmansegg observed that Garrick was singularly adept at portraying a diverse range of characters, exhibiting an unparalleled ability to delineate each persona

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁵ JOHAN F. SCHINK, *Dramaturgische Fragmente*, 2 vols., Graz, Widmanstätterschen Schriften, 1781, vol. 1, p. 153.

¹¹⁶ JAMES HARRIMAN-SMITH, *Garrick and Shakespeare in Europe*, in «Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies», vol. 43, no. 3, pp. 385–402, 2020, ref. at p. 385. WILEY Online Library, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1754-0208.12690>. (Accessed 7 March 2024).

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 398.

with equal skill, spanning from the philosopher to the fool, and seamlessly assuming distinct countenances for each role. As a trailblazer in the realm of theatre management, Garrick's impact extended to the very foundations of the stage. His innovations in set design, lighting, and costume brought about a transformative shift, enhancing the overall theatrical experience and setting new standards for realism. Garrick's enduring influence, stretching far beyond his lifetime, cemented his legacy as a transformative force in acting and theatre. His innovations and commitment to excellence continue to shape the profession, making him an exemplary figure whose impact resonates across generations¹¹⁹.

¹¹⁹ See *Ibid.*, p. 389; ROBERTO TESSARI, *Teatro e spettacolo nel Settecento*, cit., pp. 146-147, 149-151.

CHAPTER 3

THE CAPELL–GARRICK’S ADAPTATION OF *ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA*

3.1 *Shared Pens: Garrick and Capell’s collaborative hand*

The Drury Lane production of *Antony and Cleopatra*’s alteration in 1759 was a collaborative work between David Garrick and Edward Capell. Capell played a crucial role in the adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra*. It is therefore important to analyse his life and work before delving further into the discussion.

Capell, renowned for being a Shakespearean critic, was born at Troston Hall in Suffolk on the 11th of June 1713¹. He had been educated at the school of Bury St. Edmonds in 1737 and, thanks to the influence of the Duke of Grafton, he assumed the role of deputy–inspector of plays². Notably, in 1760, he published his *Prolusions, or Select Pieces of Ancient Poetry*, a collection that included Edward III, a play he classified as one of Shakespeare’s more dubious works. Building on his critical contributions, Capell expanded his commentary in 1774 by releasing the initial segment that comprised glossaries and explanatory notes for nine plays. This work he later called back from publication, and the full version of *Notes and Various Readings of Shakespeare (1779–1783)*, with its third volume entitled *The School of Shakespeare*, was published under the

¹ For Capell’s biographic information I referred to PAUL BAINES, *Capell, Edward (1713–1781), literary scholar*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, cit., pp. 1–5, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-64282>. (Accessed 7 March 2024); and to DAVID E. BAKER (edited by), *Biographia Dramatica, Or, A Companion to the Playhouse*, 3 vols, Dublin, T. Henshall, 1782, vol. 1.

² See JOHN JOHNSTON, *The Lord Chamberlain’s blue pencil*, London, Hodder & Stoughton, 1990. Bucholz reports that Capell was effectively the period’s theatre censor, from 1749 to 1781, see ROBERT O. BUCHOLZ, *Chamber Administration: Examiner and Deputy Examiner of Plays, 1738–1837*, British History Online, 2006, www.british-history.ac.uk/office-holders/vol11/p11, (Accessed 7 March 2024). Holland reports that since 1749, following the passing of playwright Thomas Odell, Capell served as Deputy Examiner of plays under William Chetwynd, who was appointed Examiner by Grafton after the 1737 Licensing Act. Capell remained in this position until his demise in 1781. See PETER HOLLAND, *Editing for Performance: Dr Johnson and the Stage*, «Ilha Do Desterro a Journal of English Language, Literatures in English and Cultural Studies», vol. 49, 2005, pp. 75–98, p. 79. <https://periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/desterro/article/view/7312>. (Accessed 7 March 2024).

supervision of John Collins in 1783, two years after Capell's death on the 24th of February 1781.

Capell's association with Garrick could potentially have had foundations extending beyond a shared appreciation for the theatrical arts, Shakespearean works, and literary repositories. Based on two letters of Capell to Garrick in 1777 and 1778, it appears that the publication of his *Notes* on Shakespeare would not have occurred without Garrick's encouragement. Capell's editorial endeavours concerning Shakespeare may thus be construed as the product of a pioneering scholar whose editorial approach has garnered considerable acclaim. Reevaluating Capell's editorial contributions characterises him as being actively involved in the practice of editing within a framework centred on theatrical performance, as well as analysis tailored to serve the interests of spectators and members of the audience. The layout and design of the 1758 edition can be viewed as both an embodiment of Capell's commitment to accurately represent Shakespeare's text and a response to the deficiencies observed in contemporary editions of Shakespeare's works³.

Capell's extensive dedication to developing editorial techniques for English literary luminaries throughout his lifetime had endowed him with the competence to express himself authoritatively on a multitude of subjects, with his viewpoints being the result of meticulous consideration rather than hasty or superficial deliberation⁴. However, he has yet to receive the widespread recognition commensurate with his deserving contributions. It is understandable that individuals of his time, possessing less stringent criteria, might have found it more convenient to mock his objectives than to replicate them. Nevertheless, what is less understandable is that his distinctive innovativeness and discernment continue to be overlooked to such a considerable extent. His absence from the *Oxford Companion to English Literature* and the omission of his coinage of the term "Shakespearian" in the *Oxford English Dictionary* are particularly noteworthy. This is especially striking given that no other editor can lay a stronger claim to this title, primarily

³ See ALICE WALKER, *Edward Capell and His Edition of Shakespeare*, London, Oxford University Press, 1960, pp. 133–134; JAMES BOADEN, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the Most Celebrated Persons of His Time*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 238–239, 307–308; PETER HOLLAND, *Editing for Performance: Dr Johnson and the Stage*, cit., p. 79.

⁴ See ALICE WALKER, *Edward Capell and His Edition of Shakespeare*, cit., p. 145.

due to his contributions in text restoration and his astute recognition of the necessary corrections⁵.

Ever since the inaugural staging of the adaptation of Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*, scholars have not been able to gather sufficient documentation to confidently assert whether Garrick or Capell held a primary role in executing the adaptation which of whom served merely as a collaborator in the process. No credible or pertinent documentation substantiating either Capell's or Garrick's authorship of the adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra* has yet emerged.

A recurring perspective emerged while reviewing studies in this regard was the identification of Capell as the individual responsible for adapting the text, with Garrick portrayed as the one who commissioned the adaptation. In alignment with this viewpoint, I reference the following quotation from Garrick's biographical memoir written by James Boaden: «The year 1759 opened in fact with *Antony and Cleopatra*, which Capell, Shakespeare's editor, had merely abridged for his friend Garrick». Marga Munkelt repeatedly employs the expression «Capell's version for Garrick», thereby emphasizing the dynamics underlying the creation of the adaptation⁶.

The diametrically opposing viewpoint, which presents Garrick as the primary figure in the adaptation is frequently encountered. Illustrative of this perspective are the labels such as “Garrick's production”, and the reference to Garrick as the “writer” of the *Antony and Cleopatra* adaptation⁷.

The most prevalent expression found in academic works when referring to this adaptation is a cooperation between Capell and Garrick. Also in this case, two primary nuances in the aforementioned cooperation can be highlighted: one emphasizing Garrick as the principal editor, and the other attributing the primary role to Capell. In support of the former, I reference the note of Reverent Warburton's letter to Garrick: «This alteration was made at Garrick's desire by Edward Capell, and printed in a style which is now

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ See JAMES BOADEN, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the Most Celebrated Persons of His Time*, cit., vol. 1, p. xxxv; MARGA MUNKELT, *Restoring Shakespeare's Antony and Cleopatra on the Nineteenth-Century Stage: Samuel Phelps and Isabella Glyn*, in «Theatre History Studies», vol. 12, no. 1, 1992, pp. 1–12, ref. at p. 3.

⁷ See PAUL J. GAVIN, *Performance as 'punctuation: editing Shakespeare in the Eighteenth century*, «The Review of English Studies», vol. 61, no. 250, 2010, pp. 390–413, ref. at p. 411; ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit., p. 76; CELESTINE WOO, *Romantic Actors and Bardolatry Performing Shakespeare from Garrick to Kean*, New York, Peter Lang, 2008, p. 31.

generally adopted in reprinting old English authors». Illustrating the latter perspective are the words of the unknown author in the July 1799 *Monthly Mirror*: «Mr. Capell, the excellent commentator on Shakespeare, altered or rather abridged, the *Antony and Cleopatra* of the great bard, and, with Garrick's assistance, brought it on the stage»⁸.

Thomas Davies clearly designates Garrick as the theatrical manager and Capell as the adapter: «*Antony and Cleopatra* had long lain dormant, I believe ever since it was first exhibited when, about the year 1760, Mr. Garrick, from his passionate desire to give the public as much of their admired poet as possible, revived it, as altered by Mr. Capell»⁹.

Aligned with this perspective are expressions such as “Capell-Garrick text” or “Capell-Garrick version”. Brian Vickers, in reference to the adaptation, defines it as the “joint work of Garrick and Edward Capell”. Peter Holland sheds light on the situation, stating, «I say “they worked”, but it is not clear how much of the work was Garrick's and how much Capell's own and the published text in 1758 mentions neither name»¹⁰.

The disputes concerning authorship can be potentially resolved by consulting the views of George W. Stone, who posits that the authorship of the adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra* can be attributed to «Capell's or Garrick's, or, most likely, from a combination of both»¹¹.

⁸ See JAMES BOADEN, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the Most Celebrated Persons of His Time*, cit., vol. 1, letter of January the 3rd, 1799, pp. 92–94; [ANONYMOUS], *The Monthly Mirror*, London, July 1799, vol. 8, pp. 116–117.

⁹ «“About the Year 1760” says Mr. Davies, “Garrick revived *Antony and Cleopatra*”. Our register shews that it was within a year of the date, and that he performed himself in the play. “It was acted in 1758” says Baker; so that the truth lies between». The editor of the «*Monthly Mirror*», as early as 1799, noted Davies' error and anticipated the correct interpretation of the production documents, revealing that the play was published in 1758 and staged in 1759, see *Ibid.* For Davies' quotation see THOMAS DAVIES, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, cit., vol. 2, p. 368. The provided quotation has been augmented with the inclusion of italics for the title of the play.

¹⁰ See, WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Antony and Cleopatra*, edited by Richard Madelaine, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 33; MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, cit., p. 44; BRIAN VICKERS, *Shakespeare: the critical heritage*, 6 vols., London, Routledge, 1974, vol. 1, p. 402; PETER HOLLAND, *Editing for Performance: Dr Johnson and the Stage*, cit., p. 78.

¹¹ GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., p. 32.

3.2 *The inaugural edition of the adaptation: October 23, 1758*

Affirming the authentic authorship of the adaptation presents a significant challenge, but it is indisputable that the editing of *Antony and Cleopatra* markedly deviated from the practices of contemporary editors. This deviation was attributed to what Pedicord referred to as “special typographical effects” which were employed by Capell¹².

On January 3rd, 1759, William Warburton penned a letter to David Garrick, conveying his approval of Garrick’s adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra*, scheduled for performance later that evening:

I have the favour of your obliging letter of the 30th past, with the play; for which I return you our best thanks. The play is extremely prettily printed: and without doubt the mysterious marks you speak of, mean something; but I think it would be an impertinent curiosity in the public to ask what? When every religion, and even every trade has its mysteries, it would be hard to deny it to the Worshipful Company of Editors. Besides, these dealers in other men’s sense should give a sign, at least, that they have some of their own: like your haberdashers of small wares, who have always a back-warehouse of their own manufactories. However, whatsoever wisdom there may be in this (which I was absurdly enough going to call) word to the wise; whatsoever spirit there may be under this dead letter, (and that name, by the good leave of the critics, I will venture to give it, for they cannot deny but the Christ-cross in the horn-book has been ever esteemed by the ablest of them an inseparable part of the alphabet); whatsoever advantage, I say, Shak[e]speare may receive from the whims of his dead editors, he will this night receive a lustre from a living one,¹³.

Warburton’s reference to the “whims” of “dead editors” is a discerning remark directed at the evident signs in the text that bear the imprint of Garrick’s collaborator in the adaptation, Edward Capell. The text, “fitted for the Stage by abridging only”, marked Capell’s initial foray into the method of textual presentation that he would later utilise in his 1768 edition of Shakespeare’s plays. Capell and Garrick had collaborated earlier in 1756 on cataloguing Garrick’s plays’ collection. In their joint endeavour for *Antony and Cleopatra*, Capell annotated the cuts in a 1734 printing of Rowe’s text and integrated essential stage-business¹⁴.

¹² See GSH, p. 400.

¹³ For the letter from Reverent Warburton to Mr. Garrick, Prior Park, January 3, 1759, see: JAMES BOADEN (edited by), *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the Most Celebrated Persons of His Time*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 92–93.

¹⁴ See WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Mr William Shakespeare his Comedies, histories, and tragedies*, edited by Edward Capell, London, printed for Jacob Tonson, 1768; WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Antony and Cleopatra*, [edited by] Edward Capell and [directed by] David Garrick, London, printed for Jacob Tonson,

London's theatre-attending community experienced a palpable sense of anticipation well in advance of the play's debut, primarily due to the distinctive promotional strategy employed by Garrick and Capell. Capell completed the modifications to the play and had them printed. He then disseminated the material to the public for perusal. It is worth noting that this edition was intended to be read in a unique way. The publication functioned as a testing ground for a system of symbols designed to accentuate and encode performance details within an edited dramatic text. Capell later wrote in his *Prolusions*: «It is hop'd, that when these new invented marks are a little consider'd, they will be found by the candid and discerning to be no improper substitutes to those marginal directions that have hitherto obtain'd; which are both a blemish to the page they stand in and inadequate to the end propos'd»¹⁵.

The symbols first introduced in 1758 found subsequent application across the ten volumes of his extensive Shakespeare edition. A superscript dash atop a letter denoted a change of address; a subscript dash at the bottom of a letter signified a change of location within a speech; a cross indicated an object pointed to; a double-barred cross indicated an object delivered; a raised period mark at the top of a word indicated irony; and inverted commas indicated an aside. Although the utilisation of his performance cipher might have appeared amusingly incomplete and possibly redundant, its conspicuous nature turned out to be a remarkably effective means of exploiting the malleability of the printed page to emphasise enacted actions. Warburton, who was not on friendly terms with Capell, wrote to Garrick, ridiculing Capell's punctuation but praising the actor¹⁶.

1734. *Shakespeare in Performance*, cit.; PETER HOLLAND, *Editing for Performance: Dr Johnson and the Stage*, cit., p. 78.

¹⁵ See PAUL J. GAVIN, *Performance as 'punctuation: editing Shakespeare in the Eighteenth century*, cit., p. 411; EDWARD CAPELL, *Prolusions: Or, Select Pieces of Antient Poetry,—compil'd with Great Care from Their Several Originals, and Offer'd to the Publick as Specimens of the Integrity that Should be Found in the Editions of Worthy Authors, in Three Parts, with a Preface*, London, printed for Jacob Tonson, 1760, p. vi.

¹⁶ See GSH, p. 400; PAUL J. GAVIN, *Performance as 'punctuation: editing Shakespeare in the Eighteenth century*, cit., p. 411.

3.3 *Shakespeare's play and the Capell-Garrick adaptation compared*

To enact a more comprehensive examination of the differences between what could have been Garrick's stage version and the original Shakespearean play, the subsequent sections of this dissertation will be organised according to the act division found in the 1734 Tonson edition of Shakespeare. The primary texts utilised for the comparative analysis are the volume containing ink and pencil markings, presumed to be made by Capell, and the Pedicord edition of Garrick's adaptations of Shakespeare. Citations and references are supported by consultation of the Routledge edition of *Antony and Cleopatra* and Gerald Berkowitz's edition of Garrick's adaptation¹⁷.

The "persons represented" in the Capell-Garrick adaptation included the following: the Triumvirs, portrayed by Mr. Fleetwood as Octavius Caesar, Mr. Garrick as Marcus Antonius, and Mr. Blakes as Aemilius Lepidus; Sextus Pompeius and his follower Menas, depicted by Mr. Austin and Mr. Burton; the Caesarians, embodied by Mr. Mozeen as Dolabella, Mr. Holland as Thyreus, Mr. Atkins as Maecenas, Mr. Packer as Agrippa, and Mr. Austin as Proculeius; the Antonians, featuring Mr. Berry as Enobarbus, Mr. Wilkinson as Canidus, Mr. Bransby as Diomede, Mr. Davies as Eros, and Mr. Blakes as Decretas; a Soothsayer portrayed by Mr. Burton; the officers of Cleopatra's household, including Mr. Ackman as Alexas, Mr. Perry as Mardian, and Mr. Burton as Seleucus; Cleopatra played by Mrs. Yates, with her women, Miss. Mills as Charmian and Mrs. Glen as Iras; and Octavia played by Mrs. Glen¹⁸.

Before embarking on the analysis, it is important to consider some general information regarding the roles and overall length of the play. According to Pedicord's note on the cast, Dolabella assumed the lines of Demetrius, while Thyreus adopted the

¹⁷ See WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Antony and Cleopatra*, [edited by] Edward Capell and [directed by] David Garrick, London, printed for Jacob Tonson, 1734. *Shakespeare in Performance*, cit.; GSH; ACW. The Routledge edition overseen by Wilders adheres closely to the Folio and will be therefore used as a source for the original text. DAVID GARRICK, *The plays of David Garrick*, edited by Gerald M. Berkowitz, 4 vols., New York, Garland Publishing, 1981, vol. 2.

¹⁸ See GSH, pp. 6–7; The individuals depicted in the cast list pertain to the inaugural performance on January 3rd. For details regarding the composition of the cast in subsequent representations—four in January and one in May 1759—see the playbills present in JOHN GENEST, *Some Account of the English Stage: From the Restoration in 1660 to 1890*, 10 vols., London, printed by H. E. Carrington, 1832, vol. 4, pp. 544–547; GEORGE W. STONE, *The London Stage, 1660–1800. Part 4: 1747–1776*, Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1962, pp. 706–709, p. 729, available at the British Library's readers' room through the database Eighteenth Century Drama, https://www.eighteenthcenturydrama.amdigital.co.uk/Documents/Images/BL_OAH_1_The_London_Stage_p4v2/228#Chapters, (Accessed 20 December 2023).

lines of Philo and some of Enobarbus. Furthermore, Thaurus, Demetrius, Philo, Ventidius, Silius, Scarus, Euphronius, Varius, Menecrates were omitted from the *dramatis personae*. Notably, the Clown is inadvertently omitted from the list of persons represented. Stone underscores that the role of Gallus is entirely excised from the play, and the roles of the guards, attendants, servants, watchmen, and messengers are streamlined and less varied. The original text of the play is one of Shakespeare's lengthiest, comprising 3444 lines in the 1734 edition. The alteration results in a reduction of 657 lines¹⁹.

3.3.1 Act I

Nay, but this dotage of our general's / O'erflows the measure. Those his goodly eyes, / That o'er the files and musters of the war / Have glowed like plated Mars, now bend, now turn / The office and devotion of their view / Upon a tawny front. His captain's heart, / Which in the scuffles of great fights hath burst / The buckles on his breast, reneges all temper / And is become the bellows and the fan / To cool a gypsy's lust²⁰.

The decision to transfer the first and last lines of the first scene from Antonian characters (Philo and Demetrius) to two Caesareans (Thyreus and Dolabella) appears incongruous, especially given that they referred to Antony as "our general".

The sole transposition in the Capell-Garrick's adaptation impacted the commencement of the play. Specifically, up to line 60, both the *Folio* and Capell-Garrick editions were identical, then Capell incorporated 52 lines from Act II.2, the barge scene, into Act I.1, following the initial appearance of Cleopatra and Antony, and subsequently proceeded with the continuation of Act 1, Scene 1. In the Shakespearean version, the following lines were delivered by Enobarbus, Maecenas, and Agrippa.

Shakespeare *Folio*

MAECENAS: She's a most
triumphant lady, if report be /
square to her.

Garrick's adaptation

DOLABELLA:
Triumphant Lady! Fame I
see, it is true.

¹⁹ See GSH, cit., p. 6; GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., pp. 28–29.

²⁰ See ACW, I.1, vv. 1–10.

ENOBARBUS: When she first
met Mark Antony, she / pursed
up his heart upon the river of
Cydnus.

AGRIPPA: There she
appeared indeed, or my
reporter / devised well for
her²¹.

THYREUS: Too true.
Since she first met Mark
Antony / Upon the river
Cydnus, / he has been
hers²².

Subsequently, Capell revisited the Shakespearean version, reinstating lines 226-268 in their original form but with a shift in the characters participating in the dialogue. The lines originally spoken by Enobarbus were assigned to Thyreus, while the lines delivered by Agrippa were attributed to Dolabella.

Shakespeare *Folio*

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

AGRIPPA: O, rare for
Antony!

Garrick's adaptation

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

AGRIPPA: O, rare for
Antony!

ENOBARBUS: Her
gentlewomen, like the

²¹ See *Ibid*, II.2, vv. 220–225.

²² See GSH, I.1, vv. 61–63.

ENOBARBUS: Her gentlewomen, like the Nereides, / So many mermaids, tended her i' th' eyes, / And made their bends adornings. At the helm / A seeming mermaid steers. The silken tackle / Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands / That yarely frame the office. From the barge / A strange invisible perfume hits the sense / Of the adjacent wharfs. The city cast / Her people out upon her; and Antony, / Enthroned i' th' market-place, did sit alone, / Whistling to th' air, which but for vacancy / Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too / And made a gap in nature.

AGRIPPA: Rare Egyptian!
 ENOBARBUS: Upon her landing, Antony sent to her, / Invited her to supper. She replied / It should be better he became her guest, / Which she entreated. Our courteous Antony, / Whom ne'er the word of "No" woman heard speak, / Being barbered ten times o'er, goes to the feast, / And for his ordinary pays his heart / For what his eyes eat only.

AGRIPPA: Royal wench! / She made great Julius lay his sword to bed; / He ploughed her, and she cropped²³.

Nereides, / So many mermaids, tended her i' th' eyes, / And made their bends adornings. At the helm / A seeming mermaid steers. The silken tackle / Swell with the touches of those flower-soft hands / That yarely frame the office. From the barge / A strange invisible perfume hits the sense / Of the adjacent wharfs. The city cast / Her people out upon her; and Antony, / Enthroned i' th' market place, did sit alone, / Whistling to the air, which but for vacancy / Had gone to gaze on Cleopatra too / And made a gap in nature.

AGRIPPA: Rare Egyptian!
 ENOBARBUS: Upon her landing, Antony sent to her, / Invited her to supper. She replied / It should be better he became her guest, / Which she entreated. Our courteous Antony, / Whom ne'er the word of *no* woman heard speak, / Being barbered ten times o'er, goes to the feast, / And for his ordinary pays his heart / For what his eyes eat only.

AGRIPPA: Royal wench! / She made great Julius lay his sword to bed; / He ploughed her, and she cropped²⁴.

The lines 269-273, about Cleopatra's "forty paces", were excised. This was probably a measure to diminish sexual allusions and enhance moral propriety. Furthermore, line 274, originally delivered by Maecenas, was assigned to Dolabella. Similarly, Enobarbus' lines 275-279 were extracted from Shakespeare and given to

²³ See ACW, II.2, vv. 226–268.

²⁴ See GSH, I.1, vv. 66–107.

Thyreus. Lines 275-288 were eliminated and replaced with one of the rare creations by Capell.

Shakespeare *Folio*

ENOBARBUS: I saw her once / Hop
forty paces through the public street, /
And having lost her breath, she spoke
and panted, / That she did make defect
perfection, / And breathless pour
breath forth.
MAECENAS: Now Antony must
leave her utterly.
ENOBARBUS: Never. He will not. /
Age cannot wither her, nor custom
stale / Her infinite variety. Other
women cloy / The appetites they feed,
but she makes hungry / Where most
she satisfies. For vilest things /
Become themselves in her, that the
holy priests / Bless her when she is
riggish.
MAECENAS: If beauty, wisdom,
modesty can settle / The heart of
Antony, Octavia is / A blessed lottery
to him.
AGRIPPA: Let us go. / Good
Enobarbus, make yourself my guest /
Whilst you abide here.
ENOBARBUS: Humbly, sir, I thank
you.
*They exit*²⁵.

Garrick's adaptation

DOLABELLA:
Now Antony must
leave her utterly.
THYREUS: Never.
He will not. / Age
cannot wither her,
nor custom stale /
Her infinite variety.
Other women cloy
/ The appetites they
feed, but she makes
hungry / Where
most she satisfies.
DOLABELLA:
Well, I am sorry, /
He too approves
the common liar,
who / Thus speaks
of him at Rome.
But I will hope / Of
better deeds
tomorrow. Rest
you happy! /
*Exeunt severally*²⁶.

One minor alteration in I.1 involved the replacement of the figure of the attendant with that of a messenger. The alterations analysed served to underscore the grandeur with which the Capell-Garrick version commenced. However, the barge speech carried significantly more dramatic weight in its original placement in Act II, where it is spoken by the cynical Enobarbus in Rome. Enobarbus, being well aware of Cleopatra's shortcomings, anticipated the inevitable downfall of Antony's Roman marriage. In contrast, Capell assigned these lines to a military subordinate, Thyreus, transforming them into a standalone set piece. The consequence of this re-arrangement is a dual

²⁵ See *Ibid.*, II.2, vv. 269-288.

²⁶ See GSH., I.1, vv. 107-117.

commentary on the protagonists. While Enobarbus’s barge speech was transferred to Thyreus, the depiction of Cleopatra’s allure still functioned to elucidate Antony’s unwarlike conduct and to temper the severity of Demetrius’s and Philo’s censure. Nevertheless, the enchantment of the description is somewhat diminished by the subsequent physical presence of the “strumpet” and her “fool”²⁷.

In I.2, the dialogue between Charmian, Iras and Alexas was condensed, preserving the irony and indecency of certain lines while omitting others. The following excerpt, omitted in the adaptation, provides evidence of the indecent tone conveyed by Shakespeare in the *Folio* version.

CHARMIAN: [...] follow worse, till the worst of all follow him laughing/ to his grave, fiftyfold a cuckold. Good Isis, hear me / this prayer, though thou deny me a matter of more / weight, good Isis, I beseech thee!
 IRAS: Amen, dear goddess, hear that prayer of the / people. For, as it is a heartbreaking to see a handsome / man loose-wived, so it is a deadly sorrow to / behold a foul knave uncuckolded. Therefore, dear / Isis, keep decorum and fortune him accordingly.
 CHARMIAN: Amen.
 ALEXAS: Lo now, if it lay in their hands to make me a / cuckold, they would make themselves whores but / they’d do ‘t²⁸.

In this scene, also the exchange between Antony and Enobarbus is also condensed, resulting in a reduction of Enobarbus’ poetic expression, as evidenced by the Shakespearean lines omitted by Capell. When Enobarbus discovers Fulvia’s death, certain ironic lines were sacrificed in favour of maintaining the moral propriety of the scene.

Shakespeare *Folio*

Garrick’s adaptation

Enter Enobarbus.
 ENOBARBUS: What’s your pleasure, sir?

Enter Enobarbus.
 ENOBARBUS: What’s your pleasure, sir?

ANTONY: I must with haste from hence.

ANTONY: I must with haste from hence.

²⁷ See MARGA MUNKELT, *Restoring Shakespeare’s Antony and Cleopatra on the Nineteenth–Century Stage: Samuel Phelps and Isabella Glyn*, cit., p. 4; MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, cit., p. 47.

²⁸ See ACW, I.2, vv. 68–80.

ENOBARBUS: Why then we kill all our women. We see / how mortal an unkindness is to them. If they suffer / our departure, death's the word.

ANTONY: I must be gone.

ENOBARBUS: Under a compelling occasion, let women / die. It were pity to cast them away / for nothing, / though between them and a great cause, they / should be esteemed nothing. Cleopatra, catching / but the least noise of this, dies instantly. I have seen / her die twenty times upon far poorer moment. I do / think there is mettle in death which commits some / loving act upon her, she hath such a celerity in / dying.

ANTONY: She is cunning past man's thought.

ENOBARBUS: Alack, sir, no, her passions are made of / nothing but the finest part of pure love. We cannot / call her winds and waters sighs and tears; they are / greater storms and tempests than almanacs can / report. This cannot be cunning in her; if it be, she / makes a shower of rain as well as Jove.

ANTONY: Would I had never seen her!

ENOBARBUS: O, sir, you had then left unseen a wonderful / piece of work, which not to have been blest / withal would have discredited your travel.

ANTONY: Fulvia is dead.

ENOBARBUS: Sir?

ANTONY: Fulvia is dead.

ENOBARBUS: Fulvia?

ANTONY: Dead.

ENOBARBUS: Why then we kill all our women. We see / how mortal an unkindness is to them. If they suffer / our departure, death's the word.

ANTONY: I must be gone.

ENOBARBUS: Under a compelling occasion, let women / die. It were pity to cast them away / for nothing, / though between them and a great cause, they / should be esteemed nothing. Cleopatra, catching / but the least noise of this, dies instantly. I have seen / her die twenty times upon far poorer moment.

ANTONY: She is cunning past man's thought. Fulvia is dead.

ENOBARBUS: Sir?

ANTONY: Fulvia is dead.

ENOBARBUS: Fulvia?

ANTONY: Dead.

ENOBARBUS: Why, sir, give the gods a thankful sacrifice. / If there / were no more women but Fulvia, then had you / indeed a cut, and the case to be lamented. This grief / is crowned with consolation; your old smock brings / forth a new petticoat, and indeed the tears live in an / onion that should water this sorrow.

ANTONY: The business she hath broachèd in the state / Cannot endure my absence.

ENOBARBUS: And the business you have broached here / cannot be without you, especially that of Cleopatra's, / which wholly depends on your abode.

ANTONY: No more light answers. Let our officers / Have notice what we purpose. I

ENOBARBUS: Why, sir, give the gods a thankful sacrifice. / When it pleaseth their deities to take the wife of a / man from him, it shows to man the tailors of the / Earth; comforting therein, that when old robes are / worn out, there are members to make new. If there / were no more women but Fulvia, then had you / indeed a cut, and the case to be lamented. This grief / is crowned with consolation; your old smock brings / forth a new petticoat, and indeed the tears live in an / onion that should water this sorrow.

ANTONY: The business she hath broachèd in the state / Cannot endure my absence.

ENOBARBUS: And the business you have broached here / cannot be without you, especially that of Cleopatra's, / which wholly depends on your abode.

ANTONY: No more light answers. Let our officers / Have notice what we purpose. I shall break / The cause of our expedience to the Queen / And get her leave to part. For not alone / The death of Fulvia, with more urgent touches, / Do strongly speak to us, but the letters too / Of many our contriving friends in Rome / Petition us at home. Sextus Pompeius / Hath given the dare to Caesar and commands / The empire of the sea. Our slippery people, / Whose love is never linked to the deserver / Till his deserts are past, begin to throw / Pompey the Great and all his dignities / Upon his son, who—high in name and power, / Higher than both in blood and life—stands up / For the main soldier; whose

shall break / The cause of our expedience to the Queen / And get her leave to part. For not alone / The death of Fulvia, with more urgent touches, / Do strongly speak to us, but the letters too / Of many our contriving friends in Rome / Petition us at home. Sextus Pompeius / Hath given the dare to Caesar and commands / The empire of the sea. Our slippery people, / Whose love is never linked to the deserver / Till his deserts are past, begin to throw / Pompey the Great and all his dignities / Upon his son, who—high in name and power, / Higher than both in blood and life—stands up / For the main soldier; whose quality, going on, / The sides o' th' world may danger. Much is / breeding / Which, like the courser's hair, hath yet but life / And not a serpent's poison. Say our pleasure, / To such whose place is under us, requires / Our quick remove from hence.

ENOBARBUS: I shall do 't³⁰.

³⁰ See GSH, I, 2, vv. 117–163.

quality, going on, / The sides o' th' world
may danger. Much is / breeding / Which, like
the courser's hair, hath yet but life / And not
a serpent's poison. Say our pleasure, / To
such whose place is under us, requires / Our
quick remove from hence.
ENOBARBUS: I shall do 't²⁹.

From this point until the conclusion of Act I, all scenes in both Shakespeare's original and the Capell-Garrick adaptation are identical, with no further differences noted.

3.3.2 Act II

Act II in the Capell-Garrick adaptation witnessed significant omissions, streamlining the plot and diminishing political intricacies. II.1, the initial Pompey scene featuring Menas and Menecrates in Shakespeare's original, was entirely excluded. Furthermore, II.3, encompassing the farewell of newly betrothed Octavia and Antony, Antony's subsequent encounter with the Soothsayer, and his declaration of returning to Egypt, was also completely omitted. Scene II.4, where Lepidus sets out to confront Pompey, encouraging Maecenas and Agrippa to expedite the departures of Antony and Caesar, undergoes the same fate.

The commencement of Act II in the Capell-Garrick adaptation aligned with Shakespeare's II.2. Changes, excisions, and incorporations from this scene to Capell-Garrick's I.1 have been previously addressed in the preceding section.

Folio's II.5 corresponded to Capell-Garrick's II.2: the scenes were identical, but this did not spare the couple of adapters from criticism. The decision of the adapters to retain Cleopatra's line, «Let it alone. Let's to billiards. Come, Charmian»³¹, appeared historically inaccurate to the critics, as indicated in an excerpted passage from an anonymous letter:

²⁹ See *Ibid.*, I, 2, vv. 146–214.

³¹ See *Ibid.*, I.5, v. 4.

But I could cite several instances in this piece, as well as others that have been altered for the stage, which evince the contrary. Not to enter into a laboured criticism upon this tragedy, for which we have neither time or room, I shall only observe what must be obviously ridiculous to every auditor, Cleopatra still talks of playing at Billiards, a game utterly unknown at that period, as well as many ages after. This is nearly upon a par with the circumstances of the daggers in *Romeo and Juliet*³².

The Capell-Garrick version's Act II, Scene 3, aligned with *Folio*'s Act II, Scene 6. However, notable abridgements were made, particularly at the beginning of the scene, where Pompey's first meeting with the triumvirs, lines 1-108, was omitted. In the Capell-Garrick adaptation, the scene commenced with one of the various stage directions crafted by Capell: «*Aboard Pompey's galley off Misenium. Under a pavilion upon deck, a banquet set out. Music. Servants attending. Enter Menas and Enobarbus, meeting*»³³. Additionally, the conversation between Enobarbus and Menas underwent abridgement, as lines 113-130 were eliminated:

Shakespeare *Folio*

MENAS (*aside*): Thy father, Pompey,
would ne'er have / made this treaty.—
You and I have known, sir.
ENOBARBUS: At sea, I think.
MENAS: We have, sir.
ENOBARBUS: You have done well by
water.
MENAS: And you by land.
ENOBARBUS: I will praise any man
that will praise me, / though it cannot be
denied what I have done by land.
MENAS: Nor what I have done by
water.
ENOBARBUS: Yes, something you
can deny for your own / safety: you
have been a great thief by sea.
MENAS: And you by land.
ENOBARBUS: There I deny my land
service. But give me / your hand,
Menas. They clasp hands. If our eyes /
had authority, her /they might take two
thieves kissing.

Garrick's adaptation

MENAS (*aside*): Thy father, Pompey,
would ne'er have / made this treaty.—
You and I have known, sir.
ENOBARBUS: Menas, I think.
MENAS: The same, sir.
ENOBARBUS: We came hither to
fight with you.
MENAS: For my part, I am sorry it is
turned to a / drinking. Pompey doth
this day laugh away his / fortune.
ENOBARBUS: If he do, sure he
cannot weep 't back / again.
MENAS: You've said, sir. We looked
not for Mark Antony / here. Pray you,
is he married to Cleopatra?
ENOBARBUS: Caesar's sister is
called Octavia.
MENAS: True, sir. She was the wife
of Caius Marcellus.
ENOBARBUS: But she is now the
wife of Marcus / Antonius.
MENAS: Pray you, sir?

³² See [ANONYMOUS], *A letter to the Hon Author of the New Farce call'd the Rout, to which is Subjoined an Epistle to Mr Garrick upon that and other Theatrical Subjects with an appendix containing some remarks upon the new Revi'd Play Antony and Cleopatra*, London, Printed for M. Thrush, 1759, p. 403.

³³ See GSH, II.3. I replicated the italics as found in Pedicord's edition of Capell-Garrick's stage directions.

MENAS: All men's faces are true,
 whosome'er their / hands are.
 ENOBARBUS: But there is never a fair
 woman has a true / face.
 MENAS: No slander. They steal hearts.
 ENOBARBUS: We came hither to
 fight with you.
 MENAS: For my part, I am sorry it is
 turned to a / drinking. Pompey doth this
 day laugh away his / fortune.
 ENOBARBUS: If he do, sure he cannot
 weep 't back / again.
 MENAS: You've said, sir. We looked
 not for Mark Antony / here. Pray you,
 is he married to Cleopatra?
 ENOBARBUS: Caesar's sister is called
 Octavia.
 MENAS: True, sir. She was the wife of
 Caius Marcellus.
 ENOBARBUS: But she is now the wife
 of Marcus / Antonius.
 MENAS: Pray you, sir?
 ENOBARBUS: 'Tis true.
 MENAS: Then is Caesar and he forever
 knit together.
 ENOBARBUS: If I were bound to
 divine of this unity, I / would not
 prophesy so.
 MENAS: I think the policy of that
 purpose made more in / the marriage
 than the love of the parties.
 ENOBARBUS: I think so, too. But you
 shall find the band /that seems to tie
 their friendship together will be / the
 very strangler of their amity. Octavia is
 of a holy, / cold, and still conversation.
 MENAS: Who would not have his wife
 so?
 ENOBARBUS: Not he that himself is
 not so, which is / Mark Antony. He will
 to his Egyptian dish again. / Then shall
 the sighs of Octavia blow the fire up in
 / Caesar, and, as I said before, that
 which is the / strength of their amity
 shall prove the immediate / author of
 their variance. Antony will use his
 affection / where it is. He married but
 his occasion here.
 MENAS: And thus it may be. Come,
 sir, will you aboard? / I have a health
 for you.

ENOBARBUS: 'Tis true.
 MENAS: Then is Caesar and he
 forever knit together.
 ENOBARBUS: If I were bound to
 divine of this unity, I / would not
 prophesy so.
 MENAS: I think the policy of that
 purpose made more in / the marriage
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 ENOBARBUS: I think so, too. But
 you shall find the band /that seems to
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 Octavia is of a holy, / cold, and still
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 not so, which is / Mark Antony. He
 will to his Egyptian dish again. / Then
 shall the sighs of Octavia blow the fire
 up in / Caesar, and, as I said before,
 that which is the / strength of their
 amity shall prove the immediate /
 author of their variance. Antony will
 use his affection / where it is. He
 married but his occasion here.
 MENAS: And thus it may be. Come,
 sir, will you aboard? / I have a health
 for you.
 ENOBARBUS: I shall take it, sir. We
 have used our throats / in Egypt³⁵.

³⁵ See GSH, II, 3, vv. 1–32.

ENOBARBUS: I shall take it, sir. We
have used our throats / in Egypt.
MENAS: Come, let's away³⁴.

Even at this early stage of the play's analysis, it is evident that Capell, through extensive deletions, removed the majority of references to war. One could argue that, considering Capell's public role as a censor during the adaptation of this play with Garrick, he made the deliberate choice to avoid any political allusions to Britain. An alternative hypothesis suggests a transition towards themes that are subjective rather than universal, indicating a shift from the realm of classical tragedy to that of bourgeois drama. This alteration rendered the setting more private, intimate, and diminished its public nature. An inquiry naturally emerges upon scrutinizing this transformation: whether it solely reflected Capell's vision or if Garrick is also implicated. This trajectory appears consistent with Garrick's broader approach, extending to performance practices as well. The uncertainty surrounding the adaptors' motivations for these abridgements however remains, as scholars lack sufficient documentation on this aspect of his decision-making. Certainly, the numerous abridgements served to simplify the plot and mitigate the Shakespearean immobility present in the original text's early acts.

Folio's Act II, Scene 7 was also incorporated in Capell-Garrick's Act II, Scene 3. Following the conversation between Menas and Enobarbus, the scene transitioned to the banquet setting.

Shakespeare *Folio*

«*Music plays. Enter two or three
Servants with a banquet*»³⁶

Garrick's adaptation

«*Music. Enter Caesar, Antony,
Lepidus, Pompey, and
others*»³⁷.

The opening lines of the scene, 5-13, spoken by the servants were excluded, except for the initial four lines, which underwent slight modifications and were attributed to Enobarbus and Menas.

³⁴ See ACW, II.6., vv. 109–166.

³⁶ See *Ibid.*, II.7, stage directions.

³⁷ See GSH, II.3, in-text stage directions between line 33 and 34.

Shakespeare *Folio*

FIRST SERVANT: Here they'll be,
man. Some o' their / plants are ill-
rooted already. The least wind i' th'
world / will blow them down.
SECOND SERVANT: Lepidus is
high-colored³⁸.

Garrick's adaptation

ENOBARBUS: Here they
come. Some of their plants are
ill-rooted already; the least /
wind i' th' world will blow
them down.
MENAS: Lepidus is high-
colored³⁹.

From this point onward until the conclusion of the scene, both the original version and the adaptation remained nearly identical, with the exception of some additions incorporated by Capell and Garrick. In response to the perceived brevity of the song during the banquet scene, Capell included two additional stanzas to Shakespeare's original six-line song. This extended version, the "Bacchanalian Song", was prominently promoted in the playbill, crediting performers like John Beard and Samuel Champnes. Beard, at the time a renowned forty-two-year-old singer and the undisputable musical star on the contemporary English stage at that time, likely infused the song with a distinct quality compared to Shakespeare's original rendition by a boy apprentice⁴⁰.

Shakespeare *Folio*

Come, thou monarch of the vine, /
Plumpy Bacchus, with pink eyne. /
In thy vats our cares be drowned. /
With thy grapes our hairs be
crowned. / Cup us till the world go
round, / Cup us till the world go
round⁴¹.

Garrick's adaptation

Come, thou monarch of the wine, plumpy
Bacchus, / with pink eyne; thine it is to
cheer the soul, / made, by thy enlarging
bowl, / Bur. free from wisdom's fond
control. / Monarch, come; and with thee
bring / tipsy dance, and revelling. / In thy
vats our cares be drowned; / with thy
grapes our hairs be crowned; / cup us 'till
the world go round. / Bur. cup us 'till the
world go round⁴².

In the final section of II.3, Capell and Garrick made slight alterations and additions. Specifically, they removed line 149 and revised lines 151 and 153, replacing

³⁸ See ACW, II, 7, vv. 134-139.

³⁹ See GSH, II.3, vv. 34-36.

⁴⁰ See MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, cit., p. 49; JOHN GENEST, *Some Account of the English Stage: From the Restoration in 1660 to 1890*, cit., vol. 4, p. 544.

⁴¹ See ACW, II, 7, vv. 1-3.

⁴² The song is reported by Pedicord before the beginning of the play, see GSH, p.4.

them with lines 158 and 159, which were their own creations, while retaining the remainder of *Folio*'s Act II, Scene 7.

Shakespeare *Folio*

CAESAR: Good Antony, your hand.
POMPEY: I'll try you on the shore.
ANTONY: And shall, sir. Give 's your hand.
POMPEY: O, Antony, you have my father's house. / But what? We are friends! Come down into the boat.
ENOBARBUS: Take heed you fall not.
*All but Menas and Enobarbus exit.*⁴³.

Garrick's adaptation

POMPEY: I'll try you on the shore.
ANTONY: And shall, sir. [*Aside.*] I will to Egypt. / For though I have made this marriage for my peace, / I'the east my pleasure lies. – Give us your hand.
POMPEY: O Antony, you have my father's house – / But what? We are friends again.
Exeunt Pompey and Antony.
ENOBARBUS: Take heed you fall not⁴⁴.

Antony's lines in the adaptation, presumably created by Capell and Garrick, likely served to foreshadow the eventual dissolution of the marriage with Octavia, resonating with the omitted *Folio*'s II.3.

3.3.3 Act III

As in Act II, the adaptors made cuts to some of the original scenes in Act III. Stone and Lamb suggested that one reason for these choices by Capell and Garrick was their intention to create a play that opened more rapidly than the original, moving along at a quicker pace, and this was more evident in the first three acts. By doing so, the adaptors omitted significant scenes that portrayed different facets of Antony, such as the grim triumph of Antony's loyal lieutenant, Ventidius, in III.1, where the soldier fought while Antony revelled; the perfunctory farewell scenes between Caesar, Antony, and Octavia in III.2; and Antony's announcement to Octavia that he intended to wage war against her brother in III.4. These omissions resulted in missing elements that would have showcased the complex dynamics of the characters. Caesar's earlier metaphor of the great men in the play as «Like to a vagabond flag upon the stream, / Goes to and back, lackeying the

⁴³ See ACW, II, 7, vv. 1-3.

⁴⁴ See GSH, II.3, vv. 157–160.

varying tide, / To rot itself with motion»⁴⁵, reflected an antiromantic perspective. The quoted passage of Caesar could resemble the adapter’s viewpoint in the political and military scenes. In a theatre conducive to swift action, the pattern of the “varying tide” can be swiftly established, allowing for the omission of many characters who appear only briefly, and for a focus on the main narrative without delving into many details⁴⁶.

Folio’s III.3 was preserved intact and aligns with Capell-Garrick II.4. However, III.4, the sole intimate encounter of Octavia and Antony in Athens, was excised by the adaptors. This elimination, justified by its indirect relevance to the Cleopatra narrative, enhanced the play’s stageability. Similarly, Shakespeare’s III.5, where Eros and Enobarbus commented on the political changes, met a similar fate, and was omitted⁴⁷.

Deleted from the adaptation is Caesar’s enumeration of the kings in III.6, a scene corresponding with Capell-Garrick’s II.5, with whom Antony had formed an alliance against him⁴⁸. However, Capell discussed this speech in his *Notes and various readings to Shakespeare* and corrected what he perceived as mistakes made by Shakespeare in “drawing it up” from his memory of Plutarch. Except for the fact that the Capell-Garrick’s Act III began with the content of Shakespeare’s III.7, from this scene to the end of the Act, the content of both plays was identical. The only exception was in Capell-Garrick III.7, corresponding to Shakespeare III.13, when a lengthy biblical reference made by Antony was cut⁴⁹.

3.3.4 Act IV

The Capell-Garrick adaptation omitted Shakespeare’s first three scenes of Act IV. In IV.1, Caesar mocked Antony’s challenge to single combat and prepared for battle with Maecenas; IV.2 depicted Antony with his servants in a last and parting banquet with

⁴⁵ See ACW, I.4, vv. 45–48.

⁴⁶ See MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, cit., p. 46, 50; GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick’s Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., p. 28

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

⁴⁸ See ACW, III.6, vv. 78–86.

⁴⁹ See MARGA MUNKELT, *Restoring Shakespeare’s Antony and Cleopatra on the Nineteenth-Century Stage: Samuel Phelps and Isabella Glyn*, cit., p. 4; WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Notes and various readings to Shakespeare*, edited by Edward Capell, 3 vols., London, printed for E. and C. Dilly, 1774, vol. 1, pp. 38–39; ACW, III.13, vv. 158–162.

Cleopatra; and in IV.3, Antony's soldiers standing guard hear music, interpreting it as a sign that the god Hercules is leaving Antony. Apart from these first three scenes being cut, Act IV was identical in both plays.

Despite making numerous abridgements to the Shakespeare text, Capell remained very faithful to the material used and did not make significant changes. This is evident in IV.10, the monument scene, where accommodating Shakespeare's direction «to heave Antony aloft»⁵⁰ presented no difficulty. Capell, seemingly understanding Shakespeare's solution as a "double" platform elevated at the back, carefully specified Drury Lane's method: «Cleopatra, and her Women, throw out certain Tackle; into which the People below put Antony, and he is drawn up»⁵¹. The boxes above the proscenium doors were frequently used in such scenes, and the "tackle" likely had a seat or basket attachment. Leslie Hotson reported that Capell articulated this idea in the first volume of his *Notes and Various Readings to Shakespeare*⁵². Capell, in a note on *Antony and Cleopatra*, wrote:

The platform was double; the hinder or back part of it rising some little matter above that in front; and this serv'd them for chambers or galleries; for Juliet to hold discourse with Romeo and for Cleopatra in this play to draw up Antony dying [...] That this was their stage's construction [...] is evinc'd beyond doubting, from entries that are found in some plays of rather a later date than the Poet's; in which are seen the terms — upper, and lower; and dialogues pass between persons, standing some on the one and some on the other stage⁵³.

A notable addition is the stage direction at the end of this scene: «those above bearing off the Body»⁵⁴.

3.3.5 Act V

Act V remained largely unmodified by Capell and Garrick in their adaptation, with the only alteration occurring in V.2, where Capell made some adjustments to the stage directions and omitted a few lines. The stage directions were revised to indicate rooms

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, IV.15, stage direction between lines 43 and 44.

⁵¹ See GSH, IV.10, stage direction between lines 35 and 36.

⁵² See MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, cit., p. 50.

⁵³ See WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Notes and various readings to Shakespeare*, edited by Edward Capell, cit., vol. 1, pp. 51–52; LELSIE HOTSON, *Shakespeare's wooden O*, New York, Macmillan, 1960, p. 100.

⁵⁴ See GSH, IV.10, stage direction after line 104.

within the monument rather than the monument itself. This aligns with what reports Antony Brano on Christopher Baugh's claims about the adaptation, which «moves the action precisely from “room” to “room” in the palaces of Alexandria and Rome»⁵⁵. Notably, the only scenes without stage directions specifying a room within the palaces are those aboard Pompey's ship and those within and between Antony and Caesar's camps. If each of Garrick's palace scenes occurred in “A Room in the Monument”, then his production may not have resembled the 1709 Rowe illustration or the illustrations of the 1735 Dryden or 1740 Theobald discussed in the second chapter of the present dissertation. Although scholars lack visual evidence of Garrick's production, according to Brano his stage directions suggest that the room in the monument resembled the image presented in the 1734 playbook used by Garrick and Capell. This interpretation aligns with a description of Cleopatra feeling trapped within her monument as the walls close in on her⁵⁶.

Lines 325-331 referring to the basket of asps are deleted:

Shakespeare *Folio*

CLOWN: Very good. Give it nothing, I pray you, / for it is not worth the feeding.
 CLEOPATRA: Will it eat me?
 CLOWN: You must not think I am so simple but / I know the devil himself will not eat a woman. I / know that a woman is a dish for the gods if the devil / dress her not. But truly these same whoreson devils / do the gods great harm in their women, for in every / ten that they make, the devils mar five.
 CLEOPATRA: Well, get thee gone. Farewell.
 CLOWN: Yes, forsooth. I wish you joy o' th' / worm⁵⁷.

Garrick's adaptation

CLOWN: Very good. Give it nothing, I pray you, / for it is not worth the feeding.
 CLEOPATRA: Well, get thee gone. Farewell.
 CLOWN: Yes, forsooth. I wish you joy o' th' / worm⁵⁸.

Garrick and Capell introduced an additional stage direction within one of Cleopatra's speeches, reminiscent of the 1714/1734 illustration and productions that

⁵⁵ See CHRISTOPHER BAUGH, *Our divine Shakespeare, fitly illustrated – staging Shakespeare, 1660–1900*, London, Merrell, 2003, p. 34; ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit., p. 75

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

⁵⁷ See ACW, V.2, vv. 325–334.

⁵⁸ See GSH, V, 2, vv. 308–311.

aligned more with Dryden's *All for Love* than Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra*. The image of a nuptial bed here evoked a detail which was absent in Shakespeare's original. Specifically, during Cleopatra's speech as Iras dresses her, Garrick and Capell included an extended stage direction.

Shakespeare *Folio*

CLEOPATRA: Give me my robe, put on my crown; I have / Immortal longings in me: Now no more / The juice of Egypt's grape shall moist this lip: / Yare, yare, good Iras; quick. / Methinks, I hear Antony call; I see him rouse himself / To praise my noble act; I hear him mock / The luck of Caesar, which the gods give men / To excuse their after wrath. Husband, I come.

Now to that name my courage prove my title! / I am fire, and air; my other elements / I give to baser life. So, have you done? / Come then, and take the last warmth of my lips⁵⁹.

Garrick's adaptation

CLEOPATRA: Give me my robe, put on my crown; I have / Immortal longings in me: Now no more / The juice of Egypt's grape shall moist this lip: / Yare, yare, good Iras; quick. / Methinks, I hear Antony call; I see him rouse himself / To praise my noble act; I hear him mock / The luck of Caesar, which the gods give men / To excuse their after wrath. Husband, I come.

Goes to a Bed, or Sopha, which she ascends; her Women compose her on it: Iras sets the Basket, which she has been holding upon her own Arm, by her.

Now to that name my courage prove my title! / I am fire, and air; my other elements / I give to baser life. So, have you done? / Come then, and take the last warmth of my lips⁶⁰.

The editorial choices made by Garrick and Capell in placing a lengthy stage direction in the midst of Cleopatra's speech seem to be influenced by the illustration of the 1734 Tonson's edition. Cleopatra ascended the bed just after referring to Antony as her husband, a move that, according to Brano, echoed *All for Love's* Cleopatra. Garrick and Capell depicted Cleopatra as Antony's spouse, positioning her on the bed, akin to the illustration. The immediate connection to the nuptial bed after addressing Antony as her husband suggested that Cleopatra may be yearning to kiss Antony's lips, drawing him closer to the bed action, as seen in the 1714/1734 etchings. The specificity of the stage direction indicated that Garrick and Capell actively considered linking Antony and Cleopatra as lovers, rulers, and possibly spouses—a interpretation possibly influenced by the illustrations. This unique stage direction was absent in Shakespeare's original,

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, V.2, vv. 312–323

⁶⁰ See GSH, V.2, vv. 312–323.

implying that the edition they worked from shaped the theatrical visions of both the actor and the editor⁶¹.

At this juncture of discussion, a possible query emerges: could these illustrations have functioned as a catalyst for altering perspectives or did they stand as an indicative signal of perceptual change? Within a specific publication's visual representation, there exists a discernible transformation in taste, wherein the illustration not only records the alteration but potentially exerts an influence upon it. During the 18th century, a discernible evolution unfolded, moving away from a central, perspective-oriented depiction with wings exclusively positioned on the sides. This progression introduced the use of grooves, for facilitating scene changes, consequently altering the theatrical space and its utilisation, accompanied by a gradual modification in lighting. Concurrently, the 18th century witnessed the ascension of the affluent bourgeoisie, coupled with a dramatic movement characterised by gentrification. Indeed, there was a thematic transition towards the intimate. If one considers the entirety of early eighteenth-century English dramaturgy, characterised by its tearful and sentimental nature, it appears to coincide with a resurgence of focus on the intimate during the eighteenth century. Certain edits made in the alteration were strategically aimed at focalizing on the tragic dimension of love, while concurrently diminishing the prominence of political and historical implications. Garrick, cognizant of the fact that it was the emotional resonance rather than the intricacies of ancient history that resonated with audiences, orchestrated these modifications. Consequently, this approach led to a reduction in the complexity of both the narrative action and the characters. The resurgence of the intimate aligned with the entrance of the bourgeoisie onto the cultural stage. The crux of this matter is connected to the graphical representation found in images of *Antony and Cleopatra*, where the emphasis shifted towards the intimate rather than the grandiose and typically baroque mass scenes⁶².

Such transition from the public sphere to the private realm is mirrored in the bourgeoisification of theatre. The phenomenon of the bourgeoisification of theatre represented a characteristic process of the 18th century, not limited to Britain alone. For instance, a similar trend was observed in Italy with Maffei's *Merope*. While *Merope* was

⁶¹ See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit., p. 76.

⁶² See GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., p. 28. For an in-depth study on grooves' functioning and development see also RICHARD SOUTHERN, *Changeable Scenery. Its Origins and Development in the British Theatre*, cit., pp. 44–56.

classified as a tragedy thematically, it diverged from the classical conventions of French or neoclassical tragedy by exploring subjective rather than universal themes. In the case of *Merope*, the focus on maternal love, a theme distinct from the traditional tragic subjects, reflected a more bourgeois sensibility. This process mirrored the development of genres such as tearful comedy and the sentimental tragedy of 18th-century England⁶³.

3.4 Characters' appraisal in the Capell-Garrick's adaptation

The key characters in Shakespeare's *Antony and Cleopatra* included Pompey, Octavia, Caesar, Enobarbus, Antony, and Cleopatra. It is crucial to evaluate these characters, taking into account the modifications introduced in Capell-Garrick's play.

Pompey and Octavia, once depicted as individuals with distinctive lives, were reduced to relatively insignificant figures, serving merely as background elements. Pompey no longer engaged in political discussions with Caesar. The lines in II.1, as well as the entire scene, where he called out to Menecrates for Cleopatra to detain Antony and instructed her Epicurean cooks to «Sharpen with cloyless sauce his appetite, / That sleep and feeding may prorogue his honour / Even till a lethe'd dullness»⁶⁴ as originally penned by Shakespeare, were abridged by Capell in an effort to streamline the narrative. His sole appearance was on the galley, where he rejected the opportunity to become the master of the world by preventing Menas from cutting the cable and subsequently the throats of Antony, Caesar, and Lepidus.

As for Octavia, her lines underwent significant truncation in the adaptation, resulting in a diminished portrayal of her character and limiting opportunities for her to be displayed in her full dramatic potential. Scenes featuring her in Shakespeare's play, such as the betrothal scene with Antony and their life in Athens, were excised. The portrayal of her efforts to maintain peace between her brother and husband was eliminated. Octavia appeared only once in Rome, discovering that Antony's pleasure had drawn him back to the luxuries of the East, leaving her in misery. This limited glimpse

⁶³ See ROBERTO TESSARI, *Teatro e spettacolo nel Settecento*, cit., pp. 3-53, 136-139; LUIGI ALLEGRI, *La drammaturgia da Diderot a Beckett*, cit., pp. 5-18.

⁶⁴ See ACW, II.2, vv. 29-32.

failed to convey the beauty and fidelity of her character in full. Octavia became a mere shadow that briefly influenced and hindered Antony, known to the audience primarily through reports and Cleopatra's commentary as her messenger described her⁶⁵.

Enobarbus underwent alterations in the adaptation, with some of his lines transferred to Thyreus, as previously noted. Many of his humorous, blunt, and satirical remarks were cut. However, sufficient elements remain, including his death scene, to individualise him and present him as a foil for a display of generosity on Antony's part. Despite the transposition of lines and cuts, Enobarbus retained his role as a soldier and confidant of Antony, maintaining the ability to perceive reality without any filter. In the adaptation, he continued to function as the narrative instrument – as originally employed by Shakespeare – for providing essential descriptions and elucidations, accomplishing this not through direct intervention but through an objective representation.

ENOBARBUS: Or, if you borrow one another's love for the / instant, you may,
when you hear no more words of / Pompey, return it again: you shall have time
to wrangle / in when you have nothing else to do.

ANTONY: Thou art a soldier only. Speak no more.

ENOBARBUS: That truth should be silent. I had almost / forgot⁶⁶.

In this instance, the soldier not only possessed the courage to speak the truth but, more significantly, embodied the truth itself. Shakespeare articulated this explicitly, prompting Antony to respond with a rebuke. Enobarbus, his confidant, maintained silence, adopting the role of a spectator and subordinate. This choice allowed the deceptive reconciliation with Caesar to unfold without interruption⁶⁷.

Caesar's character, although slightly ambiguous, remained largely unaffected by the cuts, particularly in matters related to politics. The reductions primarily target political aspects, but they didn't transform him into a completely cold, rational, and ambitious figure to whom political power is everything. Stone argued that the adaptation emphasised a less-recognised facet of Caesar's character—an evolving disillusionment with an idealised Antony. The eighteenth-century audience, like the modern reader, may have perceived Caesar as a young admirer of Antony, astonished by the mighty hero

⁶⁵ See GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., pp. 29–30.

⁶⁶ See ACW, cit., II.2, vv. 124–130.

⁶⁷ See GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., pp. 29–30; AGOSTINO LOMBARDO, *Il fuoco e l'aria: quattro studi su Antonio e Cleopatra*, Roma, Bulzoni, 1995, pp. 11–39; GILBERTO SACERDOTI, *Nuovo cielo, nuova terra. La rivelazione copernicana di Antonio e Cleopatra di Shakespeare*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 1990, pp. 13–28.

dispatching foes on the plains of Philippi. Caesar struggled to reconcile this idealised image with the reality of Antony's shortcomings in matters of empire.

CAESAR: Antony, / Leave thy lascivious wassails. When thou once / Was beaten from Modena, where thou slew'st / Hirsius and Pansa, consuls, at thy heel / Did famine follow, whom thou fought'st against, / Though daintily brought up, with patience more / Than savages could suffer. Thou didst drink / The stale of horses and the gilded puddle / Which beasts would cough at. Thy palate then did / deign / The roughest berry on the rudest hedge. / Yea, like the stag when snow the pasture sheets, / The barks of trees thou browsèd. On the Alps / It is reported thou didst eat strange flesh / Which some did die to look on. And all this— / It wounds thine honor that I speak it now— / Was borne so like a soldier that thy cheek / So much as lanked not⁶⁸.

These lines where Caesar admonished Antony to abandon indulgent revelry and build up Antony's character as a valiant fighter capable of enduring the worst hardships of war with courage, were retained in the adaptation. At the play's conclusion, there's a moment when Caesar briefly reverted to his former perception of Antony as a hero. Even though news of Antony's death were described as «tidings to wash the eyes of kings»⁶⁹, Caesar, praising Antony, expressed surprise that the passing of such a prominent figure didn't create a more significant impact in nature. In Shakespeare's original play, Caesar never fully allowed himself a moment of relaxation. Even at the banquet on Pompey's galley, his “puritan conscience” and sense of responsibility to matters of greater importance persisted. With apprehension, a furrowed brow, and driven by policy, he reluctantly joined the jovial Antony in drinking. Antony, preoccupied with revelry rather than the fate of the Empire, amused himself at the expense of the tipsy Lepidus and attempted to involve young Caesar in the festivities: «Antony: Be a child o' th' time. Caesar: Possess it, I'll make answer; / But I had rather fast from all, four Days, / Than drink so much in one»⁷⁰. This segment was excised by Capell and Garrick, presenting Caesar in a more humanised light⁷¹.

Antony's character did not suffer significantly from cuts in his speeches or the omission of those praising him. Political lines in Act II, Scene 3, where he conversed with Pompey, were removed. A brief exchange with the Soothsayer, who informed him that his fortune is overshadowed by Caesar's, underwent a similar fate. Absent were scenes

⁶⁸ See ACW, cit., I.4, vv. 64–81.

⁶⁹ See *Ibid.*, V.2, vv. 31–33.

⁷⁰ See *Ibid.*, II.7, vv. 117–120.

⁷¹ See GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., pp. 30–31.

of love with Octavia in Rome, their life in Athens, and the farewell banquet in Alexandria where Antony compelled his servants to weep. Despite these omissions, Antony retained his character as an unrestrained, expansive, and generous soldier-lover with a capacity for splendid action and vigorous enjoyment. At times jealous and cruel, he oscillated between this attitude and noble and tender traits. He remained captivated by and yet undeceived by Cleopatra. Antony's boasting and blustering in his "Asiatic manner of speaking" persisted, and gradually, the realisation of the value of the glory he sacrificed for love dawned on him. Despite this, his triumph remained grand, surpassing the trivialities of Empire. Cleopatra's lines underwent minimal alterations, with only seven lines being cut, and those of minor significance. Consequently, she continued to shine as she did in Shakespeare's portrayal. The adaptation preserved the splendid poetic passages of the play, particularly in the last two acts, which experienced minimal excision. A brief section of Antony's bombastic rage at Thyreus was cut, along with a poetic description of Octavia by Antony. However, long speeches, including those in which Antony described himself and his fortunes to Eros and spoke after learning of Cleopatra's death, were kept intact. All of Cleopatra's speeches in the last act were also retained⁷².

3.5 Unravelling the causes behind Antony and Cleopatra's adaptation failure

The circumstances surrounding Garrick's staging of *Antony and Cleopatra*, the first recorded performance since the Restoration reopening of the theatres, appeared remarkably favourable. Garrick, being both an esteemed actor and a devoted Shakespearean scholar, further distinguished himself as a director who actively instituted crucial reforms. The plan was to make the play feasible for performance solely through excision and rearrangement, without adding new scenes or creating fresh speeches. However, there is little information available on the production or preparation of the play in letters, newspapers, memoirs, or magazines. In 1759, he initiated a new policy aimed at enhancing the visual aspects of new plays and revivals, starting with *Antony and Cleopatra*. This involved creating new costumes, or "Roman Shapes", which were tailored specifically for the play. Preparations began at least five months prior to the initial

⁷² See *Ibid*, p. 31–32

performance. On August 3, 1758, William Young, seeking resources for a play staged by his amateur ensemble, requested the loan of Garrick's "Roman shapes"⁷³. Garrick promptly responded as follows:

I have this Moment receiv'd Your most agreeable Letter & Sorry that I have not time to answer it paragraph by paragraph, but now ten o'clock & I must not lose a post-Our Roman Shapes at Drury Lane are so very bad, that we are now making new ones for ye Revival Antony & Cleopatra, & our false trimming will not be put upon till a little time before they are Wanted as it is apt to tarnish wth lying by⁷⁴.

The Roman shapes and additional embellishments, meticulously prepared for the play, failed to assist the producer in meeting the heightened expectations, as indicated by Davies' statements on Garrick's production of *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Mr. Garrick, from his passionate desire to give the public as much of their admired poet as possible, revived it, as altered by Mr. Capell, with all the advantages of new scenes, habits, and other decorations proper to the play. However, it did not answer his own and the public's expectations⁷⁵.

Contemporary comments on the play are notably scarce, and positive ones are even more so. Among the relatively less negative remarks, Francis Gentleman, fifteen years later, in 1774, expressed that *Antony and Cleopatra* possessed no enduring value and acknowledged that Garrick, who had adapted it, had done the best that could be achieved. Richard Cross provides a reliable and relatively neutral contemporary comment. «This Play tho' all new dress'd and had Fine Scenes did not seem to give y^e Audience any great pleasure, or draw any Applause»⁷⁶. Stone, the author of *The London Stage*, indicates, a few pages before the aforementioned comment by Cross, that neither *Antony and Cleopatra* nor the *Rout* was particularly successful. The criticism directed at them in an anonymous pamphlet provides insight into the reasons behind their lack of success: *A letter to the Hon Author of the New Farce call'd the Rout, to which is Subjoined an Epistle to Mr Garrick upon that and other Theatrical Subjects with an appendix containing some remarks upon the new Revi'd Play Antony and Cleopatra*⁷⁷.

⁷³ See *Ibid.*, p. 25; MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, cit., p. 40.

⁷⁴ See DAVID GARRICK, *The Letters of David Garrick*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 283-284, letter no. 208, from David Garrick to William Young, written on Thursday August 3rd, 1758.

⁷⁵ See THOMAS DAVIES, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, cit., vol. 2, pp. 368-369.

⁷⁶ See GEORGE W. STONE, *The London Stage, 1660-1800. Part 4: 1747-1776*, cit., p. 704.

⁷⁷ BRIAN VICKERS, *Shakespeare: the critical heritage*, cit., vol. 1, p. 101; CELESTINE WOO, *Romantic Actors and Bardolatry Performing Shakespeare from Garrick to Kean*, cit., p. 31. GEORGE W. STONE, *The London Stage, 1660-1800. Part 4: 1747-1776*, cit., p. 680, 704; Regarding Cross' life and career see

The pamphlet is structured in three parts, as the title suggests, the first of which is an ironic comment on *Dr. Hill's Farce*, the second a severe and ironic critique of Garrick as manager, and the third an equally ironic attack which, however, gives some light on the contemporary reception of *Antony and Cleopatra*⁷⁸.

Since the penning of the preceding letter, the reviv'd tragedy Antony and Cleopatra has been performed and published. With respect to the piece itself we are told in the title page, that it is "fitted for stage, by abridging only." As the length of this play was certainly an obstacle to its exhibition, we are of opinion its alterations are so much for the better, as they have rendered it less tedious, as well for the audience as the actors. I cannot, however, but be of opinion that this piece is inferior to most of Shakespeare's productions, and that it gives way to Dryden's *All for Love, or the World Well Lost*, which is founded on the same historical event; I do not mean by this to give the preference Dryden as a greater dramatic poet in general than Shakespeare, but must own that his soft flowing numbers are more sympathetic to the tender passion which this story is so particularly animated with, than the general language of Shakespeare's Antony. I doubt not this assertion will be looked upon as blasphemy by Garicians and Shakespearean-bigots who imagine that no piece of great poet can be less than perfections-self, especially when it has received the polish of Roscius pen. In this form has the new-reviv'd tragedy (so much talked of and so long expected) of Antony and Cleopatra appeared. To give the editor his due, the punctuation is very regular; in this I think his principal merit consists; that of the printer is much greater; the neatness of type, the disposition of the parts, and the accuracy of the composing, very striking; and these considerations apart, we can see no reason for imposing an additional tax of sixpence upon the purchasers of this play, containing less in quantity than the original which may be had for half price. However, this piece has already been twice performed to crowded houses. We shall not attempt to depreciate Mr. G - k in quality of an actor, or pretend to assert Mr. F- surpasses or equals him. The town is already very well acquainted with both their merit; and it were almost needless to say they both appear to advantage in their parts. Mrs. Y-s's person is well suited to the character, and though she is an inferior Cleopatra to Mrs. Woffington, she is not without sufficient powers to procure her applause. Upon the whole, we think this play is now better suited for the stage than the closet, as scenery, dresses, and parade strike the eye, and divert one's attention from the poet⁷⁹.

This anonymously published pamphlet, subsequently attributed to Sir John Hill in *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*, holds particular significance as it constitutes a comprehensive commentary on the play. Hill provided critiques of theatrical performances for the *London Daily Advertiser* and *Literary Gazette* starting in

PHILIP H. HIGHFILL, *A Biographical Dictionary of Actors, Actresses, Musicians, Dancers, Managers, and Other Stage Personnel in London, 1660-1800*, 12 vols. Carbondale, Southern Illinois University Press, 1973. vol. 4, pp. 70-71.

⁷⁸ See GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., p. 34.

⁷⁹ See [ANONYMOUS], *A letter to the Hon Author of the New Farce call'd the Rout*, [...], cit., pp. 35-39.

1751, adopting the pseudonym *The Inspector*, and these evaluations were subsequently released as distinct publications comprising 152 numbers. His extensive literary contributions encompassed writings for the *Gentleman's Magazine*, the *Monthly Review* (spanning the years 1744 to 1752), and contributions to *Smollett's British Magazine*. Hill authored numerous novels, emulating the narrative styles of Fielding and Smollett. Additionally, in 1755, he published a second treatise titled *The Actor*⁸⁰.

The pamphlet's author ironically acknowledged the editor's commendable regularity in punctuation but emphasised the printer's more significant contributions, including neatness, arrangement, and compositional precision. Alice Walker characterised Capell's prime calligraphic hand as refined and precise. This quality is also evident in his typographically elegant versions of *Antony and Cleopatra*, prepared for Garrick, *Prologues*, and collected edition of Shakespeare. All three works were printed by Dryden Leach, who had an interest in fine printing. However, the secret to their typographical distinction was years of planning on Capell's part⁸¹.

Despite its ironic tone and the absence of noteworthy remarks regarding staging or costumes, this pamphlet holds significance as it stands as one of the scarce contemporaneous writings on Garrick's adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra*.

Opinions expressed over the centuries subsequent to the adaptation were predominantly critical, not diverging from the other analysed above. Frederick Kilburne, for instance, conveyed the belief that *Antony and Cleopatra*, in his estimation, constituted a mere adaptation achieved through abridgment, transposition, and omission, lacking the essential qualities of a truly innovative play. According to George Odell, in 1759 Garrick faced a career setback with the staging of *Antony and Cleopatra*, investing time and money. Scene descriptions, though questioned for authenticity, reflected meticulous planning. The play's printed copy specified settings in Cleopatra's Palace and Caesar's and Lepidus' houses. The second act featured a visually elaborate scene aboard Pompey's Galley. The play navigated swiftly between Antony's Camp, a rain-soaked area between camps, and Caesar's Tent, occasionally reverting magically to the palace in Alexandria.

Odell proposes an intriguing explanation for the adaptation's failure:

⁸⁰ See GEORGE WATSON, *The New Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature 1660–1800*, 4 vols., Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1971, vol. 2, p. 806; BRIAN VICKERS, *Shakespeare: the critical heritage*, cit., vol. 4, pp. 368–373, 402–403.

⁸¹ ALICE WALKER, *Edward Capell and His Edition of Shakespeare*, cit., pp. 133–134.

As I read these antiquated stage directions, I mentally transport myself to that distant spectacle, observing a notable contrast, as Aaron Hill aptly phrases it, from what I might have seen the week prior at Drury Lane or, indeed, the week following. However, the production faced failure, possibly due to the frequent scene changes, which may have unsettled adherents of the classical unities⁸².

It is necessary to elucidate that Odell's observations underscore certain weaknesses, such as his critique of *Antony and Cleopatra* for not observing Aristotelian unities, despite the well-established success of Garrick's productions of other Shakespearean plays. Notably, Shakespeare's works did not adhere to Aristotelian unity principles as a rule. A prominent instance was *Hamlet*, which disregarded unities of space, time, and action, albeit it was regularized. While *Antony and Cleopatra* may have accentuated such "disrespect" for the unities, given Garrick's tendency to stage various Shakespearean works, thereby tempering classical strictures, it appears that the criticism regarding this deficiency was a rather feeble conclusion, particularly when considering the absence of reproach from other critics regarding this aspect.

Richard Madelaine, in the introduction to the 1998's Cambridge edition of *Antony and Cleopatra*, raised various points for consideration regarding the Capell Garrick adaptation. According to Madelaine, Garrick was drawn to the play as a platform for "spectacle and pageantry", a trend prevalent at Drury Lane and Covent Garden at the time. Additionally, the novelty of staging an unrevived Shakespeare play added to its appeal. Despite playing to full houses and receiving attendance from the Prince of Wales on two occasions, the production, as noted by prompter Richard Cross, failed to elicit significant pleasure from the audience or garner applause, despite its new dress and elaborate scenes. Other than the commissioned "new Roman Shapes" specifically for the play, William Winter observed that Garrick endowed the production with opulent scenic enhancements and meticulously ensured the correctness of the costumes, dressing the actors in authentic Roman attire. In Garrick's *Shakespeare Jubilee* of 1769, the male Egyptian attendants, including the eunuchs, were darkened in complexion and adorned in long "oriental" robes with fans, while two of them held honorific umbrellas over the protagonists during the pageant⁸³.

⁸² FREDERICK W. KILBOURNE, *Stage versions of Shakespeare before 1800*, in «Poet Lore», vol. 15, no. 1, 1904, pp. 111–122, ref at p. 121; GEORGE ODELL, *Shakespeare from Betterton to Irving*, New York, B. Blom, 1963, pp. 424–425

⁸³ WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Antony and Cleopatra*, edited by Richard Madelaine, cit., p. 32; WILLIAM WINTER, *Shakespeare on the Stage: Third Series*, New York, Blom, 1969, p. 435

The sole clues available for conjecturing about the costumes employed by Garrick in the adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra* are derived from the attire worn by participants slated to appear at the Shakespeare Jubilee pageant ten years later. While there is no explicit verification that those costumes corresponded to those of 1759, they bore resemblance to those utilised in the adaptation is a plausible presumption. In her work *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, Margaret Lamb documented the accounts found in two manuscripts and in another Jubilee narrative. These accounts explored the possible depiction of how the entrance of Antony and Cleopatra, along with their “train”, in the first act of the Capell-Garrick adaptation might have been reproduced. The well-documented Jubilee offered the possibility of a more detailed analysis of the costumes compared to the limited documentations available for the Capell-Garrick adaptation.

Two blacks blowing French horns and riding on horses; a gentleman in Persian dress with banner, four Persian guards with spears, four black men, two black boys with large fans, and Cleopatra’s barge “beautifully ornament [sic]; with Purpell sales”; two additional little black pages “holding up Cleopatra’s train, two negroes with gaudy umbrellas, and four Eunuchs at the end”⁸⁴.

The extent to which the 1769 pageant echoed the production of 1759 remains unclear, but there is a likelihood that the characters depicted in an anonymous engraving of the Jubilee were attired similarly to their counterparts from ten years prior (see appendix, plate 5). During that time, the prevailing tragic female costume often necessitated the assistance of pages to manage the train. The theatre company had ample personnel to augment any night’s presentation, boasting a total of eighty actors, dancers, and singers during the 1758-59 season. Additionally, numerous walk-ons were recruited «in the streets and alleys about Drury Lane»⁸⁵.

In a letter addressed to George Steevens, the Shakespearean editor, Garrick discussed the portrayal of the role of Antony. From Garrick’s remarks, it becomes apparent that the reception of performances improved gradually over time. This implied that the audience progressively became accustomed to and consequently accepted the new

⁸⁴ The two manuscripts mentioned by Margaret Lamb are reported as «Garrick, *The Jubilee, A Farce. Acted at Drury Lane Theatre in Oct. 1769*, Folger MS, n.p. » and «James Messink, *The Pageant of Shakespeare Jubilee in the Year 1770*, Folger MS, n.p. »; see MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, cit., pp. 46-47. The narrative of the Jubilee from «Lloyd’s Evening Post», October 13-16, 1769, is quoted in CHRISTIAN DEELMAN, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee*, cit., pp. 166-167.

⁸⁵ See MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, cit., pp. 46-47.

elements introduced. In essence, Garrick appeared to be guiding the audience, familiarizing them with a novel style, including aspects such as costumes and decor.

Have you Ever thought of any Play unreviv'd in Shakespeare, that would bring Credit to us well decorated & carefully got up?—What think you of Rich^d 2^d? or of the rest? —An^y & Cleopatra I reviv'd some years ago, when I & Mrs. Yates were Younger—it gain'd ground Every time it was play'd, but I grew Tir'd, & gave it up, —the part was laborious— I should be glad to Employ our Painter upon some capital Creditable Performance⁸⁶.

Garrick's fatigue likely coincided with his illness towards the end of the run and his portrayal as Antony received limited acclaim. Garrick's assertion seems plausible: while the play garnered increasing appreciation with each performance, he may have grown weary of the demanding role. Undoubtedly, on the last night he portrayed it, he was in a suboptimal physical condition, as evidenced by his letter to Wilson on May 20, 1759: «I was so ill & Weak with a kind of bilious Colick when I play'd Anthony, that I was not in a condition the next morn'g to do half my Business, that I should have done⁸⁷». Steevens responded to Garrick's letter in the following manner:

As to King Richard the Second, it is surely the most uninteresting and flattest of all the number. A few splendid passages will not maintain a play on the stage. For my own part I had rather see any of the parts of King Henry the Fourth... Surely Troilus and Cressida would do more, if it were well clipped and decorated. Quin played Thersites with success; and what has once pleased may please again. Your Antony and Cleopatra was a splendid performance; but you were out of love with it because it afforded you few opportunities of showing those sharp turns and that coachmanship in which you excel all others⁸⁸.

Despite his delivery being described by Davies as «easy and familiar, yet forcible», which may be perceived as fitting for the role by modern audiences, it deviated stylistically from the older declamatory approach and emphasised volatility, particularly in swift emotional transitions. However, Garrick's contemporaries appeared to view his

⁸⁶ Regarding Steevens' life and career, see MICHAEL DOBSON, *The Oxford Companion to Shakespeare*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2001; THOMAS DAVIES, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, cit., vol. 1, p. 40; GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., p. 36; The letter from Garrick to Steevens available at the Folger Library, Holograph letter separately bound, 2075 ms. Such paper is reported in *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ Letter Garrick to Wilson on May 20, 1759, available at the Folger Library, Case I, 7,621³; see *Ibid.*

modest stature as a disadvantage in this specific role, and even personally, he expressed a dislike for Roman costumes due to their failure to complement his “slight” figure⁸⁹.

In a commentary published no more than 73 years after the adaptation, John Genest asserted: «Garrick revived this play with all the advantages of new scenes, habits, and decorations, but it did not answer his expectation –his own person was not sufficiently important for Antony; and Mrs. Yates had not perhaps at this time displayed abilities equal to the representation of Shakspeare’s best female character, Lady Macbeth excepted⁹⁰».

In alignment with Genest’s perspective, Joseph Knight’s commentary provides further insight.

The year 1759 opened in fact with Antony and Cleopatra, which Capell, Shakspeare’s Editor, had merely abridged for his friend Garrick. Antony was not much to the great actor’s mind, for reasons which Mr. Steevens long after suggested to him; "being deficient in those short turns and coachmanship" in which he excelled all men⁹¹.

These observations underscore that the primary factors contributing to the unfavourable reception of the adaptation were associated with the performances of Garrick’s chosen actors, including his own portrayal, as well as Garrick’s physical stature.

Davies, not only relevant scholar but also member of the cast, similarly expressed reservations about, the actor portraying Enobarbus, who «wanted the essential part of Enobarbus, humour⁹²». Davies’ criticism of the actor in question revolved around his inability to effectively portray the comedic aspects of Enobarbus.

Whether expressed positively or negatively, both contemporaries and later critics consistently echo a common observation about Garrick: his stature was universally perceived as short. Syllas Neville remarked, «He is a little man» «but handsome and full of that fire which marks the stronger, and of the softness natural to the tender passions». Frank Hedgcock reported the obituary notice published in *The Whitehall Evening Post* on March 17th, 1779: «David Garrick, Esq, was in figure low, pleasing, manly, genteel, and

⁸⁹ See *Ibid.*; for the answer of Steevens to the first letter cited see JAMES BOADEN, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the Most Celebrated Persons of His Time*, cit., vol. 2, p. 122, no date is reported, only the heading “Tuesday night”.

⁹⁰ See JOHN GENEST, *Some Account of the English Stage: From the Restoration in 1660 to 1890*, cit., vol. 4, pp. 544–547.

⁹¹ See JAMES BOADEN, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the Most Celebrated Persons of His Time*, cit., vol. 1, p. XXXV.

⁹² See THOMAS DAVIES, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, cit., vol. 2, p. 368.

elegant. He had every requisite to fit him for every character his limbs were pliant, his features ductile and expressive, and his eye keen, quick, and obedient, versant to all occasions and places». According to Frederick and Lise-Lone Marker, Garrick effectively offset his modest height and somewhat substantial facial features through his remarkable physical grace, flexibility, adept mimicry, and the compelling intensity of his penetrating gaze. Celestine Woo claimed that undeterred by his perceived physical disadvantages, Garrick, in an effort to overcome his stature, boldly donned high-heeled shoes and leveraged his unremarkable facial features to an unprecedented advantage. Kalnam Burnim documented a compelling anecdote concerning Garrick's response to critiques regarding his height. Garrick, always sensitive to critical scrutiny and aware of his vulnerability to ridicule, faced frequent attacks from wits like Samuel Foote. Anticipating potential criticisms for his upcoming production of *Macbeth*, which promised to deviate both in text and concept from previous renditions, Garrick sought to pre-emptively deflect these critiques. In a strategic move, he authored a satirical pamphlet against his own intentions, acknowledging his fear of ridicule. Published anonymously as *An Essay on Acting*, the pamphlet delves into the mimical behaviour of a purportedly faulty actor, addressing the laudability of critical proceedings. Additionally, it includes a short criticism on his portrayal of Macbeth. This essay, while showcasing some of Garrick's most engaging writing, also provides intriguing insights into the production of *Macbeth*. Adopting the persona of a petulant critic, Garrick criticises nearly every aspect of the projected *Macbeth*, humorously questioning his own physical qualifications, particularly his small stature, for portraying the six-foot Scottish king⁹³.

In addition to the historical fact that Garrick, standing at 5.6 feet, exceeded the average height of the contemporary British male population at 5.4 feet, it is intriguing to explore the notion that his failure to align with the audience's expectations for the stature linked to a leading character might have played a role in receiving negative assessments. However, it is crucial to underscore that this perceived shortfall is by no means the exclusive reason for the overall failure of the production. Although the majority of critics contended that Garrick effectively compensated for his stature through his acting abilities,

⁹³ See GEORGE W. STONE, *David Garrick: a critical biography*, cit., p. 336; FRANK A. HEDGCOCK, *A Cosmopolitan Actor: David Garrick and his French Friends*, cit., p. 55; FREDERICK and LISE-LONE MARKER, *Actors and their repertory*, cit., p. 97; CELESTINE WOO, *Romantic Actors and Bardolatry Performing Shakespeare from Garrick to Kean*, cit., p. 26; KALNAM A. BURNIM, *David Garrick Director*, cit., p. 105.

the evaluation of his physical appearance is just one facet contributing to the broader reception of the production⁹⁴.

It must be confessed, that, in Antony, he wanted one necessary accomplishment; his person was not sufficiently important and commanding to represent the part. There is more dignity of action than variety of passion in the character, though it is not deficient in the latter. The actor, who is obliged continually to traverse the stage, should from person attract respect, as well as from the power of speech. Mrs. Yates was then a young actress, and had not manifested such proofs of genius, and such admirable elocution, as she has since displayed; but her fine figure and pleasing manner of speaking were well adapted to the enchanting Cleopatra⁹⁵.

While the role of Antony is generally considered to be less intricate and demanding compared to the counterpart of Cleopatra, actors spanning from David Garrick to Anthony Hopkins have frequently faced criticism. Such disapproval often centres on their perceived failure to embody the requisite heroic stature or, conversely, was attributed to instances of hollow posturing during their portrayals. The audience gradually embraced the adaptation due to its deviation from conventional norms, but unfortunately, Garrick became disenchanted, «grew Tir'd, & gave it up⁹⁶». This sentiment did not necessarily indicate incompetence on his part. The historical inaccuracy of Garrick's purported short stature, as evidenced above, suggested an underlying issue: his performance likely lacked the grandeur characteristic of classical tragedy, possibly rendering him less imposing. Garrick's portrayal of Antony assumed a more bourgeois demeanour, leading to a perceived diminishment in stature compared to the grandiosity expected in classical tragedy. It is noteworthy that the critique of Garrick's shortcomings in the provided excerpt, particularly his disjointed movements, deviating from the customary elegance of tragic roles, added depth to the analysis⁹⁷.

The prevailing belief among Garrick's commentators, including the anonymous author of the *Letter to the Hon Author of the New Farce call'd the Rout [...]*, and later

⁹⁴ See PETER THOMSON, *Garrick, David (1717–1779), actor and playwright*, cit., p. 5. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10408>, (Accessed 7 March 2024); TIMOTHY J. HATTON, *How have Europeans grown so tall?*, «Oxford Economic Papers», vol. 66, no. 2, 2014, pp. 349–372; HANNALIIS JAADLA, *Height and health in late eighteenth-century England*, «Population studies», vol. 75, no. 3, 2021, pp. 381–40.

⁹⁵ See THOMAS DAVIES, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, cit., pp. 368–369.

⁹⁶ The excerpt is derived from the correspondence sent by Garrick to Steevens, see THOMAS DAVIES, *Dramatic Miscellanies*, cit., vol. 1, p. 40; GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., p. 36.

⁹⁷ See WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *Antony and Cleopatra*, edited by Michael Neill, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 45.

critics such as Knight, Brano, and Rutter, among others, is that *All for Love* was so popular that it maintained an almost undisputed possession of the stage from the Restoration until well into the nineteenth century. Brano reported that «Garrick was determined to return Shakespeare's play to the forefront, but, as I have shown, he grew frustrated with his production in part because of the spectre of Dryden's play⁹⁸». Exemplifying this perspective is the assertion made by Carol Chillington Rutter.

There is no record (except for six disastrous performances by David Garrick in 1759) of Shakespeare's play in the theatre until 1849, and then only in radically cut and re-arranged versions. The Restoration didn't know what to make of Antony and Cleopatra. They performed John Dryden's *All for Love* instead, and as late as the 1830s what passed for Antony and Cleopatra was actually a mash-up of Dryden's play and Shakespeare's⁹⁹.

Contrary to this thesis, both Margaret Lamb and George W. Stone concur that after 1759, *All for Love* did not replace *Antony and Cleopatra* on the stage: according to MacMillan's *Drury Lane Calendar*, Dryden's play had infrequent performances in the second half of the century. According to Stone *All for Love*, although popular during the Restoration and the early eighteenth century, was only performed six times at Drury Lane from 1747 to 1800 and merely twice during Garrick's entire term of management. Throughout the last fifty years of the eighteenth century, it was staged at Covent Garden only sixteen times—a record that does not align with the popularity standards of the eighteenth century. In 1793, Davies observed in his *Dramatic Miscellanies* that *All for Love* had gradually descended into oblivion since the era of Wilks, Booth, and Cibber.

As the records of the theatre have shown if any play displaced Garrick's production of *Antony and Cleopatra* from the stage, it was Murphy's *Orphan of China* rather than Dryden's *All for Love*. The debut of *The Orphan of China* to London audiences occurred on December 19th, 1755, as evidenced by advertisements promoting an anonymously translated version of the play. Following these initial advertisements, subsequent promotions ensued, leading to significant success for the translation. It underwent three London editions and one Dublin edition in 1756 alone, indicating its popularity among readers and suggesting potential appeal to theatregoers. Thomas

⁹⁸ See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit., p. 77

⁹⁹ See JOSEPH KNIGHT, *David Garrick*, cit., pp. 170–7 CAROL CHILLINGTON RUTTER, *Antony and Cleopatra. Shakespeare in Performance*, Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2020, p. 3.

Francklin's publication of a translation, accompanied by a dedication to David Garrick, reflected a belief in the play's theatrical prospects. Despite this Garrick showed indifference to Francklin's overtures. Nevertheless, Arthur Murphy, a protege of Colley Cibber, presented Garrick with another adaptation of *The Orphan of China* in November 1756. Though Garrick did not immediately embrace Murphy's proposal, he did not outright reject it either. Over the subsequent two and a half years, Murphy diligently revised the play and garnered support for its production, enlisting the patronage of figures such as Horace Walpole and Henry Fox. Ultimately, Murphy arranged for the play to be assessed by William Whitehead, the newly appointed poet laureate, who would serve as an arbiter of its artistic merit and suitability for the stage. After extensive dramaturgical revisions and months of casting challenges, Murphy's tragedy finally debuted on April 21st, 1759. David Garrick had hoped for *The Orphan of China* to become another vehicle for his theatrical stardom. No doubt it achieved great success at Drury Lane, turning out to be the most successful tragedy of the season¹⁰⁰.

Murphy's *Orphan of China* possessed a romantic novelty in its subject matter, which was gaining popularity, and it also benefited from the support of Voltaire's play *L'Orphelin de la Chine*, written in 1755, the year before Murphy's masterpiece. Pekin was more unfamiliar to the eighteenth-century audience compared to Rome or Alexandria. When the «Universal Magazine» provided an account of the production of Murphy's play and of Garrick's notable success later in that season, it included a quotation from the prologue to the *Orphan of China*: «Enough of Greece and Rome. Th' exhausted store Of either nation now can charm no more, Ev'n adventitious helps in vain we try. Our triumphs languish in the public eye, And grave processions, musically slow, Here pass unheeded, — as a Lord Mayor's shew¹⁰¹» The prologue, penned by William Whitehead, the poet laureate, can be seen as an allusion to the languid «grave processions» of *Antony and Cleopatra*. Classical antiquity, as a theme for theatrical

¹⁰⁰ See ELAINE MCGIRR, *New Lines: Mary Ann Yates, The Orphan of China, and the New She-tragedy*, «ABO: Interactive Journal for Women in the Arts, 1640-1830», vol. 8, no. 2, 2008, pp. 1–16, ref. at pp.1-2, 5.

¹⁰¹ The prologue to *The Orphan of China* present in the Universal Magazine's account of the new play is reported by Stone. See GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick's Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., p. 36.

grandeur, seemed “exhausted” — at least temporarily; Garrick and Mrs. Yates achieved success with more exotic productions¹⁰².

The synthesis of contemporary opinions regarding the failure of the Capell-Garrick adaptation points to three potential reasons for the discontinuation of a play that, despite proving to be above the average in popularity, faced challenges. Firstly, a group of critics, who were deemed hostile, and their impact on the always sensitive manager could have been a contributing factor; secondly, the prevailing sentiment that Garrick did not have the opportunity to showcase his talents as he did in roles like Richard III, Macbeth, Lear, and Hamlet, primarily due to his perceived small stature and to the nature of the part of Antony; additionally, the need to share the spotlight with Cleopatra was considered a possible hindrance for Garrick¹⁰³.

The Orphan of China was less demanding for a manager than *Antony and Cleopatra*, as it adhered to the unities of time, place, and action. Garrick and Mrs. Yates found success in their roles as Zamti and Mandane. It is, perhaps, natural but somewhat unfortunate that subsequent producers have predominantly viewed *Antony and Cleopatra* through the lens of spectacle rather than interpretation of character. According to Stone, a modern production, with the right actors, could present it excellently, easily overcoming the challenge of scene changes. Such an endeavour would be a worthy trial and a triumph for the successful manager. Credit must be given to Garrick for being the first to stage the play after Shakespeare’s time. While Garrick’s high ideal might not have been philological and only gradually appreciated by his audience, critics who label his *Antony and Cleopatra* a failure, must acknowledge that he never played it to an empty theatre¹⁰⁴.

The transformation evident in the adaptation of *Antony and Cleopatra* unmistakably embodied a process of bourgeoisification. It is pertinent to clarify that, irrespective of whether Garrick exerted influence over Capell in altering Shakespeare’s text, it was Garrick who ultimately selected Capell as the adapter. Capell was aware of the nature of Garrick’s transformative agenda in his Shakespearean adaptations. Given Garrick’s widespread renown throughout Europe during this period, his intentions were

¹⁰² See *Ibid.*, pp. 36–37; DOUGLAND MACMILLAN, *Drury Lane Calendar*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1938, p. 201; MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, cit., p. 51; [ANONYMOUS], «The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure», *For May 1759*, vol. 24, no. 167, p. 246.

¹⁰³ See GEORGE W. STONE, *Garrick’s Presentation of Antony and Cleopatra*, cit., p. 37.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

unequivocal. The years from 1756 onwards epitomised the apex of Garrick's career, encompassing his roles both as an actor and as a director. By 1758, David Garrick was 42 years old and had already established himself as a significant figure in the theatrical world for a considerable period. It is worth noting that 17 years had elapsed since his acclaimed portrayal of Richard III. Renowned not only for his acting prowess but also for his adept management skills, Garrick exercised firm control over his productions, ensuring that adaptors adhered to his vision. In other words, it seems evident that he selected the adapter who aligned most closely with his artistic sensibilities¹⁰⁵.

¹⁰⁵ See KALNAM A. BURNIM, *David Garrick Director*, cit., pp. 11–12, 25–26.

CHAPTER 4

THE BIRTH OF CELEBRATION: GARRICK'S SHAKESPEARE JUBILEE

As we anticipated, the characters of Antony and Cleopatra, analysed in the preceding chapter, made a subsequent appearance several years after Garrick's adaptation of their eponymous play. After the adaptation staged in 1759, these characters resurfaced in the pageant of the 1769 Shakespeare Jubilee. The fact that Garrick chose to include Antony and Cleopatra among the characters featured in the jubilee also indicates the significance of his efforts in staging Antony and Cleopatra. This decision not only aligned with his celebration of Shakespeare but also served as a form of self-promotion, as commemorating Shakespeare effectively reinforced his own association with the Shakespearean repertoire. Moreover, Garrick's choice to include Antony and Cleopatra in the Jubilee pageant suggests that the adaptation was not as much of a complete failure as some critics believe. In the pageant, Garrick had the freedom to include whatever he wished, as it was not a text that needed to adhere to the constraints of a Shakespearean adaptation. Consequently, he opted to incorporate elements that served the purpose of celebration. The decision to include the characters of Antony and Cleopatra provides insights into the significance of the 1758/1759 adaptation within the history of Shakespearean revival, the importance of the text in Garrick's career, and its success.

David Garrick's orchestration of Jubilee stands out as a significant milestone in the history of Stratford-upon-Avon. By that time, Garrick had already established himself as one of the foremost actors of his era, enjoying widespread acclaim. The Shakespeare Jubilee was fundamentally designed as a celebration marking the inauguration of Stratford's new Town Hall. As part of his contribution to the town, Garrick had prearranged the donation of a statue of William Shakespeare, with the intention of unveiling it concurrently with the opening of the Town Hall. Following this gesture, Garrick actively engaged in planning additional entertainment to complement the occasion, among which the aforementioned pageant.

Originally intended for the Jubilee in Stratford, Garrick's pageant experienced a relocation to London due to unfavourable weather conditions. It ultimately evolved into Garrick's principal production, aptly titled *The Jubilee*. This composition garnered significant acclaim, with some of its popularity attributed to the numerous references to Shakespeare, featuring nineteen scenes from his plays. Following the commemorations in Stratford, *The Jubilee* was restaged multiple times, proving to be a cost-effective endeavour that primarily required *décor* and costume renovation. Furthermore, this pageant was intricately linked to the reputation of Garrick, underscoring his astute management of resources in staging the play, which concurrently garnered acclaim from the audience. Garrick's career is effectively encapsulated by *The Jubilee*, which not only highlights his compositional prowess but also underscores his managerial acumen, especially through the execution of his most significant organisational achievement. This work served as a tribute to Garrick's profound dedication to Shakespeare, emphasising his exceptional acting skills that positioned him as the most celebrated actor of the century. The chief attraction of the piece was the procession of festooned and berobed Shakespearean characters, appearing in brief scenes and accompanied by dancers and musicians; there were 217 people in the parade¹.

Despite the Stratford Jubilee being perceived as a fiasco, this event held considerable importance and relevance for Garrick's career. Several reasons underscore the significance of dedicating an analysis to the Shakespeare Jubilee: the theatrical pageant *The Jubilee* was staged numerous times, firmly connecting Garrick's image with Shakespeare; the Shakespeare Jubilee left an indelible mark on Garrick's legacy, and it marked the initiation of the centenary commemorations of Shakespeare. Regrettably for those critical of him, David Garrick set in motion a sequence of events that reached its zenith in the celebrations of 1964 for the 400th anniversary of the birth of William Shakespeare. Motivated by a blend of vanity and admiration for the bard, he aimed to establish a lasting association between his name and Shakespeare's.

¹ See CHRISTIAN DEELMAN, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee*, cit., p. 89; PAOLA DEGLI ESPOSTI, *La tensione prerregistica. La sperimentazione teatrale di Philippe-Jacques De Louthembourg*, cit., pp. 102–105; CELESTINE WOO, *Romantic Actors and Bardolatry Performing Shakespeare from Garrick to Kean*, cit., p. 34.

4.1 Garrick's Stratford overture: the operations culminating in the Shakespeare Jubilee

In the months subsequent to the official announcement in May 1769 of the Shakespeare Jubilee, the newspaper campaign had reached an extraordinary culmination. Initial expressions in the form of poems and satirical remarks began to emerge, eventually dominating the printed pages. Various sentiments were conveyed, with some individuals deriding the event while others expressed admiration. The public spectacle of Garrick commemorating his association with Shakespeare captivated widespread attention. A representative summary of the initial feedback appeared in an anonymous poem in August.

The Wise of Avon, by shrewd deputation;
Presented to Garrick their wooden donation;
And wish'd, as I'm told
It had been all of gold.
My good Friends, said he,
It is all one to me,
Tho' the box be cut of a mulberry tree;
For 'tis just the same thing,
Tho' itself be not gold, if but gold it will bring.

The Mayor of Stratford, in strange agitation,
T'have miss'd being' prenic'd to such a vocation,
Replied, would your Actorship teach us the way
We are apt and don't doubt that our parts we could play.
The trunk of the tree we would bring on our backs,
Lop the boughs, stack the roots, and you still should go snacks.
Enough, Friends, says he,
Bring the mulberry tree,
And I will ensure you a fine Jubilee².

The inception of the intricate plans that culminated in the Shakespeare Jubilee can be traced back to the deteriorating condition of the Town Hall in Stratford-upon-Avon. This particular building, notable for being the sole venue in the town where an authentic play by Shakespeare had been staged, was in a state of disrepair. Faced with the need for urgent repairs, assessments were conducted to estimate the associated costs. The projected expenses proved to be prohibitively high, leading to a decision to dismantle the unstable structure entirely and embark on a reconstruction process. In 1767, the

² *Ibid.*, pp. 74–75. The anonymous poem appeared in «The London Chronicle», August 15th–17th, 1769. Cited in *Ibid.*

construction of a new town hall commenced in Stratford. Francis Wheler, the Steward of the Court of Records, who was then residing in London, proposed a significant idea on November 28th to William Hunt, the Town Clerk. Wheler suggested allowing him to approach David Garrick through a mutual friend, George Keate, though not explicitly mentioned in the following letter, to request a statue of Shakespeare for the niche in the north gable of the town hall. Garrick received this private request enthusiastically. Wheler served as the intermediary, providing information on matters such as the size of the niche, the colour of the building, the way the light fell. In December of the following year, the burgesses of Stratford formally conveyed their official request³.

Sir,

The old Town Hall of Stratford on Avon where you very well know Shakespear was born & lies buried hath this present year been rebuilt by the Corporation assisted by a liberal Contribution from the Nobility & Gentry in the Neighbourhood; The lower part of the Building is used as a Market place & is of great benefit to the poorer sort of people, Over it is a Handsom Assembly room — It woud be a Reflection on the Town of Stratford to have any publick Building erected Here without some Ornamental Memorial of their immortal Townsman, And the Corporation woud be happy in receiving from your hands some Statue Bust or Picture of him to be placed within this Building, they woud be equally pleased to have some Picture of yourself that the Memory of both may be perpetuated together in that place wch gave him birth & where he still lives in the mind of every Inhabitant —The Corporation of Stratford ever desirous of Expressing their Gratitude to all who do Honour & Justice to the Memory of Shakespeare, & highly sensible that no person in any Age hath Excelled you therein woud think themselves much honoured if you woud become one of their Body; Tho' this Borough doth not now send Members to Parliament perhaps the Inhabitants may not be the less Virtuous, And to render the Freedom of such a place the more acceptable to you the Corporation propose to send it in a Box made of that very Mulberry tree planted by Shakespears own hand — The Story of that valuable Relick is too long to be here inserted, but Mr. Keate who is so obliging as to convey this to you will acquaint you therewith & the Writer hereof flatters himself it will afford you some Entertainment, & at the same time convince you that the Inhabitants of Stratford are worthy of your Notice⁴.

Keate dutifully delivered the letter to Garrick, who responded with genuine delight. The suggestion that his portrait should be displayed alongside Shakespeare's was

³ See MARTHA W. ENGLAND, *Garrick's Jubilee*, Columbus, Ohio State University Press, 1964, p. 11; CHRISTIAN DEELMAN, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee*, cit., p. 58.

⁴ Letter from Mr. Wheler to Mr. Garrick, Brick Court, no. 1, Middle Temple, December 6th, 1768. See JAMES BOADEN, *The Private Correspondence of David Garrick with the Most Celebrated Persons of His Time*, cit., vol. 1, pp. 322–323. According to Deelman, «Boaden prints an incorrect version, wrongly dating it 1768; this has misled later writers to a considerable extent», and he dates the letter back to December 1767, see CHRISTIAN DEELMAN, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee*, cit., p. 61.

deemed a stroke of genius. This concept alone, even without the offer of Freedom, would have guaranteed Garrick's cooperation. The prospect of having his fame perpetually linked with that of Shakespeare, whom he genuinely believed to be more talented than himself in his innermost thoughts, was a compelling incentive. Garrick exhibited no hesitation when the vacant niche was discussed. According to Deelman, he appeared touched and pleased by the proposal, finding it not only gratifying but also inspiring. Later, when filing away the letter, he annotated the back with the words: «The Steward of Stratford's letter to me which produc'd ye Jubilee⁵». At that moment, he refrained from expressing his thoughts; it remained merely an idea. Much was left unresolved beyond his general readiness to contribute to the new Town Hall, with the notion of two matched portraits—one of Shakespeare and the other of himself. The prospect of becoming a Freeman would undoubtedly have pleased him. As Keate departed, Garrick's ever-active mind lingered on thoughts of Shakespeare, Stratford, and the new Town Hall⁶.

Another pivotal figure in the initiation of the Jubilee deserves mention—George Steevens. He participated in a crucial event in 1767 in Stratford, namely a dinner attended by prominent members of the Town Hall, including individuals such as Hunt and Wheler. Discussions during this gathering revolved around ideas concerning the new building, and Steevens contributed by proposing a concept similar to Wheler's, which involved incorporating Garrick into the plan given their close friendship. While Steevens's idea might have catalysed the entire affair had the dinner occurred earlier, Deelman observes that by the time of the gathering Wheler had already initiated the necessary proceedings. By the time of January 1768, David Garrick had not revealed any plans for a celebration at Stratford, although the concept of the Jubilee might have already been germinating in his thoughts. However, George Steevens was the first to hint at a Jubilee, expressing his intention to organise an event if the Town Hall's construction was completed. Steevens proposed to William Hunt such a celebration with a new oration and musical performance, all for the benefit of the building. Although this idea did not materialise, it is noteworthy that Garrick, after deciding to arrange his own Jubilee, incorporated a prominent feature—a spoken ode to Shakespeare with musical accompaniment. This innovative approach stirred considerable interest. Steevens's initial suggestion, though

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 61

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

ultimately eclipsed by Garrick's efforts, may have influenced the spoken recitative aspect of the Jubilee. Hunt surely took note of Steevens's idea. This suggestion likely reached Garrick during discussions about the Town Hall's opening and potentially served as the embryonic seed for the entire Jubilee festival⁷.

Garrick contemplated the optimal way to capitalise on the forthcoming presentation news. Between November 1768 and May 1769, his ideas crystallised, influenced potentially by Hunt's account of Steevens's plans. Garrick decided to commemorate the presentation by announcing a celebration—an assembly in honour of Shakespeare (and himself)—to be convened in Stratford at the end of the summer. The notion had been percolating in his mind for several years, and with his reputation at its zenith, he saw this as the opportune moment to extol Shakespeare's virtues. Acknowledging the bard publicly seemed not only proper just but also an excellent opportunity to establish an illustrious connection between his name and Shakespeare's. The innovative aspect of this decision lay in the choice of Stratford as the venue, despite its considerable distance and logistical challenges. However, the inauguration of the new Town Hall presented an ideal occasion that dispelled any reservations. Garrick proposed that the official opening of the Town Hall, coinciding with the statue unveiling, should be commemorated with an event befitting the occasion. Assuring the Council that they would incur no costs or efforts, he offered to bring an exclusive and fashionable audience to Stratford. Garrick submitted preliminary ideas, and captivated by the prospect of Stratford assuming a prominent role in the public eye, the Council enthusiastically agreed. The concept of the Jubilee was officially endorsed, although specific details were yet to be ironed out, with plans to address them in the ensuing months. The announcement of the plan coincided with the presentation of the Freedom, and the Jubilee itself was slated to transpire at the commencement of September 1769⁸.

In May 1769, Francis Wheler and George Keate visited David Garrick's residence in the Adelphi, where they bestowed upon him the Freedom of Stratford enclosed in a chest crafted from mulberry wood. By the time Garrick disclosed his closely guarded intention to organise a Shakespeare Jubilee in Stratford, he had already invested a year and a half in meticulous planning. Immediately following the presentation, even before

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 63–64, 66–67.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 72–73.

crafting a formal response to Stratford, Garrick swiftly dispatched an announcement to the newspapers. *The St. James's Chronicle*, in its edition from May 6th to 9th, reported on the conferment of the Freedom and proceeded to make the inaugural announcement of the Jubilee. This information was rapidly disseminated as other newspapers and magazines promptly reprinted the item. After quoting the letter that accompanied the chest, the reports elaborated on the matter:

In consequence of the above, a jubilee in honour and to the memory of Shakespeare will be appointed at Stratford the beginning of September next, to be kept up every seventh year. Mr. Garrick, at the particular request of the Corporation and gentlemen of the neighbourhood, has accepted the stewardship. At the first jubilee, a large handsome edifice, lately erected in Stratford by subscription, will be named Shakespeare's Hall, and dedicated to his memory⁹.

After the official press release sent by Garrick to the London papers, only the most rudimentary contours of the Jubilee idea were discernible. Although September had been designated, a definitive date had not been established. The annual closure of the two major theatres, Drury Lane and Covent Garden, during the summer months, provided an opportune period for Garrick to make this public revelation as he bid farewell to his audience until the September reopening. On the 18th of May, Garrick concluded his performances for the season, incorporating in the epilogue a poetic invitation for the audience to accompany him to Stratford. Subsequently, on May 23rd, Drury Lane shuttered for the summer.

My eyes till then no sight like this will see,
Unless we meet at Shakespeare's jubilee
On Avon's banks, where flowers eternal blow;
Like its full stream our gratitude shall flow.
There let us revel, show our fond regard;
On that loved spot first breathed our matchless bard.
To him all honour, gratitude is due.
To him we owe our all—to him and you¹⁰.

As September drew near, an increasing amount of details accumulated, leading to confusion in the town of Stratford. Permission from the Duke of Dorset allowed the

⁹ See MARTHA W. ENGLAND, *Garrick's Jubilee*, cit., pp. 11. Deelman before quoting the announcement claims: «The text given here is from *The London Magazine*, XXXVIII (May 1769), p. 274. It appeared first in *The St. James's Chronicle*, May 6–9, 1769. Previous writers who place the first announcement in June are wrong», see CHRISTIAN DEELMAN, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee*, cit., p. 74.

¹⁰ See *Ibid.*, p. 101; MARTHA W. ENGLAND, *Garrick's Jubilee*, cit., p. 12.

felling of a hundred trees along the Avon, and plans were in motion for a grand amphitheatre modelled after the rotunda at Ranelagh. Along the Avon, around thirty cannons, coehorns, and mortars were positioned to be fired as signals at the commencement of the festival and at various intervals throughout the three-day celebration. Domenico Angelo, a close friend of Garrick, arrived from London with two wagon loads of lamps borrowed from Drury Lane and a set of fireworks intended for the Jubilee's display¹¹. In August, Garrick's friend Joseph Cradock visited Stratford and was dismayed by the disorganisation he encountered in the small town just two weeks before the festival's commencement¹². Meanwhile, in London, Garrick and both his literary and theatrical friends were blissfully unaware of the disorganization and were eagerly anticipating the upcoming Jubilee¹³.

4.2 *The three-day Shakespeare Jubilee festivities*

On the morning of Wednesday, September 6th, 1769, the town of Stratford-upon-Avon was awakened at 6 am by a salvo from 30 cannons positioned along the banks of the river Avon¹⁴. Following the cessation of cannon fire, appointed bell ringers ensured everyone was awake by ringing the bells. A musical contingent from the Warwickshire Militia marched through the streets, accompanied by a troupe of singers and musicians led by the composer Charles Dibdin. This ensemble serenaded the more distinguished

¹¹ Domenico Angelo Malevolti Tremamondo, a fencing and equitation teacher, played a crucial role as a special effects expert at Drury Lane and became one of Garrick's closest advisors. His diverse experiences included living in Venice, where he learned about using transparent scenes, and in Paris, where he met Philip de Louthembourg, a master of coloured stage lighting. Tremamondo settled in London as a fencing master, having royal princes as pupils. His innovative model theatre, incorporating European devices, caught Garrick's attention, leading to Tremamondo's swift inclusion in the Drury Lane team. See CHRISTIAN DEELMAN, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee*, cit., pp. 110–116.

¹² Representative of this situation was the town's incapacity to meet the surge in visitor numbers. The heightened demand for accommodations resulted in the complete booking of the town's only inn. To address the situation, residents took advantage of the opportunity by renting out rooms, thereby making a modest fortune. Despite these efforts, a substantial number of visitors were compelled to spend the night in their carriages due to the overwhelming demand for lodgings, underscoring the challenges faced by the host city in managing the influx of attendees. See *Ibid.*

¹³ BROOKS MCNAMARA, *The Stratford Jubilee: Dram to Garrick's Vanity*, in «Educational Theatre Journal», vol. 14, no. 2, 1962, pp. 135–140, ref. at p. 136.

¹⁴ In this section, a chronicle of the three-day celebration at the Shakespeare Jubilee is presented, drawing extensively from Deelman's meticulous and detailed hourly account. The information and data encapsulated herein have been sourced from his scholarly work. See CHRISTIAN DEELMAN, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee*, cit., pp. 176–257.

guests at their windows, including a dawn serenade for David Garrick and his wife, Eva Maria, who were lodging at the residence of the Town Clerk, William Hunt. Concurrently, handbills printed in Stratford were distributed door-to-door, disseminating information about the day's scheduled events (see appendix, plate 6).

The Mayor of Stratford, John Meacham, along with his Aldermen and Burgesses, convened in the ancient Guildhall to appoint the new Mayor for the upcoming year, Nathaniel Cooke. Subsequently, they proceeded to march to the Town Hall. As advertised by the handbills, a public breakfast commenced at 9 am within the Town Hall, marking the official opening of the Jubilee. This event was exclusive to Jubilee ticket holders. During the breakfast, William Hunt presented David Garrick with a wand and medallion crafted from mulberry wood, designating him as the inaugural Steward of the Jubilee. Thomas Davies noted the presence of «many persons of the highest quality and rank», along with «some of the most celebrated beauties of the age, and men distinguished for their genius and love of the elegant arts»¹⁵.

The occasion also featured the introduction of specially commissioned Jubilee ribbons and medals. Outside, the regimental band of the Warwickshire Militia played marches and martial music on fife and drum. They presented the first official performance of *A Warwickshire Lad*, composed specifically for the Jubilee, which gained widespread popularity and still remains the regimental march of the Royal Warwickshire Regiment¹⁶.

Following the conclusion of the breakfast, attendees holding tickets proceeded to Holy Trinity Church, accompanied by a sizable crowd of onlookers without tickets. Along the meadows beside the river, various traveling side shows had erected their booths. Within the church, the entire orchestra from Drury Lane, conducted by Dr. Thomas Arne, had assembled to perform Arne's Oratorio, *Judith*. A procession commenced through the town, led by the tenor Joseph Vernon and an accompanying band. Advancing through Old Town and onto Henley Street, the procession congregated in front of the birthplace of Shakespeare, delivering a specially prepared chorus. The march then continued

¹⁵ See THOMAS DAVIES, *Memoirs of the Life of David Garrick, Esq.*, cit., vol. 2, p. 221.

¹⁶ The compilation of verse and memorabilia, featuring songs and poetry crafted specifically for the Jubilee is also available online. See DAVID GARRICK, *Shakespeare's garland: Being a collection of new songs, ballads, roundelays, catches, glees, comic-serenatas, &c. Performed at the jubille [sic] at Sratford [sic] upon Avon. The musick by Dr. Arne, Mr. Barthelimon, Mr. Ailwood, and Mr. Dibdin*, London, T. Becket, and P. A. de Hondt, 1769, Eighteenth Century Collection Online, University of Michigan, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=ecco;idno=004901734.0001.000>, (Accessed 7 March 2024).

through the town and descended to the Rotunda on the Bancroft. At this juncture, some individuals retraced their steps to the church to place flowers on Shakespeare's grave. These two components of the Jubilee have endured as integral aspects of the annual celebrations in Stratford, commemorating Shakespeare's birthday.

Approximately 700 guests gathered within the Rotunda for dinner, which was eventually served at 4 pm. The Drury Lane band made another appearance, this time in the balustraded orchestra area within the Rotunda. Renowned singers Joseph Vernon and Sophia Baddeley delivered performances. James Boswell, who attended the Jubilee, remarked that Garrick was «all life and spirit, joining in the chorus, and humouring every part with his expressive looks and gestures¹⁷».

Following the conclusion of the musical festivities, tea and coffee were served, and the guests returned to their lodgings to prepare for the ball scheduled for later in the evening. As dusk settled, bonfires were ignited on the Bancroft, accompanied by a display where the residents of Stratford illuminated every window in every house, creating a vibrant and celebratory atmosphere. The expansive painted screens adorning buildings throughout the town, were now animated with lantern flame flickering behind them. Attendees holding tickets reconvened at the Rotunda for the ball. The musical festivities began after 9 pm, with the band performing minuets crafted expressly for the occasion. By midnight, cotillions and country dances became prominent features. The musical and dancing celebrations persisted until 3 am, marking the conclusion of the first day event, after which the participants retired to their respective lodgings.

On the 7th of September, heavy rain descended upon Stratford, causing the river to gradually rise, posing a threat to the wooden Rotunda situated on its bank. The rain also had a detrimental effect on the painted screens that had been charmingly illuminated the previous night.

The planned pageant for the day involved around 200 participants, with over half of them attired as characters from Shakespeare's works. The sequence was to be followed by Garrick's self-penned Ode, succeeded by a fireworks display and the grand costume ball. Despite the pageant's significance in the day's schedule, Garrick had no alternative but to cancel it. the Ode would still occur in the Rotunda at noon.

¹⁷ The text comes from JAMES BOSWELL, *A Letter from James Boswell, Esq; on Shakespeare's Jubilee at Stratford-upon Avon*, in «The London Magazine», September. 1769, pp. 451–54, available online at <https://jacklynch.net/Texts/jubilee.html>, (Accessed 7 March 2024).

Approximately 2,000 individuals packed into the Rotunda to witness Garrick's delivery of his Ode to Shakespeare, accompanied by a choir and orchestra of 100 members under the direction of Thomas Arne. At noon, signalled by the firing of the cannon, Garrick made his appearance. Recognizing his limited vocal abilities, he opted to present his Ode in spoken recitative, a groundbreaking technique at that time:

We will, –his brows with laurel blind
Who charms to virtue human kind:
Raise the pile, the statue raise,
Sing immortal *Shakespeare's* praise!
The song will cease, the stone decay,
But his Name,
And undimish'd fame,
Shall never, never pass away¹⁸.

Garrick's performance was so electrifying that dozens of people surged forward to express their congratulations (for an engraving of the Ode see appendix, plate 7). As the audience rose to cheer and applaud, parts of the rain-soaked Rotunda began to shake and, in some instances, collapse.

The much-anticipated firework display was marred by the rain. This, coupled with the cancellation of the pageant, resulted in the non-realization of both activities that were open to the general public, as opposed to being exclusive to ticket holders. The evening festivities comprised a masquerade ball within the rotunda, accompanied by an intended fireworks exhibition. Regrettably, the masquerade attendees had to be transported in or face the prospect of wading through ankle-deep river water, which was swiftly rising. Additionally, it was noted that the roof of the rotunda leaked in certain areas. Despite these challenges, the attendees enjoyed themselves, adorned in a diverse array of costumes. As dawn approached, reports circulated among the remaining celebrants that the water level had reached a perilous height. Water had started seeping through the floorboards of the Rotunda. Just after 6 am, Garrick declared that everyone must evacuate, prompting various departures. With the conclusion of the events on the second day of the Jubilee, many individuals likely contemplated escaping the rain and the cramped accommodations for the comfort of their own homes.

¹⁸ The Ode is fully titled *An Ode upon Dedicating a Building and Erecting a Statue to Shakespeare, at Stratford Upon Avon*. The "Building" to which the Ode referred was the Stratford Town Hall. For the complete text see BRIAN VICKERS, *Shakespeare: the critical heritage*, cit., p. 355.

The weather did not improve on the third and final day of celebrations, September 8th, 1769. While the public breakfast proceeded at the Town Hall, most planned events for the day were cancelled. The pageant, initially postponed from the previous day, was cancelled again. At midday, the rain eventually ceased, and a sizable gathering convened to witness the horse race for the Jubilee cup. In light of several challenges, including a flooded Rotunda, a communal dinner scheduled for midday was abandoned. Instead, Garrick presided over a smaller gathering at The White Lion Inn. At 9 pm, Dominico Angelo, ignited ten large fireworks saved from the rain of the previous day. A ball at the Town Hall ensued at 11 pm, featuring Eva Maria Garrick, who as former professional dancer, performing a minuet.

Departing on September 9th, 1769, Garrick never returned to Stratford. Some guests, due to the high demand for coaches, did not manage to depart until the weekend.

4.3 Splendour and bathos: Stratford Jubilee critical reception and its aftermath

The Shakespeare Jubilee, perceived at the time as a colossal comedic failure by most onlookers, encountered a multitude of mishaps, with virtually everything that could go awry doing so. Garrick, disliking discussion of the event in later years, left a detailed narrative of the proceedings, showcasing the chaotic yet spectacular nature of the Jubilee. Contemporary accounts from newspapers, books, diaries, and memoranda allow for a thorough reconstruction of the events, revealing both splendour and bathos¹⁹.

Benjamin Victor went so far as to label the Jubilee as «the most remarkable Event that ever happened in the Annals of Theatres, since the first Establishment of Dramatic Poetry in Europe, or, perhaps, in the known world²⁰».

James Boswell expressed his perspective on the matter, asserting: «For what was the Stratford jubilee: Not a piece of farce [...], but an elegant and truly classical celebration of the memory of Shakespeare [...]. It was truly an antique idea, a Grecian thought, to institute a splendid festival in honour of a Bard²¹».

¹⁹ See MARTHA W. ENGLAND, *Garrick's Jubilee*, cit., p. 3.

²⁰ See BENJAMIN VICTOR, *The History of the Theatres of London*, 3 vols., New York, B. Blom, 1969, vol. 3, pp. 200–203.

²¹ See JAMES BOSWELL, *A Letter from James Boswell, Esq; on Shakespeare's Jubilee at Stratford-upon Avon*, cit., p. 451.

Some contemporaries viewed the Stratford jubilee more as a testament to Garrick's vanity than a sincere homage to Shakespeare's memory, finding it more flamboyant than refined. Eyewitness accounts ranged from describing it as a triumph, to labelling it a farcical fiasco and a glaring example of bad taste. Even today, opinions on these matters vary. However, if there is a distinction between classical and romantic, the Stratford Jubilee was not deemed classical. The combination of Garrick and Stratford acted as a catalyst, accelerating the adoption of romantic attitudes toward Shakespeare, and the Jubilee's place in the history of ideas is defined by the rapid and unanimous acceptance of these attitudes²².

Despite the Shakespeare Jubilee being deemed a fiasco, Peter Thomson suggests that Garrick's genuine love for Shakespeare and his understanding of the audience's appreciation for spectacle were evident. The grand procession of Shakespearian characters, loosely integrated into a comic plot, *The Jubilee*, was successfully staged several times at Drury Lane between October 14th, 1769, and the end of the season. This unique and unprecedented display was considered a triumph of showmanship²³.

Garrick, by initiating the commemoration of Shakespeare centenaries, set the precedent for subsequent celebrations. Despite the Jubilee becoming, in Garrick's hands, a "media coup" enhancing the reputations of both Shakespeare and himself, and despite the absence of any actual Shakespearean performances or readings at the event, Garrick's intentions played a role in shaping the enduring myth that surrounds the Bard of Avon to this day²⁴.

Garrick was more than the caricatured image of a ridiculous, obsessed, and egotistical Shakespeare enthusiast often portrayed by critics. Instead, he demonstrated entrepreneurial acumen, realizing that there was a market for shared passion. By offering material goods for purchase, he aimed to create emotional bonds among like-minded individuals. The eventual financial loss incurred in the Jubilee, in this context, becomes

²² See BENJAMIN VICTOR, *The History of the Theatres of London*, cit., vol. 3, pp. 200–203; MARTHA W. ENGLAND, *Garrick's Jubilee*, cit., pp. 3–4.

²³ See PETER THOMSON, *Garrick, David (1717–1779), actor and playwright*, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, cit., pp. 1–20, ref. at pp. 14–15. <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-10408>, (Accessed 7 March 2024).

²⁴ See CHRISTIAN DEELMAN, *The Great Shakespeare Jubilee*, cit., p. 5; CELESTINE WOO, *Romantic Actors and Bardolatry Performing Shakespeare from Garrick to Kean*, cit., p. 32.

secondary to the emotional connections fostered both with Shakespeare and fellow enthusiasts that Garrick facilitated²⁵.

Concerning the notable absence of Shakespearean lines in the Jubilee, Péter Dávidházi suggests that this is not just another instance of the perceived “misleading” or “deliberately dishonest” marketing strategy but rather a reflection of Garrick’s astute understanding of the event’s essence: the celebration and almost deification of a cultural hero²⁶.

At the end of the four chapters analysing Garrick’s life, achievements and adaptations that form part of this thesis, the following words of Martha England appear as a literary quirk in honour of the figure to whom this thesis is dedicated: David Garrick.

He was an actor. It may be he was the greatest actor that ever lived. Any actor will mirror as much of his age as is accessible to him. To a superlative degree the life of his age was accessible to Garrick. He was peculiarly in a position to reflect the great minds of his day. In the history of the theatre, he is unique—unique in his genius, unique in his intimate association with genius. Perhaps he was nothing more than a mimic, a sounding board, a mirror. At least he was a true mirror²⁷.

²⁵ See PÉTER DÁVIDHÁZI, *The romantic cult of Shakespeare: literary reception in anthropological perspective*, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan, 2002, p. 35.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

²⁷ See MARTHA W. ENGLAND, *Garrick’s Jubilee*, cit., pp. 4–5.

APPENDIX

Plate 1



Nicholas Rowe's Antony and Cleopatra frontispiece

ELISHA KIRKALL (creator), *Antony and Cleopatra Frontispiece*, in WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE, *The works of Mr. William Shakespear: In six volumes. Adorn'd with cuts. Revis'd and corrected, with an account of the life and writings of the author. By N. Rowe, Esq.*, London, printed for Jacob Tonson, 1709, Shakespeare Birthplace Trust, <https://collections.shakespeare.org.uk/exhibition/exhibition/shakespeare-connected-ageless-cleopatra/object/shakespeare-connected-ageless-cleopatra-where-art-thou-death>. (Accessed 7 March 2024).

Plate 2



Antony and Cleopatra: A Tragedy (London, 1734)

Brano's description of the illustration says: «Antony and Cleopatra: A Tragedy (London, 1734), also issued as part of Tonson's edition of the *Works of Shakespeare* (London, 1735), v.7, Folger Shakespeare Library Shelfmark: PR2802 1734b copy 1, frontispiece. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library», See ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734–5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit. p. 68. The illustration is available in *Ibid.* and at the Folger Shakespeare Library.

Plate 3



John Dryden's All for Love frontispiece

One illustration of this scene, in the reversed orientation of the one being analysed in *Ibid.*, p. 71, is available at “The British Museum” website, see GERARD VAN DER GUCHT (creator), *Cleopatra, Accompanied by two maids*, in JOHN DRYDEN (author), *The Dramatick Works of John Dryden*, London, printed for Jacob Tonson, 1735. The British Museum, www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1875-0213-301. (Accessed 7 March 2024). Image and original data provided by the IFF / Inventaire du Fonds Français: Bibliothèque Nationale, Département des Estampes, <https://www.bnf.fr/fr/estampes-inventaires-du-fonds-francais>. (Accessed 7 March 2024).

Plate 4



Lewis Theobald's illustration to *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act IV, Sc. 15

GERARD VAN DER GUCHT (creator), *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act IV, Sc. 15, in LEWIS THEOBALD (author), *The Works of Shakespeare*, London, printed for H. Lintott, 1740, JSTOR, <https://jstor.org/stable/community.25244866>. (Accessed 7 March 2024). Image and original data provided by the Folger Shakespeare Library, <https://www.folger.edu>. This engraving is also accessible on the British Museum website via https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1867-0309-1355. (Accessed 7 March 2024). This illustration is not displayed by Brano but only mentioned in ANTHONY BRANO, *The 1734-5 Price Wars, Antony and Cleopatra and the Theatrical Imagination*, cit. p. 73.

Plate 5



Detail from Garrick's Jubilee, 1769. (The Folger Shakespeare Library)

Anonymous engraving provided by Margareth Lamb in MARGARET LAMB, *Antony and Cleopatra on the English stage*, cit., p. 48. In the list of illustrations, she provides more details: «Antony and Cleopatra and their train, detail from “The Principal Characters in the Procession of the Pageant exhibited in the Jubilee at Drury Lane Theatre” (1769). Anonymous engraving published by J. Johnson and J. Payne, 1770». See *Ibid.*, pp. 9.

F I R S T D A Y,
Wednesday, the 6th of *SEPTEMBER*,

Shakespeare's Jubilee.

The STEWARD of the JUBILEE begs Leave to inform the COMPANY,
that at Nine o'Clock will be

A PUBLIC BREAKFAST

At the T O W N - H A L L :

Thence to proceed to the CHURCH to hear

The O R A T O R I O of *JUDITH*,

Which will begin exactly at ELEVEN.

From Church will be a full CHORUS of VOCAL and INSTRUMENTAL
MUSIC to the AMPHITHEATRE ; where, at Three o'Clock, will be

An O R D I N A R Y for Gentlemen and Ladies.

About Five o'Clock, a Collection of NEW SONGS, BALLADS, ROUNDELAYS,
CATCHES, GLEES, &c. will be performed in the AMPHITHEATRE ; after
which the Company is desired to prepare for the B A L L, which will
begin exactly at Nine, with NEW MINUETS, (composed for the Occasion)
and played by the whole Band.

The SECOND DAY'S ENTERTAINMENTS will be published To-morrow.

N. B. As the PUBLIC BREAKFASTS and ORDINARIES are intended for
those Ladies and Gentlemen who have taken the Guinea Tickets, no Per-
son can be admitted without first shewing such Ticket. Should there be
Room for more than the Proprietors of those Tickets, Ladies and
Gentlemen will be admitted to the ORATORIO and FIREWORKS, at *Five*
Shillings each; and to the DEDICATION, ODE, and BALL, at *Half a*
Guinea each.

•• The STEWARD hopes that the Admirers of *Shakespeare*, will, upon
this Occasion, wear the Favors which are called the *Shakespeare Favors*.

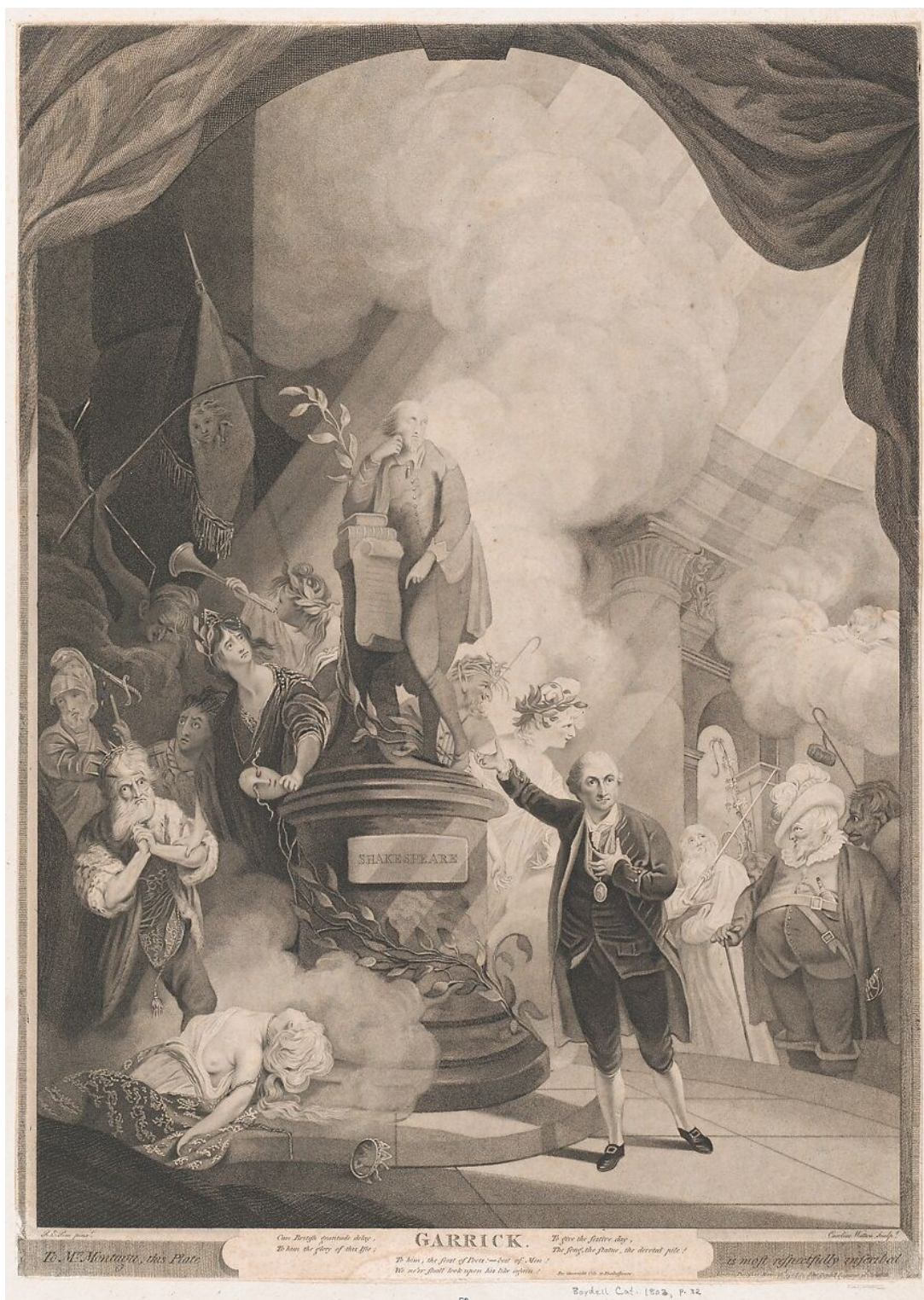
¶ As many Ladies have complained of the Fatigue they shall undergo,
if the Ball and Masquerade are on two successive Nights, there will
be only the FIREWORKS on *Thursday* Night, and the MASQUERADE on
Friday Night, the 8th Inst. which will conclude the ENTERTAINMENTS of
the Jubilee.

STRATFORD: Printed by FULK WEALE, next Door to the Coffee-House.

Handbill of the first day of the Jubilee

The handbill distributed the first day of the Jubilee reported below, is present in CHRISTIAN DEELMAN,
The Great Shakespeare Jubilee, cit., p. 192.

Plate 7



Garrick Speaking the Jubilee Ode

CAROLINE WATSON (engraver), ROBERT EDGE PINE (artist), *Garrick Speaking the Jubilee Ode*, London, John Boydell, 1784, Met Museum, <https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/431235>. (Accessed 7 March 2024).

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