The Woman in the Moon: the Moon as a Dramatic Character in the Works of John Lyly and William Shakespeare

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Abstract

This thesis looks at the moon as a dramatic character in the works of John Lyly, William Shakespeare, and Shakespeare in collaboration. The thesis contextualizes these playwrights' moon-characters within a broader trajectory of the moon as a dramatic character over the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth century. Using early modern cosmological theory, this thesis regards the moon-character through its connection to the material moon and the moon's spatial relationship with the earth. It demonstrates how this character, as developed by Lyly and Shakespeare, has the potential to occupy a stance apart from the social and relational practices encoded onto what is presented as earthly and 'natural' within drama. It specifically focuses on how the moon-character, through the act of encountering other characters on the stage, can have a transformative effect on the social practice of marriage or heterosexual monogamy.

Using Gérard Genette's theory of 'hypertextuality', this thesis looks comparatively at the work of Lyly and Shakespeare and regards the two playwrights in relationship with one another.[1] Through analysis of Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon* (*c*. 1588), *Galatea* (*c*. 1584), and *Endymion: the Man in the Moon* (*c*. 1588), the thesis shows how Lyly expands upon the established theatrical figure of the moon-character to create a dramatic character that poses a range of resistances to hegemonic relational, sexual, and gendered practices. Through analysis of *As You Like It* (*c*. 1600), *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c*. 1595), *Pericles: Prince of Tyre* (*c*. 1607), and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (*c*. 1613), the thesis demonstrates how these plays of Shakespeare (and collaborators George Wilkins and John Fletcher) look back specifically to Lyly's moon-character and self-consciously foreclose its oppositional potential.

The thesis takes a historicist approach to the analysis of moon-characters in these plays but it also scrutinizes the role that the moon-character has played in the process of literary canonization. The thesis asks why Lyly has himself been confined to the moon in criticism while Shakespeare has been exonerated. It demonstrates how analysis of the moon-character can shed light on the continuing relationship between cultural hegemony and social orthodoxy.

[1] Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997; first pub. 1982), p. 5.

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Note on Editions and Dates

I use the following editions: John Lyly, *The Woman in the Moon*, ed. Leah Scragg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); John Lyly, *Galatea*, ed. Leah Scragg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); John Lyly, *Endymion*, ed. David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996; repr. 2014); William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; updated 2009; repr. 2016); William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, ed. Peter Holland (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994; repr. 2008); John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, ed. Lois Potter (London: Arden Shakespeare, 1997); William Shakespeare and George Wilkins, *Pericles,* ed. Suzanne Gossett (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2016; first pub. 2004). All quotations from these plays are taken from these editions unless otherwise stated. References to these plays are given in the main text when they are the primary works under discussion in the chapters. Quotations from other Shakespeare plays are taken from *The New Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works: Modern Critical Edition*, ed. Gary Taylor, John Jowett, Terri Bourus, and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

For all performance dates of the plays in this thesis, where definitive dates are not available, I have used the 'best guesses' from Martin Wiggins with Catherine Richardson, *British Drama 1533-1642: A Catalogue*, 9 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012-), except where otherwise specified. While aware that these are conjectured performance dates, I have used these 'best guesses' rather than possible date-ranges in order to supply a coherent picture of the chronological trajectory of the characters considered in the timeline (see appendix). I have also used information from the *dramatis personae* listed in these volumes.

Introduction

This thesis examines the moon-character in the drama of John Lyly, William Shakespeare, and Shakespeare in collaboration. The moon-character, as I am defining it, is the moon embodied by an actor on the early modern stage. In looking at this character, the thesis traces new connections between the drama of Lyly and Shakespeare. The relationship between Lyly and Shakespeare has tended to be examined in terms of linguistic and structural echoes rather than in terms of dramatic character.[2] Literary criticism has also historically seen Lyly as background reading for the study of Shakespeare—as though he were a modish subsidiary precursor concerned with intricate and affected language and structural elements of plot rather than human psychology and depth.[3] Shakespeare, on the other hand, has traditionally been seen as the inventor of the modern dramatic character.[4] In contrast, this thesis privileges neither playwright and examines the relationship between Lyly and Shakespeare through a specific type of dramatic character. It will show how the moon-character, as developed by Lyly, proposes an innovative resistance to established early modern relational structures, in particular a marriage system that casts women as objects of

[2] In the early 1960s, Marco Mincoff writes '[in] his very concept of comedy itself, […] Shakespeare's greatest and most lasting debt to Lyly lies […] in the structural pattern […] and […] strain of witty repartee', 'Shakespeare and Lyly', *Shakespeare Survey*, 14 (1961), 15-24 (23-24); and G.K. Hunter similarly writes 'the influence of the ideals implied by Lyly's style are evident throughout Shakespeare's comedy', in *John Lyly: The Humanist as Courtier* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), p. 298. Critics continue to focus on the relationship between Lyly and Shakespeare through structure and language in Robert Y. Turner, 'Some Dialogues of Love in Lyly's Comedies', *ELH*, 29 (1962), 276-88; Alfred Harbage, 'Love's Labour's Lost and the Early Shakespeare', *Philological Quarterly*, 41 (1962), 18-36. In the late 1960s, Anne C. Lancashire focuses on linguistic echoes, looking at the '*double-entendre*' in the word 'rope' in 'Lyly and Shakespeare on the Ropes', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 68.2 (1969), 237-244 (238). In the 1970s, Leah Scragg points out that 'writers on Lyly have sought to show the relationship between the first major exponent of the comic form in England and his more illustrious successor', 'Shakespeare, Lyly and Ovid: The Influence of "Gallathea" on "A Midsummer Night's Dream"', *Shakespeare Survey*, 30 (1977), 125-34 (125); Louis Adrian Montrose writes about structural echoes between Lyly and Shakespeare in *'Curious-Knotted Garden': The Form, Themes, and Contexts of Shakespeare's 'Love's Labour's Lost'* (Salzburg: University of Salzburg, 1977). In the 1990s, M. C. Bradbrook writes about linguistic echoes between the two playwrights in 'Courtier and Courtesy: Castiglione, Lyly and Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*', in *Theatre of the English Renaissance*, ed. J. R. Mulryne and Margaret Shewring (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 1991), pp. 161-78; Robert Weimann writes about structural and linguistic echoes between the two playwrights in 'Scene Individable, Mingle-Mangle Unlimited: Authority and Poetics in Lyly's and Shakespeare's Theatres', *European Journal of English Studies*, 1.3 (1997), 310-28. In the early 2000s, Ayako Kawanami writes about linguistic connections between Lyly and Shakespeare in *The Art of Dissembling in Three Elizabethan Writers: John Lyly, Robert Greene, and Shakespeare* (doctoral thesis, University of Warwick, 2006); and finally, Gillian Knoll writes about linguistic connections between the two playwrights in *Erotic Language as Dramatic Action in Plays by Lyly and Shakespeare* (doctoral thesis, University of Maryland, 2012).

[3] See Andy Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 1-16.

[4] Criticism which continues to exonerate Shakespeare's creation of character includes Peter Holbrook, *Shakespeare's Individualism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

exchange. The thesis is concerned with three different types of encounter: the encounter between the moon-character and other characters in drama; the encounter between Lyly and Shakespeare; and the encounter between critics and these playwrights. I demonstrate that through the first kind of encounter, between the moon-character and the other characters on stage, early modern relational structures and gendered roles are transformed in Lyly's plays. I show how Shakespeare adopts the moon-character from Lyly but forecloses its possibility by dramatizing the pathologization of such resistance into a lunacy that must be cured. I also demonstrate how critical encounters with the playwrights have reinforced the foreclosure and silencing of the moon-character by demonizing or disregarding its potential.

The moon-character was a popular staple of the early modern theatrical scene. From 1550 to 1631, there were at least fifty moon-characters in public and private drama.[5] Many recent scholars have considered the moon as a character in drama, poetry, and prose in relation to the iconography of Elizabeth I.[6] A sustained study of the moon as stage-character in a wider literary and cultural context has however not yet been written. Moving the critical focus away from Elizabeth I, this thesis explores how this character is used to construct a usually female self that goes beyond an idiosyncratic connection to the monarch. Female sovereignty and the Elizabethan marriage question form part, but not the whole, of the permutations of this mode of selfhood which was dramatized both pre- and post- Elizabeth's reign. This thesis explores the moon-character's assertion of a stance in opposition to marriage (as societally sanctioned heterosexual monogamy) through its association with both chastity and inconstancy in a cluster of three of Lyly's plays from the 1580s: *Galatea* (*c.* 1584); *Endymion: The Man in the Moon* (*c.* 1588); and *The Woman in the Moon* (*c.* 1588).[7] Lyly presents chastity and inconstancy as methods by which a woman might deviate from familiar early modern gender and sexual scripts and his moon-character stands for a resistance to early modern relational structures more generally. Lyly's moon-character poses challenges to the kinds of

[5] See Appendix.

[6] See Louis Adrian Montrose, '"Shaping Fantasies": Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture' in *Representations*, 2 (Spring, 1983) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2928384> [accessed 25th March 2019], 61-94; Phillipa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989; repr. 1994); Helen Cobb, *Representations of Elizabeth I; Three Sites of Ambiguity and Contradiction* (doctoral thesis, University of Oxford, 1989) <http://ora.ox.ac.uk/objects/uuid:281007c5-e015-4c64-b9dc-9f4db8ac4f46> [accessed 23rd February 2016]; Susan Frye, *Elizabeth I: The Competition for Representation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993); Helen Hackett, *Virgin Mother*, *Maiden Queen* (Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1995); Theadora A. Jankowski's *Pure Resistance: Queer Virginity in Early Modern English Drama* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530-1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[7] The moon-character is also present but non-appearing in Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis* (*c*. 1590).

relationships between humans that are treated as 'natural' and that are therefore sanctioned and recognized by society. Through dramatizing the encounter between the moon-character and characters who are rooted on earth, Lyly's plays propose a re-inscription of the rules of the 'natural'. As such, they suggest the possibility of radical change through encounter with alterity. The thesis then explores the way that Shakespeare's single-authored and collaborative plays refer back to Lyly's moon-character with its oppositional stance. Shakespeare used the moon as a character in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c.* 1595), *As You Like It* (*c.* 1600), *All's Well that Ends Well* (*c.* 1605), *Macbeth* (*c.* 1606), *Pericles* (with George Wilkins, *c.* 1607) and as a non-appearing character in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (with John Fletcher, *c.* 1613). This thesis focuses specifically on Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, *Pericles*, and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. In contrast to a historical critical narrative that sees Lyly as underdeveloped and merely a source for Shakespeare, this thesis argues that Shakespeare forecloses the possibilities of this Lylian character. I will show how Shakespeare and his collaborators retrospectively present the moon-character of Lyly's drama as lunatic—a deluded character whose oppositional stance must be assimilated into their play-worlds.

In this introduction, first I define the terminology that I use throughout the thesis, starting by identifying what I mean by 'moon-character' in the context of the early modern stage. I then discuss how I will be using the following terms: selfhood, nature and the world, the earth and relationality, chastity and inconstancy, and lunacy and utopia. I locate the relationship between each of these terms (or sets of terms) and the moon-character. Next, I explain what methodology I use to identify early modern moon-characters and specifically those within the plays of Lyly and Shakespeare. Rather than focusing in any restrictive way on the classical personified goddesses of the moon (Diana and variations), I consider the moon-character more expansively through the idea, in Lyly's plays, of characters who actively adopt the role of the moon by way of encounter and who attempt to be included within the social group of 'Diana's band'. I go on to historicize the moon-character in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: first, by looking at contemporary conceptions of the moon as material body; then by offering an overview of the moon-character in drama, contextualising its treatment by Lyly and Shakespeare. These two playwrights did not construct the moon-character in isolation from other early modern dramatists who were also using this mode of character, such as George Peele, Thomas Heywood and Ben Jonson, or from writers of prose and poetry such as Thomas Lodge and Philip Sidney. By exploring a broader chronological development of the moon-character, I show how Lyly and Shakespeare develop an already rich and capacious idea and then show how Shakespeare's moon-characters are significantly in dialogue with the moon-

characters established by Lyly. Next, I look at the way the two playwrights have been historically treated in criticism, particularly in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and I focus especially on how their relationship has been conceived in terms of the moon and sun. In his introductory material in Shakespeare's 1623 Folio, Ben Jonson speculates about 'how farre [Shakespeare] didst our Lily out-shine', introducing the use of a light metaphor to distinguish the playwrights which was to continue to affect their reception.[8] This critical tradition reflects how Lyly has himself been regarded as 'moonish' and cast into the shadow of Shakespeare. The representations of the moon-character in these plays have subtly informed the critical reputations of both Lyly and Shakespeare as well as our understanding of the ways in which their work is related. The critical relegation of Lyly reflects a silencing of alternative worlds, and of marginalized voices which do not measure up to the received notion of normality. I then explain how the thesis builds on the work of more recent critics who have sought to reinstate Lyly as dramatist and reverse his exclusion from the literary canon. I show how the thesis advances this conversation in a new direction with fresh methodology, through a particular focus on the hopefulness which Lyly articulates through his moon-characters. Finally, the introduction concludes with an outline of the chapters which follow. These chapters chart the rise and fall of the hopefulness of the alternative world posed by the moon in Lyly's work. I demonstrate how this hopefulness declines into despair over the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

1. Terminology

Moon and Character

By bringing together the words 'moon' and 'character', this thesis engages with critical studies on the moon as both image and dramatic character. It brings together these two strands of criticism that have traditionally been in contention.[9] I look at the moon through the lens of literary imagery studies and as an object-rock in the cultural imagination of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. My work on dramatic character interacts with notions of selfhood in the period. I ask: what does it mean when a space-object is mapped onto a person? What does the model of the moon offer

[8] Ben Jonson, 'To the Memory of My Beloved the Author Mr. William Shakespeare and What He Hath Left Us', in William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (London: 1623). Text taken from *The Bodleian First Folio: digital facsimile of the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays*, Bodleian Arch. G c.7. <http://firstfolio.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 6th March 2019].

[9] Kenneth Muir emphasized, in 1965, that 'the study of imagery has fallen into disfavour […] Even L.C. Knights […] has come round, if reluctantly, to the admission that character is important', 'Shakespeare's Imagery—Then and Now', in *Shakespeare Survey*, 18 (1965), 46-57 (55, 54-55).

attempts to portray the self on the stage? How does the moon reveal problems of early modern agency and identity?

Over the latter half of the twentieth century, both character and imagery studies have been deemed old-fashioned or inexact modes of conducting criticism. Since Jacob Burkhardt's celebration of the autonomy of the Renaissance man in the nineteenth century, a pervasive narrative of the birth of the self has dominated criticism on selfhood and character in the early modern era.[10] This narrative involves a movement towards a more centralized, autonomous, Cartesian, 'enlightenment', and private self.[11] In literary criticism, this notion of 'the discovery of the individual' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has been (and in some places, continues to be) located in Shakespearean character particularly.[12] Poststructuralist thought has challenged this narrative and the role of character in criticism, arguing that there is no coherent individuality or autonomy in early modern thought because there is no such thing as a cohesive self theoretically or historically.[13] At the beginning of *Shakespeare and Character* (2009), the editors, Paul Yachnin and Jessica Slights, announce however that '[c]haracter has made a comeback'.[14] They implore critics to negotiate between the historically and theoretically problematic concept of selfhood, and the centrality of character as an analytic category which is relevant particularly to drama.[15] This thesis follows on from their assessment of character as 'the principal bridge over which the emotional, cognitive, and political transactions of theater and literature pass between actors and playgoers or between written texts and readers'.[16] While texts such as Caroline Spurgeon's *Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Tells Us* (1935) had 'fallen into disfavour', according to Kenneth Muir, writing in 1965, more recent criticism such as Steve Mentz's *At the Bottom of Shakespeare's Ocean* (2009) re-evaluate the image as a tool within presentist criticism.[17] This thesis is mainly historicist in approach, but it also

[10] Jacob Burkhardt, *The Civilization of the Period of the Renaissance in Italy*, 2 vols (London: C. Kegan Paul and Co., 1878; first pub. 1860).
[11] See Cynthia Marshall, *The Shattering of the Self: Violence, Subjectivity, and Early Modern Texts* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), p. 9; Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan and Dympna Callaghan (eds), 'Introduction', *Feminist Readings of Early Modern Culture: Emerging Subjects* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 1-15 (pp. 2-4); Brian Cummings and Freya Sierhuis (eds), 'Introduction', *Passions and Subjectivity in Early Modern Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), pp. 1-9 (p. 5).
[12] See footnote 4.
[13] Critics who have challenged this narrative include: Catherine Belsey, Francis Barker, Jonathan Dollimore, Jonathan Goldberg, Gail Kern Paster, and Michael Schoenfeldt. See 'Introduction', Paul Yachnin and Jessica Slights (eds) *Shakespeare and Character: Theory, History, Performance, and Theatrical Persons* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 1-18 (pp. 3-4).
[14] Yachnin and Slights, p. 1.
[15] Yachnin and Slights, pp. 6-7.
[16] Yachnin and Slights, p. 7.
[17] Kenneth Muir, 'Shakespeare's Imagery—Then and Now', *Shakespeare Survey*, 18 (1965), 46-57 (54).

revitalizes both imagery studies and character studies and uses methodology from these critical discourses in tandem. It also draws a new relationship between the drama of Lyly and Shakespeare, which reveals more broadly how early modern ways of understanding personhood through category and typology connect to patterns of normativity. Characters are not people—but instead of viewing this distinction as a problem, or regarding characters as less than people, more emblematic, or static, this thesis looks at the way that characters can also be more than people. The moon-character, I suggest, can open up versions of selfhood that are more expansive, more multiple, and more contradictory than those available off-stage. The moon-character, as I am exploring it, is an unstable type of character that has the potential to resist typology. Because it poses strangeness and alterity, it has the potential to question and dismantle cultural archetypes.

Sharon Rose Yang also looks at a category of character as a way of exploring cultural archetypes within early modern literature, focusing on what she calls 'the Renaissance female pastoral guide'.[18] Yang's character has some intersections with my formulation of the moon-character in that this 'pastoral guide' considers 'Elizas, Cynthias, Dianas, and Bellybones embodying the Virgin Queen presiding over a golden age of England represented in pastoral metaphor'.[19] However, my project differs in that it uses the moon as image as a unifying feature. For Yang, the female pastoral guide 'possesses a bond with the sacred harmony of nature that enables her to recognize the corruptions of society and to use her insight to guide others toward pastoral values'.[20] By focusing on the moon in relationship to earth, my thesis will argue, conversely, that the moon-character and 'nature' have a complicated and antagonistic relationship. I argue that, by disrupting 'nature', the moon-character problematizes the category of character itself and achieves the potential to transform other characters within drama. In contrast to Yang who looks at a broader sweep of literary genres, my thesis looks at the moon-character as a distinctly theatrical phenomenon, involving an embodied actor on the stage. According to Leonore Lieblein, this theatrical process involves communication between actor and audience: 'the embodied spectator [is] a participant in an intersubjective process whereby personated persons, corporeally generated and experienced, can be thought of as characters'.[21] Unlike the moon-character within prose and poetry, the moon-character in the theatre involves encounter between actors and audience. The presence of the embodied actor taking on the

[18] Sharon Rose Yang, *Goddesses, Mages, and Wise Women: The Female Pastoral Guide in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth- Century English Drama* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2011), p. 15.
[19] Yang, p. 15.
[20] Yang, p. 15.
[21] Leanore Lieblein**,** 'Embodied Intersubjectivity and the Creation of Early Modern Character' in *Shakespeare and Character*, ed. Yachnin and Slights, pp. 117-35 (p. 119).

role of moon-character is significant because in the theatre this character is manifestly a human person as well as an image—someone who is encounterable. Encounter, as I will go on to formulate, is an important framework for my analysis of the moon-character on stage. In the theatre, humans meet each other face-to-face as actor/characters on stage; at the same time, there is an encounter between actor/characters and members of the audience.

The moon, as cultural anthropologist Lisa Messeri notes, is the only object with a surface discernible by the naked eye in the night's sky—being tidally locked with the earth, the two space-objects have a 'cosmic kinship' with one another.[22] The moon's presence in the sky has generated an immense amount of mythography, and the sense of the moon in relationship with the earth is linked to its elusiveness as cultural symbol and object-rock. Attempts to articulate and formulate the trans-historical relationship between the earth and the moon have been innumerable, contradictory, and diverse. The persistence and ubiquity of the moon in the sky from the vantage point of earth is an interpretative problem. At any one time and place, scientific, artistic, and cultural views of the moon are countless and competing. Scott L. Montgomery calls the moon 'our closest companion' and argues that the moon has produced 'a greater range of imaginative energy than any other body, with the possible exception of the sun'.[23] For the cultural critic, there is something difficult and unnerving about the multiplicity of meanings that the moon promotes and its boundless associative possibility. For the purposes of this thesis, I look at the moon through a relational lens, focusing on its 'cosmic kinship' with the earth. This is revealed by the moon's overt presence in the sky, its spatial distance from the earth, and perceived similarities and differences from the earth described in cosmology and astronomy. By looking at 'cosmic kinship', the thesis also explores structures of kinship on a local level in early modern society more generally. Instead of focusing on the early modern commonplace of man as microcosm, this thesis looks at how playwrights use cosmic structures and interactions between space-objects to map out and challenge systems of relationship between people.[24]

[22] Lisa Messeri, 'Tidally Locked: Lunar Constructions of a Planetary Imagination', lecture given at *Interstellar skies: The Lunar Passage in Literature through the Ages Conference* (Center for Medieval Literature, Hven, Sweden, 2018).
[23] Scott L. Montgomery, *The Moon and the Western Imagination* (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1999), p. 226, p. 8.
[24] See Don Parry Norford, 'Microcosm and Macrocosm in Seventeenth-Century Literature', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 38.3 (1977), 409-28.

Kim Zarins writes that, in the early modern era, '[s]yncretism, the combination of different and even conflicting beliefs and traditions, typifies lunar descriptions'.[25] Throughout my thesis, I use the term 'syncretic', to point to the often simultaneously competing and fluid meanings of the moon and related dramatic characters. The moon is much more than an image in the early modern era, widely believed to exert influence over both tides and human emotions. As I will show later in this introduction, it was believed to be the nearest of the planets to the earth and so to have the strongest continual effect over the sub-lunar earthly realm. The moon was also treated as a tangible object and a potentially habitable other world. At the same time, the moon in traditional studies on literary imagery has often been seen as a dilute symbol, something 'super-aesthetical' and divorced from material and meaningful influence.[26] The legacy of this work lives on in more recent work on the moon within drama which regards it as hieroglyph or symbol—with a clear and uncomplicated relationship with the feminine, Diana, as goddess of chastity; or with Elizabeth I, such as the work of Louis Montrose, Helen Hackett, Theodora A. Jankowski, and Phillipa Berry.[27] Gillian Knoll has looked at the significance of the moon as object-rock in Lyly's *Endymion* and Zarins herself explores the reference to Caliban as 'moon-calf' in *The Tempest*, and Starveling's Moonshine in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, but otherwise the moon is rarely seen as both object and person, with syncretic and fluid connotations.[28] In contrast, this thesis considers the moon as both character and material object in spatial relationship with the earth. While earlier criticism seeks to pin down the moon to singular static meanings, I show that the moon in Lyly's drama takes an active stance against categorization. The multiple syncretic connotations of the moon pose a problem of delimitations in a study such as this one. But, rather than naming all the possible connotations of the moon, this thesis emphasizes the *strangeness* of the moon-character. It focuses on the construction of a form of character which is not of the earth but conceptually above and apart from it, allowing for disruption of rules that are encoded onto what is regarded as the world and the 'natural'. The moon-character's relationship with the earth allows for transformational encounters which can re-inscribe these rules.

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[25] Kim Zarins, 'Caliban's God: The Medieval and Renaissance Man in the Moon', in *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Performance and Adaptation of the Plays with Medieval Sources or Settings*, ed. Martha W. Driver and Sid Ray (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland and Company, 2009), pp. 245-62 (p. 254).
[26] Timothy Harley, *Moon Lore* (London: Swan Sonnenschein, Le Bas and Lowry, 1885), p. 42. See also Thomas Lowe who writes 'Shakespeare's references to the moon are full of interest and beauty' in *Shakespeare under the Stars; Or his Genius and Works in the Light of Astronomy* (London: Marshall Brothers; Stratford-on-Avon: J. Morgan, 1887), p. 25. Caroline Spurgeon's sees the moon in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* peripherally, '[t]his moonlit background, then, supplies the dreaming and enchanted quality in the play', *Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Tells Us* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935; repr. 1993), p. 261.
[27] See footnote 6.
[28] Gillian Knoll, 'How To Make Love to the Moon: Intimacy and Erotic Distance in John Lyly's *Endymion*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 65.2 (2014) <www.proquest.com> [accessed 23rd July 2017]. Zarins, 245-62.

Selfhood

Since the 1990s, much criticism on the early modern self has focused on the Galenic humours and a transactional concept of early modern selfhood in which the early modern body is perceived—often through medical writings—as a porous and passive receptor of different planetary and atmospheric influences.[29] More recently, critics have indicated that the importance of Galenic humours has been overstated and have explored alternative concepts of the early modern self.[30] However, little has so far been written about how planetary prototypes modelled character in the theatre; and how such characters depart from a humoral model which tends to assume a passive, helpless version of selfhood.[31] This thesis poses a new challenge to the critical focus on the Galenic models of the early modern self. It does this, firstly, by looking at early modern characters that are modelled on the active planet-influencer (the moon) rather than the passive receptor of influence (the human). It looks at a form of selfhood that stands in resistance to categories (including those suggested by humoral typology) and is more involved with an active fluidity between states rather than partitioning humans, without agency, into static temperaments. Rather than being transactional, the moon-character has the potential to be actively transitional. Secondly, because the moon is primarily a model for female character, the moon-character challenges the use of a humoral framework to understand the self at the site at which it is deemed, according to early modern medical texts, at its most passive, porous, and 'watery'—the female body. According to early modern medical texts derived from Galen, the moon, usually presented as cold and moist has a controlling influence over

[29] For instance, 'these inferiour bodies upon earth, are mooved and altered by the ayre and other elements: and the elements are moved by the influence and motion of the Moone, Sunne, and other heavenly bodies', Robert Parsons, *The Seconde Parte of the Booke of Christian Exercise, Apperteyning to Resolution* (London: 1590) <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> [accessed 1st May 2017]. See Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993); Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson (eds), *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002). The moon is a planet in early modern cosmology.

[30] Since Stephen Greenblatt's seminal *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980) there has been debate over whether the theatre portrays and reflects passive self-regulating selfhood within the limitations of early modern society or can offer depictions of characters which actively create themselves. See Christy Desmet, *Reading Shakespeare's Characters* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992); Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). Much has also been written on the illusion of interiority of the self on the stage and how these theatrical depictions complicate and contest early modern humoral concepts of selfhood. See Bridget Escolme, *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean Stage: Passion's Slaves* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014); Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan (eds), 'Introduction', in *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 1-22.

[31] Critics have explored early modern relationships between humoral emotions and planets, in, for instance, Raymond Klibansky, Erwin Panofsky, Fritz Saxl, *Saturn and Melancholy* (New York: Basic Books, 1964).

cold and moist things (classed as 'phlegmatic'), which includes most women.[32] The moon's influence over the cold and moist is tied to its control over the tides in medical treatises, such as William Clever's *The Flower of Phisicke* (1590).[33] My thesis looks at the process of characters actively adopting the role of the moon in the drama of Lyly and Shakespeare; and, in many cases, this involves an inversion of the classic formulation of the early modern woman as 'leaky vessel'.[34] This is what Paster calls 'a culturally familiar discourse about the female body' which isolates the female body's 'production of fluids—as excessive' and represents 'a particular kind of uncontrol as a function of gender'.[35] The process of emulating the moon means assuming a position of control over the tides, water and wateriness, and traits prescribed as 'natural' to femininity. Instead of having a passive and excessive personality, the moon-character can 'stand apart' from the version of womanhood which is prescribed as 'natural'. The moon-character has the potential to resist the categorization of womanhood itself and its stereotypical restrictive typology. Although Paster notes 'culture's ongoing, always contested classification of what is and isn't natural', she argues that there *is* a 'nature of woman' in early modern thought.[36] This 'nature of woman' consolidates 'the attributes of sexual [...] forms of difference' which are used to justify gendered power imbalance and exploitation.[37] I argue that the fixity and veracity of this nature is challenged in the period by the moon-character.

The thesis engages with the question of whether the type of agency that the moon-character possesses is accessible to other characters or involves an isolation and anomalousness associated with recent theories of female selfhood in the early modern period. Valerie Traub, M. Lindsay Kaplan and Dympna Callaghan argue that the early modern female, 'marked differently' to the universal male white European self, could only articulate identity through differentiation and alienation from other women.[38] Similarly, Jankowski argues that Elizabeth I's connection with the moon represents a powerful political chastity that has the subversive potential to opt out of heteronormativity. However, this fails because of how Elizabeth as Diana deliberately suggests singularity and isolation: '[w]ere other women "allowed" to be perpetual virgins, Elizabeth's position would not have been

[32] See J.A. Burrow, *The Ages of Man: A Study in Medieval Writing and Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), p. 38.
[33] 'The tides of the sea, drawing vpon the course of the moone', William Clever*, The Flower of Phisicke* (London: 1590) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 20th May 2018], p. 132.
[34] See Paster, 'Leaky Vessels: The Incontinent Women of City Comedy', *Renaissance Drama*, 18 (1987), 43-65.
[35] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 25.
[36] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 248, p. 40.
[37] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 40.
[38]Traub, Kaplan, and Callaghan, p. 2, p. 1.

unique and could, therefore, easily slide back into the "monstrous"'.[39] The question of the moon's individuality and accessibility is significant in the moon-character plays of Lyly and Shakespeare. However, non-lunar characters in these plays consciously adopt the qualities of the moon through transformative encounters with the moon-character. These encounters often refer to the classical concept of Diana's band and her devotees. I will argue that, in Lyly's plays, the encounter between moon and earth involves a transferal of the moon's qualities onto the earth-bound members of Diana's band. Rather than following the Galenic model of the passively infectious female, the process of 'moonification'—when a character encounters and then turns into the moon—requires purposeful emulation on the behalf of the moon-devotee. My thesis explores how Shakespeare's moon-characters especially engage with this Lylian mode of transformational encounter—but also argues that this encounter often proves disappointing.

Nature and the World

In this thesis, I look at the moon in relationship with the world and 'nature'. To illustrate what I mean by 'nature' and 'the world' (and 'earth') it is useful to consider an example of a moon-character who is not directly involved with the Elizabethan court and who is dramatized earlier than those created by Lyly. In George Buchanan's *Pompae Deorum in Nuptiis Mariae* (The Masque of the Gods at the Marriage of Mary) performed on 6th March 1565 at the Scottish court at Holyrood, probably for the marriage of Mary Livingston, Diana enters and complains about her lost handmaiden:[40]

> I had five Marys as my handmaids, dear father, the splendor and glory of my chorus. With that number I had raised my head aloft to heaven, and the other gods regarded me as blessed. But Venus and Juno, envious of my successes, have stolen one from my number, and now my chorus, bereft of its number, is displeased with itself, my chorus of Pleiades grows dim, despoiled of one of its lights.[41]

The five Marys refer to the other Marys at court (Mary, Queen of Scots, Mary Fleming, Mary Seaton, Mary Beaton, and Mary Livingston herself), and the character of Diana arrives to offer a performative disruption to the wedding ceremony, arguing against its continuation and in favour of the cumulative power of this band of single women. Nine other gods refute Diana's position in opposition to the marriage including Venus, with 'If love shall fail, so also will the bonds of nature',

[39] Jankowski, *Pure Resistance*, p. 198.
[40] Martin Wiggins with Catherine Richardson, *A Catalogue of British Drama 1533 – 1642*, 9 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), I, 418.
[41] George Buchanan, *Pompae Deorum in Nuptiis Mariae* (1565), in Dana F. Sutton, *An Analytic Bibliography of On-Line Neo-Latin Texts* (University of Birmingham: 1999). Translated from Latin <http://www.dhst-whso.org/biogs/E000213b.htm> [accessed 24th March 2019], np.

and Jupiter, who argues that the time has come for marriage: 'But now, since the sweeter part of life is almost wholly spent in [Diana's] service, let an age fit for marriage serve a husband. By thus doing things in turns, nature's immutable order is preserved, and the world's mutual love endures'.[42] The format of court masques, which saw an antimasque followed by the masque proper, was not established until much later but Diana's presence nonetheless prefigures the arrangement in which, as David Lindley notes, '[d]iscord threatens […] but is inevitably overturned'.[43] Though Diana's disruption does not last long and is quickly shut down, she posits a discordant chance for Mary to evade the marriage she is undertaking. Venus and Jupiter overturn this discord through recourse to 'nature', 'nature's immutable order', and the 'world's mutual love' which all demand marriages. Diana enters in oppositional stance against 'nature' and 'the world' to assert Mary's transactional status as someone who has been stolen from her, and to call attention to potentially harmful and non-consensual aspects of this wedding.

For the purpose of this study and with the above example in mind, I look at the 'natural' as a shifting range of hegemonic social practices in the early modern era.[44] The 'natural' social practice that I am concerned with here is heterosexual monogamy, male/female marriage. The upholding of marriage requires the maintenance of other social practices including what Gayle S. Rubin refers to as 'the sex/gender system', 'a set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity, and in which these transformed sexual needs are satisfied'.[45] The 'natural', in Buchanan's masque, stands for rigid biologically determined definitions of sex and gender and the relationship in which men and women exist in society. The idea of the 'natural' is related to the early modern concept of Natural Law, which (as R.S. White has argued) has sources in pre-Socratic times and had a 'pervasive influence on Renaissance literary theory'.[46] He writes '[a]t the heart of the concept lies a belief that survival of the species is a fundamental instinct to human beings'.[47] This stress on the continuation of humanity, or as the shepherd Stesias asks of the character Nature in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*, the '[propagation of] the issue of our kind', involves a system of reproduction, which, within the social structures of early modern England,

[42] Buchanan.
[43] 'The antimasque […] became a fixed part of the masque's pattern after 1609', David Lindley, *The Court Masque* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1984) pp. 1-2, p. 2.
[44] Jeffrey Masten, 'Philology's Queer Children', lecture given at *Shakespeare Association of America 46th Annual Conference* (Los Angeles, California, 2018).
[45] Gayle S. Rubin, 'The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex' (1975), in *A Gayle Rubin Reader: Deviations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 33-65 (p. 34).
[46] R. S. White, *Natural Law in English Renaissance Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 4.
[47] White, p. 1.

necessarily requires marriage.[48] When considered 'natural' (as in Buchanan's masque) heterosexual monogamy is regarded as intuitive and essential. Marriage by way of heterosexual monogamy and kinship bonds is inscribed as a fundamental mode of living as human in the world.

Marriage is *the* normative system of relationality in early modern England, sanctioned by both state and church. 'The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony' from *The Book of Common Prayer* (1559) lists the purposes of matrimony as 'the procreation of children', 'a remedy against sin and to avoid fornication', and thirdly, 'mutual society, help, and comfort'.[49] These first two purposes are brought together through the notion of nature in humanist thought. Richard Taverner's translation of Erasmus' *Praise of Matrimony* (1536[?]) asks 'what thing is so agreeable to nature as matrimony? For nothing is so naturally given neither to men, nor yet to any other kind of brute beasts as that ever one should preserve his kind from destruction and by propagation of posterity to make it as it were immortal, which without carnal copulation (as every man knoweth) cannot be brought to pass'.[50] 'Nature' was also used as a justification for determining and fixing gendered roles, including the inferiority of women, within the system of marriage. For example, in Richard Hyrde's translation of Juan Luis Vives' *Instruction of a Christian Woman* (1523; 1529[?]): 'Nature herself cryeth and commandeth that the woman shall be subject and obedient to the man […] In all the which things Nature sheweth that the male's duty is to succor and defend, and the female's to follow and to wait upon the male and to creep under his aid and obey him, that she may live the better'.[51] As I have stressed, Buchanan's 'nature' is informed by these relational and gender norms. Diana, then, and the moon-character, stands at opposition to this version of nature. In Buchanan's masque, this opposition is primarily through chastity, but I will show how Lyly expands the outside stance of the moon-character to involve a broader range of resistances to the relational status quo. The spatial position of the moon 'outside' the earth is relevant conceptually throughout the thesis. The focus of this project and its contribution to early modern criticism lies in the ways in which the moon offers an outside perspective which threatens and challenges this version of the 'natural'.

[48] *The Woman in the Moon*, 1.1.42.
[49] 'The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony', from *The Book of Common Prayer* (1559), in *Daughters, Wives, and Widows: Writings by Men about Women and Marriage in England*, 1500-1640, ed. Joan Lasen Klein (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), pp. 3-10 (p. 5).
[50] Erasmus, *A Right Fruitful Epistle […] in Laud and Praise of Matrimony* (1518), trans. Richard Taverner (1536[?]), in *Daughters, Wives, and Widows*, pp. 65-96 (p. 79).
[51] Juan Luis Vives, *A Very Fruitful and Pleasant Book Called the Instruction of a Christian Woman* (1532), trans. Richard Hyrde (1529[?]), in *Daughters, Wives, Widows*, pp. 97-138 (p. 114).

Because it takes place in Scotland rather than the English court, Buchanan's masque demonstrates that Diana's oppositional stance to marriage was recognized, importantly, within a political conversation distinct from the marriage question of Elizabeth I. As Hackett, Berry and Jankowski have demonstrated, Elizabethan iconography which casts the queen as the moon is often politically invested in the issue of succession (which I will go on to explore later in this introduction). Within the English court, in a cancelled part of the *Entertainment at Kenilworth* (1575), Diana takes a similar role and enters in an attempt to claim back a lost nymph (Zabeta, or Elizabeth, herself).[52] Although Diana, goddess of chastity, might seem a counterintuitive choice, she is a prevalent character in wedding masques in the mid- to late- sixteenth century, and appears in the anonymous *Portrait of Sir Henry Unton* (*c.* 1596), in a masque that Martin Wiggins suggests would have occurred at Unton's wedding around 1580.[53]

Figure 1: Detail from Anonymous, *Portrait of Sir Henry Unton*, *c*. 1596, oil on panel, National Portrait Gallery, London <https://www.npg.org.uk> [accessed 12th April 2019].

[52] Diana states 'nowe Nimphs looke well about: | Some happie eye, espy my *Zabeta* out', in George Gascoigne, 'The Princelye pleasures, at the Courte at Kenelwoorth', in John Nichols, *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elisabeth Archer, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014) II, 312.
[53] Martin Wiggins with Catherine Richardson, *A Catalogue of British Drama 1533 – 1642*, 9 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), II, 252-53.

Diana is here wearing a crescent headdress and costume embroidered with moons which explicitly draw attention to her connection with the material moon as object in the night sky. These lunar accoutrements broadcast their own ability to emblematize. The costume of the moon-character is part of a cultural memory that insists upon the lunar as a denotative code. Through Elizabeth and the wedding masque tradition, this code comes to indicate an evasion of marriage and normative relationships as well as an assertion of isolated female power. In her theatrical form, as we will see in the discussion below, Diana's 'stance apart' is visually and emphatically linked to the material moon; and her resistance to enforced heterosexual monogamy is mapped onto the relationship and distance between the moon and earth. Dressed in moons, Diana looks like an alien, a visitor who has the potential to transform any earthling she may encounter. In these wedding masques, we see a tension between the lunar, signifying the possibility of alternative modes of relationship, and the worldly, signifying the inevitability of marriage and loss of singularity. This tension fundamentally shapes the moon-character that Lyly inherits and develops. The thesis will demonstrate how Lyly, however, goes beyond the emblematic 'Diana' of the masque to create a more complicated and nuanced character, and broadens its involvement with non-normative relationships, sexualities and genders. Lyly's moon becomes a place beyond patriarchal jurisdiction as well as a character who can evade it. Shakespeare's drama goes on specifically to respond—often sceptically—to these facets of Lyly's moon-character.

The manner of the 'cosmic kinship' between the earth and moon in early modern cosmology is relevant here. In Aristotle's *De Caelo* (written in 350 BCE), an influential text for early modern cosmologies, such as Robert Recorde's *The Castle of Knowledge* (1556), the moon's position as both celestial and terrestrial renders it a 'borderland'—above it lie the ethereal and incorruptible heavens and below it the earth.[54] In this text (and its later commentaries), the earth is not only more 'natural' but it is also a more sexualized place than the moon. In subtle distinction from the 'world' (which can refer to both the earth specifically and the cosmos), the 'earth' evokes not only the maintenance of kinship systems but a corrupt, immoral, or even traumatic sense of relationality. In *De Caelo*, the moon occupies a position neither completely set apart from the earth and its susceptibility to impurity, nor entirely embroiled within it. Throughout medieval and early modern cosmological writings, the question over the earth-likeness of the moon is complicatedly intertwined with ideas of

[54] For an extensive list of manuscripts, print commentaries and translations of *De Caelo* in Europe from the tenth to sixteenth century see *New Perspectives on Aristotle's De Caelo*, ed. Alan C. Bowen and Christian Wildberg (Leiden: Kninklijke Brill NV, 2009), pp. 283-87. See Montgomery, p. 27. Aristotle discusses the corruptible sublunary region and the 'aither' (or ether) above the moon, *On the Heavens*, trans. W. K. C. Guthrie (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1939), p. 256, p. 25.

its morality and mortality. As critics have pointed out, debates over the moon's immaculateness were concerned with both the Virgin Mary and the lunar *maria*, the spots on the moon, which were linked to sin through their materiality.[55] The moon's status as 'borderland' involves it having a 'stance apart' from the earth with its 'natural' relationality and fleshly corruptibility. Significantly, for my project, this early modern 'borderland' moon is also a material body, which is scrutinised for material signs that might indicate either its sexual purity or its inconstancy. Because of the dark and light sides of the moon and its contestable material state, it tends to introduce and disrupt moralized binaries in the drama that I analyse.

Chastity and Inconstancy

I will show that, in Lyly's drama, the moon's capacity to challenge received sexual and social normativity is achieved not just through the paradigm of chastity involved with the classical Diana but other aspects of the personified moon—through inconstancy (and relatedly, lunacy). Throughout this thesis, I argue that chastity, rather than merely evoking passivity and complicity with a patriarchal system, has the potential to work as a kind of resistance to the normative sex/gender system of the early modern period. I explore how in Lyly's work, chastity and inconstancy are both ways in which a woman might deviate from early modern gender and sexual scripts and their most violent and traumatic consequences.

The dual facets of the moon, inconstancy and chastity, are related to a general Renaissance interpretation of pagan gods as contradictory by Pico della Mirandola. Edgar Wind explains: '[a]ll the particular gods, in the Orphic theology as outlined by Pico, seem animated by a law of self-contrariety, which is also a law of self-transcendence. The chaste Diana, despite her coldness, is a mad huntress and changeable as the moon'.[56] The contradiction of the moon as both chaste and inconstant poses a particular problem because of the sexualization of 'inconstancy'. For instance, in Robert Greene's *Planetomachia* (1585), a source for Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon* (*c.* 1588), Venus defends herself by blaming Luna: 'these tragicall euents procede not from the effects of Loue, but by the fleeting inconstancie of Luna, whose mutable influences breedeth in loue a fickle desire to sport

[55] Eileen Reeves, *Painting the Heavens: Art and Science in the Age of Galileo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997) p. 17; Montgomery, p. 69.
[56] Edgar Wind, *Pagan Mysteries in the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1980; first pub. 1958), p. 196.

in chaunge'.[57] In *Planetomachia*, the inconstancy of Luna is inextricably linked with the character Venus who argues that Luna's inconstancy breeds love, and is to blame for the 'tragicall euents' in Greene's text. The moon poses the possibility of a female self with two apparently mutually exclusive sexual identities, more recently associated with the Freudian social construct of the Madonna-whore which sees women as either chaste or promiscuous.[58]

In Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (a key text for Lyly throughout his canon), chastity is presented as a gift from the male which can provide exemption from sexual assault, such as in the story of Daphne and Apollo.[59] Chastity here, like inconstancy, is threatening to a status quo which sees women as sexual objects of the gods. Arthur Golding has difficulty with the contradiction between inconstancy and chastity in his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1567). In the 'Epistle to Robert Earl of Leicester', Phebe (a version of Diana) is absent from the list of examples for the reasons that pagan gods should not be conceived as divine, which includes all the other planets except the moon. He writes:

> For if theis faultes in mortall men doo justly merit blame,
> What greater madnesse can there bee than too impute the same
> Too Goddes, whoose natures ought to bee most perfect, pure and bright,
> Most vertuous, holly, chaast, and wyse, most full of grace and lyght. [60]

Golding's point, that gods should be given equal blame as people for exhibiting the same faults, is, in a way, egalitarian, and Phebe's omission from the list might be related to her connection to Elizabeth I. But Phebe is included in the list of 'further things and purposes' that the gods might import: 'By Phebe maydens chast, | And Pilgrims such as wandringly theyr tyme in travell waste'.[61] These two subjects are at odds with one another and yet emanate from the same source. Golding takes the moon's association with 'inconstancy' away from sexuality, and instead offers a separate group of people involved with movement, idleness, wasteful youth, and Catholic superstition. For Golding, being 'chaast', like Phebe, is a criterion for being a true god, even though he asks '[w]hat greater madnesse can there bee' than to label a pagan god a true one. For Golding, unlike Luna in Greene's *Planetomachia*, Phebe's inconstancy is unrelated to sexuality, and her chastity even rids her of some of the blame, mortality, and faultiness of the other gods. In both cases, these writers

[57] Robert Greene, *Planetomachia and the Text of the Third Tragedy*, ed. D. F. Bratchell (London: Avebury, 1979), p. 47.
[58] See Pat Gaudette, *Madonna/Whore Complex: Love Without Sex; Sex Without Love* (Lecanto, FL: Home & Leisure Publishing, 2011).
[59] Daphne asks '"let me remain a virgin, [...] as once before | Diana's father, Jove, gave her that gift"', Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. Charles Martin (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), 1.679-71.
[60] Arthur Golding, *Shakespeare's Ovid Being Arthur Golding's Translation of the Metamorphoses*, ed. W. H. D. Rouse (London: Centaur Press, 1961; first pub. 1567), Preface.43-46.
[61] Golding, Preface.58, Preface.69-70.

incorporate the moon's association with chastity and inconstancy into discussions about fault and blame. While inconstancy is a negative agent of blame, chastity is regarded as passive but vindicating. Golding's text illuminates the difficulty of negotiating the differences between inconstancy and chastity in representing the moon. This thesis will explore how for Lyly this challenge is an opportunity. His versions of the lunar aspects of chastity and inconstancy are expansive active states of being which are neither mutually exclusive nor solely female.

The notion of inconstancy has the potential to destabilize the category of character. The earliest use of 'character' in English according to the *Oxford English Dictionary* is as a 'distinctive mark impressed, engraved, or otherwise made on a surface' (*c.* 1350).[62] According to the dictionary, the use of 'character' to indicate '[t]he sum of the moral and mental qualities which distinguish an individual or a people, viewed as a homogeneous whole; a person's or group's individuality deriving from environment, culture, experience, etc.; mental or moral constitution, personality' commences at the beginning of the seventeenth century, at the same period of time with which this thesis is concerned.[63] Discussing the Jacobean prose genre of Theophrastan character, Leonore Lieblein argues that character in this sense bears a relation to its earliest use and is:

> […] a crafted artifact, not a reproduction of a person who exists in the world […] Though it bears a recognizable relationship to persons in the world, it tends to single out a social or moral quality or aspect of persons and develop that as the Character. This process of abstraction produces a generalization which may be idealized or satirized but nevertheless remains a category or a type.[64]

Joseph Hall in his section on the 'Man of Inconstancy' in the Theophrastan character book, *Characters of Virtues and Vices* (1608), concludes that he is 'anything rather than himself', indicating that the designation of 'inconstancy' results in a problematizing of the fixity and categorization of character, especially as 'crafted artifact'.[65] Although inconstancy is a category of character, the 'man of inconstancy' also disrupts the process of categorization and the project of Hall's book. 'Inconstancy' for Michel de Montaigne is a way by which a character might be represented as less of a 'crafted artifact' and more as a 'person who exists in the world'. He writes: 'given the natural inconstancy of our behaviour and our opinions it has often occurred to me that even sound authors

[62]'Character', *n.*, *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com> [accessed 1st May 2017].
[63]'Character', *n.*, *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com> [accessed 1st May 2017].
[64] Leanore Lieblein**,** 'Embodied Intersubjectivity and the Creation of Early Modern Character', in Yachnin and Slights (eds), *Shakespeare and Character*, pp. 117-35 (p. 121).
[65]Joseph Hall, *Characters of Vertues and Vices: In Two Bookes* (London: 1608) <http://www.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 1st May 2017], img. 123.

are wrong in stubbornly trying to weave us into one invariable and solid fabric' (1588 version).[66] Montaigne suggests that the gap between the character as crafted artifact and as person who exists in the world could be closed through the writer constructing that character in a more 'inconstant' way. For Montaigne, 'inconstancy' can personate—it can make a character more like a human being. 'Inconstancy', including sexualized inconstancy, poses a unique challenge to a static version of character in the period. Rather than viewing the 'inconstancy' of the moon-character solely as pejorative and misogynistic, this thesis regards it as something which might add the impression of interiority to the 'crafted artifact'.

While inconstancy has been seen as a problem for the stability of literary character, chastity has been thought of as a means of protecting the self and maintaining stability. Bonnie Lander Johnson defines chastity in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as 'a state, both spiritual and psychological of sexual integrity that could be observed through all stages of a person's adult life'.[67] My thesis differs from this reading in that it regards chastity as disruptive and fluid rather than something which asserts stable integrity. Following on from the work of Jankowski and Traub, it explores the hidden spectra of sexualities and relational states within the concept of 'chastity'. Jankowski regards chastity as a mode of resistance to heteronormativity: 'a queer space within the otherwise very restrictive and binary early modern sex/gender system'.[68] Chastity is closely related to female-female desire in the early modern era, as Traub writes: 'chaste femme love among women reveals the erotic licence that the paradigm of chastity enables, particularly when it forms the basis of a community forged through female affections'.[69] On one hand the link between female same-gender attraction and chastity re-inscribes its impossibility and lack of validity; and on the other, it enables its existence without censure. According to Jennifer Drouin, chastity in the early modern era 'is always already imbued with a plurality of lustful sexual possibilities, from prostitute to temptress'.[70] Less has been written on the interrelationship of chastity and inconstancy and its concentration on the moon. My thesis conceives of the more pejorative term 'inconstancy' as something which offers a similar queer possibility in that it resists monogamous kinship structures and asserts the significance of change. James M. Bromley, for instance, sees Lyly's critique of

[66]Michel de Montaigne*, The Complete Essays*, trans. M. A. Screech (London: Penguin, 1987; repub. 1991), p. 373.
[67] Bonnie Lander Johnson, *Chastity in Early Stuart Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), p. 2.
[68] Jankowski, *Pure Resistance*, p. 6.
[69] Traub, p. 231.
[70] Jennifer Drouin, 'Diana's Band: Safe Spaces, Publics, and Early Modern Lesbianism', in *Queer Renaissance Historiography: Backwards Gaze*, ed. Vin Nardizzi, Stephen Guy-Bray, and Will Stockton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 85-110 (p. 91).

constancy in *Love's Metamorphosis* as a critique of monogamy: Niobe 'rewrites the self-discipline of forced monogamy as self-division and madness and recasts the desire for monogamy as psychic disease'.[71] He argues that the lack of differentiation (by critics such as G.K. Hunter and Jankowski) between the nymph, Niobe, and the other two nymphs is misleading, 'a problematic subsumption of inconstancy into virginity'.[72] While Niobe is 'inconstant' ('one that thinks herself above love'), Celia and Nisa are 'chaste', 'a nymph that mocks love' and 'one that hates to love'.[73] But it is important that Lyly does group these three nymphs together, that this group of defences against enforced heteronormative partnerships involve both inconstancy and chastity. Treated with the same weight in the narrative, inconstancy and chastity are both vehicles to enact control over sexuality.

Within my thesis, chastity and inconstancy do not begin and end with sexual identity—they are also modes of redefining who is allowed to exist as an autonomous self. For Margaret Hunt, the assertion of identity in the early modern period involves the exploitation of others, requiring: public voice, vocation, personal autonomy, ability to deploy the labour of family members, bodily self-control, and the power to initiate and definitively refuse sexual intercourse.[74] Chastity and inconstancy rearticulate the terms of identity in that they demand it rests on self-sufficiency and ability to change rather than on control of and power over others. My thesis shows how chastity and inconstancy within Lyly's plays are methods of female self-assertion. They emerge as methods by which women might opt out of a relational system that often regards women as objects of exchange. By destabilizing the binary between chastity and inconstancy, they become modes of articulating different forms of desire rather than restrictive categories. Rather than ways by which society identifies a person's position within broader relational systems, chastity and inconstancy therefore emerge as roles between which the person can move with agency. In this way, they become more involved with inchoate or instinctual forms of desire than established codes of social practice. The thesis goes on to show how the moon-character manifests these methods in Shakespeare's drama, in which both 'th'inconstant moon' and the 'chaste eye' of Diana also exist simultaneously.[75]

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[71] James M. Bromley, '"the onely way to be mad, is to bee constant": Defending Heterosexual Nonmonogamy in John Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis*', *Studies of Philology*, 106.4 (2009) <web.a.ebscohost.com> [accessed 25th May], 420-40 (435).
[72] Bromley, 432, note 18. Kesson points to another of Lyly's protagonists in this play, Protea, in *Love's Metamorphosis*, as a surprisingly dissident and novel portrayal of a woman who is not censured in the narrative for having consensual pre-marital sex in *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 124.
[73] John Lyly, *Love's Metamorphosis*, ed. Leah Scragg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2008), 1.1.27.
[74] Margaret Hunt, 'Afterword', in *Queering the Renaissance*, ed. Jonathan Goldberg (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 359-77 (p. 364).
[75] *Romeo and Juliet*, 8.151, *As You Like It*, 3.2.3.

Lunacy and Utopia

The thesis will explore how the plays of Lyly and Shakespeare present the moon-character, asking whether they put forward its potential fluidity between chastity and inconstancy as morally deviant or liberating. The utopian and the lunatic are both ways of framing the moon-character's oppositional stance. Lunacy, from 'luna', and utopia, as an alternative and superior place, both relate to the moon. Carol Thomas Neely numbers 'lunatic' as one of the 'adjective[s] denoting not permanent attributes, but temporary behaviours' in early modern usage.[76] Neely regards mentally disordered people on the early modern stage as 'distracted' and dismisses 'lunatic' as a synonym for 'distraction' without much symbolic freight. However, I argue that the term 'lunatic' is significant because it directly relates to the moon and its syncretic meanings, both etymologically and according to early modern medical theory. For instance, Andrew Boorde defines 'a lunatic person', in *The Breviarie of Health* (1587), as he who 'will be ravished of his wits ones in a moone, for as the moone doth change and is variable, so be those persons mutable and not constant witted'.[77] Similarly, the utopian, as I will go on to explore in this introduction, relates to the moon through the moon's emergence across the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a site for literary other worlds and voyage. As Nicole Pohl writes, '[u]topia is inseparable from the imaginary voyage'.[78] These two frames for viewing the moon-character reveal different stances on its resistance to the sexual and relational status quo. While the utopian involves putting something forward with hopefulness and futurity, lunacy is more related to the morally deviant and the unfeasible. While 'lunacy' involves an invalidation of the 'lunatic' person's perspective, and usually requires cure and to be brought back to order, the utopian is suggestive of a hopeful resistance to the hegemonic norms of a current moment. Significantly, in *The Woman in the Moon*, which I will discuss in chapter one, Lyly complicates this binary.

Lunacy and utopia are closely connected in early modern thought. From Thomas More's *Utopia* (first published 1516), the idea of utopia has been connected to notions of ridiculousness and absurdity. The pseudo Aristotlean *Problem XXX* promoted the idea that melancholy (though only melancholy experienced by men) contains genius within it.[79] Melancholy, another of Neely's synonyms for

[76] Carol Thomas Neely, *Distracted Subjects: Madness and Gender in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 3.
[77] Andrew Boorde, *The Breviarie of Health* (London: 1587; first pub. 1547) <http://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 5th May 2016], p. 73.
[78] Nicole Pohl, 'Of Balloons and Foreign Worlds: Mary Hamilton and Eighteenth-Century Flights of Fancy', *Azimuth*, 2.3 (2014), 61-77 (61).
[79] See Neely, p. 13.

distraction, intersects with early modern concepts of lunacy, and often includes 'madness' as a sub-type, such as in Robert Burton's *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1628).[80] Winfried Schleiner writes about 'the relationship between melancholy and utopian thinking' and 'melancholy as diseased imagination' in the period.[81] Schleiner explores the relationship between deviant imagination and mental disorder in the character of Hamlet, for instance. However, the difficult relationship between lunacy and utopian thinking, or a hopeful, non-normative, and resistant imagination, is rarely examined within female characters. Neely has established that there was a 'regendering of madness' over the early modern period as women 'were disproportionately the object of cultural diagnosis and reinterpretation'.[82] This thesis looks at this 'regendering' in connection with utopian re-evaluations of sexual, relational, and gender roles on the stage. It traces new connections between the two concepts of lunacy and utopia by looking at how dreaming of different formulations of 'natural' modes of human relationships has been portrayed by playwrights as both utopian and lunatic. As I will demonstrate below, Lyly's version of utopia builds on a cultural obsession with possible lunar worlds and the moon as a site of alterity. In my first chapter, I show the intimate relationship between utopian thinking and lunacy in a female character, Pandora, in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*, which is set in Utopia. In *The Woman in the Moon*, Pandora's lunacy is regarded as felicitous. But in Shakespeare's single-authored and collaborative plays, which I examine in this thesis, lunacy is often pathologized and requires curative measures. By 'pathologize', I mean that lunacy is treated as a disease that must be cured and the utopian imagination that it involves is delegitimized. This is a step towards the 'dehumanization' of mental disorder, about which Neely (with reference to Michel Foucault) argues: '[b]y the end of the seventeenth century […] there were the first (partial and gradual) hints of the dehumanization of the mad. This potential for their segregation and silencing famously theorized by Foucault is first anticipated […] in stage representations of Bedlamites at the beginning of the seventeenth century'.[83] This potential, I argue, can also be seen in the delegitimizing of the moon-character's oppositional stance towards normative relationality. The lunacy in Shakespeare's single-authored and collaborative plays is related to the moon-character and its 'stance apart'. I show how these plays often dramatize how those who allow themselves to imagine too far beyond the parameters of 'nature' are punished and brought back to earth through the label of lunacy.

[80] Neely, p. 3; See the 'madman' in 'The Argument of the Frontispiece', in Robert Burton, *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (1628), ed. Holbrook Jackson (New York: New York Review of Books, 2001), p. 8.
[81] Winfried Schleiner, *Melancholy, Genius, and Utopia in the Renaissance* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harassowitz, 1991), p. 14, p. 98.
[82] Neely, p. 6.
[83] Neely, pp. 6-7.

Although a historicist study, my work is also rooted in more recent critical theories of futurity and utopia, especially queer utopias. Society's investment in obligatory heterosexual monogamy as a primary kinship bond is not confined to the past. For instance, Adrienne Rich, in 1980, has written about the 'bias of compulsory heterosexuality' which renders alternative forms of sexuality 'deviant' or 'invisible'.[84] Rituals around marriage, which were established or made concrete in the early modern era, still exist—for instance, 'The Form and Solemnization of Matrimony' survives with alterations. And, although same-sex marriage has been made legal in the United Kingdom and in twenty-five other nations, this has been regarded as queer 'assimilation' into a heteronormative model which regards coupled members of society more highly.[85] Modern theories of queer utopia look at how the historical discourse of the 'natural' persists as a normalizing element in the present day. At the same time, looking forward with hope is not a recent phenomenon and these more current theories are useful in highlighting how futurity and utopian thinking featured in work of the past. For instance, the ability for moon-characters to shift between different sexual and gender roles is echoed in Rubin's definition of a feminist utopia from the 1970s: 'the feminist movement must dream of even more than the elimination of the oppression of women. It must dream of the elimination of obligatory sexualities and sex roles'.[86] José Esteban Muñoz, building on the work of Ernst Bloch, theorises utopian thinking as:

> A turn to the no-longer-conscious [that] enabled a critical hermeneutics attuned to comprehending the not-yet-here. This temporal calculus performed and utilized the past and the future as armaments to combat the devastating logic of the world of the here and now, a notion of nothing existing outside the sphere of the current moment, a version of reality that naturalizes cultural logics such as capitalism and heteronormativity.[87]

This thesis regards the moon-character as having the potential to be utopian in this way. The moon-character is an experimental character that is resistant to the sexual and relational structures 'naturalized' into its present and an early modern 'devastating logic of the world'. While my thesis does not focus on the power structures within the Elizabethan court, it still engages with politics, especially with the process of turning what is imagined into what is possible.

[84] Adrienne Rich, 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Experience', *Signs*, 5.4 (1980), 631-60 (632).
[85] See Mattilda Bernstein Sycamore (ed.), *That's Revolting: Queer Strategies for Resisting Assimilation* (Berkeley, CA: Soft Skull Press, 2004).
[86] Rubin, p. 61.
[87] José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2009), p. 12.

2. Methodology: 'Moon-names' and Diana's Band

Figure 2: Inigo Jones, Design of Diana and her band, for William Davenant, *Salmacida Spolia* (published 1639), Orgel and Strong, II, 751, fig. 408

In order to identify moon-characters in Lyly and Shakespeare and other dramatic texts, I use two main methods: firstly, I identify them through their names; and secondly, in the specific plays I study, I look more broadly at a group who are identified with Diana's band through their relationships with the moon. Michael Drayton's narrative poem *Endimion and Phoebe* (1595) provides an example of the proliferation of moon titles in the late Elizabethan era:

> And now great *Phoebe* in her triumph came,
> With all the tytles of her glorious name,
> *Diana*, *Delia*, *Luna*, *Cynthia*,
> *Virago*, *Hecate*, and *Elythia*,
> *Prothiria*, *Dictinna*, *Proserpine*,
> *Latona*, and *Lucina*, most divine; […][88]

[88] Michael Drayton, *Endimion and Phoebe* (London: 1595) <https://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk/> [accessed 5th August 2018], img. 41, p. 42.

These titles attest to the slippery and syncretic associations of the moon-character. For the purpose of this study, I look at the moon-character mainly through the theatrical signifier of a character's name. What I am calling the 'moon-character' is a representation of the moon as a character on the stage usually through a classical analogue such as: Diana, Phoebe/Phebe, Cynthia (Roman names for Artemis), Luna (the Latin word for and Roman personification of the moon, associated with its inconstancy); Hecate and Proserpine/Proserpina or Persephone (names for underworld components of the Roman/Greek triumvirate moon goddess); Titania (another name for Diana in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*); Delia; Lucina; Trivia; and Pandora (who is established as connected to the moon in John Lyly's play *The Woman in the Moon* in *c*. 1588).[89] This goddess or queen figure took on a porous quality which meant that her role slid between other goddesses related to the moon. The different titles of the moon invoke different associations but characters with these names on the early modern stage often have a familial relationship with each other or exhibit a transitionality between one another.[90] This transitionality is involved with the commonality of the physical moon which acts as a bridge between the seemingly contradictory aspects of the goddesses. The moon-character in the broadest sense does not belong to any specific play or dramatist but is an evolving idea which can only be seen comparatively.

For this project, using moon-names as my starting point, I have looked broadly at the trajectory of moon-characters from 1550 to 1631 (see the timeline in appendix), but focus primarily on a comparative analysis of the moon-characters of Lyly and Shakespeare and Shakespeare in collaboration, over a period of approximately thirty years, from *c.* 1584 to *c.* 1613. The thesis looks at moon-characters in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon* (*c.* 1588), *Galatea* (*c.*1584), *Endymion: The Man in the Moon* (*c.* 1588), and Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (*c.* 1600), *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

[89] This is not an exhaustive list of possible titles that are related to the moon-goddess, but representative examples of wider material.

[90] For another (smaller) collection of characters in early modern plays with these names see Thomas L. Berger, William C. Bradford, and Sidney L. Sondergard, *An Index of Characters in Early Modern English Drama: Printed Plays, 1500-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; first pub. 1975). Characters who transition between different 'moon' titles include: Luna in John Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon* (*c.* 1590) who is also called Cynthia, and refers to her roles as Hecate and Diana (5.1.2; 5.1.303, 5.1.304); the Moon in Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Beauty* (1608), who is 'Bright Æthiopia*, the siluer* Moone*,* | As she was [a] Hecate', in *The Characters of Two Royall Masques* (London: 1608), img. 23; Proserpine in Thomas Heywood's *The Silver Age* (performed 1611) who is also a 'beauteous childe the Moone', *The Silver Age* (London: 1613) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 24th March 2019], img. 26; Cynthia in Thomas Campion's *The Lord's Masque* (performed 1607) who is also called Diana and Phoebe, *The Discription of a Maske* (London: 1607) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 24th March 2019], img. 25; Luna in Aston Cokain's *Trappolin Credute Principe or Trappolin, Suppos'd a Prince* (performed 1633), who has the first line 'Cinthia I am', *A Chain of Golden Poems Embellished with Wit, Mirth, and Eloquence* (London: [1658]), <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 24th March 2019], img. 462.

(*c.* 1595), *Pericles* (with Wilkins, *c.* 1607), and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (with Fletcher, *c.* 1613). I regard these dramatic texts in hypertextual relationship with one another. Hypertextuality, originally outlined by Gérard Genette, is 'the relationship uniting a text B (which I shall call the hypertext) to an earlier text A (I shall, of course, call it the hypotext), upon which it is grafted in a manner that is not that of commentary'.[91] It is a word more often found in adaptation studies than Shakespearean source studies as it privileges the relationship between two (or more) texts rather than the supposed end point (the Shakespeare play).[92] This methodology privileges neither source nor adaptation but instead regards texts in dialogue with one another, enabling us to focus on encounters *between* texts and playwrights. I look at pairs of plays in chapters two (*Galatea* and *As You Like It*) and three (*Endymion* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*). These chapters each explore a Lyly and Shakespeare play in comparison, but also focus on the encounter between the two playwrights—especially the way in which Lyly is 'grafted' onto Shakespeare. But over the course of the thesis, I also explore the hypertextuality between all the plays above using the moon-character as a lens. I have chosen these plays because they contain moon-characters (except for *The Two Noble Kinsmen* in which the moon-character, Diana, is sought after but does not appear) who are 'grafted' onto each other and leave a cultural lineage behind them.

I have primarily identified these moon-characters by their names. Mark Anderson writes that names in early modern drama have a 'denotative value', and that there was 'a conspicuous and extensive attempt to use the names of characters in popular drama to expose their individual characters'.[93] Anderson notes that the ability to denote individual characters through their naming relates to 'the densely symbolic English masque' and to what Ben Jonson called 'court hieroglyphics'.[94] In this formulation, the name is regarded as a cipher which might be decrypted to reveal deeper significations. This thesis recognizes various names that were in currency to denote the moon as both indicative of the material moon and an evolving cultural memory of the dramatic moon-character in its different permutations. While using these names as indicative of a commonality between these characters involved with the moon, I also account for the oppositions between name and characterization in both private and public theatre. I will argue in what follows that characters

[91] Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997; first pub. 1982), p. 5.
[92] See Robert Stam, 'Introduction: the Theory and Practice of Adaptation', in *Literature and Film: A Guide to the Theory and Practice of Film Adaptation*, ed. Robert Stam and Alessandra Raengo (Oxford: Blackwell, 2005), pp. 1-52 (p. 31).
[93] Mark Anderson, 'Defining Society: the Function of Character Names in Ben Jonson's Early Comedies', *Literary Onomastics Studies*, 8.19 (1981), 180-94 (183, 184).
[94] Anderson, 183, 184.

with moon-names in public theatre should also be considered as moon-characters. Doing so expands the usual parameters of the study of moon-goddess Diana figures in the Elizabethan and Jacobean courts which tend to focus on private drama and masques. Characters such as Phoebe in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (*c.* 1600), Diana Capilet in his *All's Well that Ends Well* (*c.* 1605), and Cynthia in George Chapman's *The Widows' Tears* (*c.* 1605) are human rather than goddesses but nonetheless are defined through their denotative connection to the moon-character. This is sometimes explicit; for instance, on Diana Capilet's entrance, Bertram points out that she is 'Titled goddess' establishing her character in relation to the moon goddess.[95] The 'standard public/private division' between types of theatre over the turn of the sixteenth century (outdoor and indoor) is also questionable.[96] This thesis makes a contribution to this ongoing debate by showing how the moon-character traverses this unfixed division in the works of Lyly and Shakespeare.

Moon-characters that appear in masques might be more emblematic and less integrated into the theatrical world in a way which creates the illusion of available selfhood. Often even within plays the moon-character belongs to a masque or to a masque dynamic: in Thomas Heywood's *The Silver Age* (1611), Proserpine appears onstage first doing a dance 'attired like the Moone' and singing a song; Cynthia is part of a masque in *The Maid's Tragedy* by Francis Beaumont and Fletcher (*c.* 1611); and Luna is part of a masque in the later Aston Cokain's *Trappolin Creduto Principe* (1633).[97] But, as Laura Shohet argues, the masque is erroneously often regarded as a medium that signifies more simply than public theatre and '[w]e seldom take other genres of language or performance to signify in quite so straightforward a way'.[98] Because of its transitional and syncretic connotations, it is difficult for the moon-character to signify 'straightforwardly' in any context. But my thesis shows that over the turn of the seventeenth century, recognisable versions of lunar characterization, through names, language, costume and props, come to evoke this mode of character and its cultural context on the stage. These emblems of lunar characterization bring with them the cultural baggage, syncretic connotations, and *strangeness* of the moon-character, who is denotatively marked as occupying a 'stance apart' from the usual operations of the world.

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[95] Shakespeare, *All's Well that Ends Well*, 4.2.3.

[96] Eoin Price, for instance, argues that the establishment of the indoor theatre as private mainly occurred during the Jacobean period, in *'Public' and 'Private' Playhouses in Renaissance England: The Politics of Publication* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015), p. 48, p. 49.

[97] Thomas Heywood, *The Siluer Age* (London: 1613) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 24th March 2019], img. 26; Cynthia comes under 'Maskers' in the 'Speakers' for John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont, *The Maides Tragedy* (London: 1619), <www.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 30th January 2018], img. 3; Cokain, imgs 461-65.

[98] Laura Shohet, *Reading Masques: the English Masque and Public Culture in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), p. 27.

In contextualising the moon-characters of Lyly and Shakespeare within a broader historical trajectory, I have also expanded the parameters of the moon-character by looking at characters named after derivatives of the word 'moon', which appears sometimes as an alternative or principle name for the moon goddess (as in Ben Jonson's *Masque of Blackness*, 1605, and *Masque of Beauty*, 1608).[99] But the word 'moon' is also denotative of male moon-characters such as Maister Full-Moone in *Northward Ho* (*c.* 1605) by Thomas Dekker and John Webster, Mooncalf the tapster in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), and Starveling's Moonshine in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c.* 1595). As I will discuss below, I look at Endymion, 'the man in the moon', in John Lyly's *Endymion: the Man in the Moon* (*c.* 1588), as a moon-character whose love of the moon involves taking on its aspects as part of his identity. These characters are usually left out of discussions on the personified goddess of the moon. However, for all of these characters, the moon forms a substantial part of their identity and evokes a complex literary heritage. Because of their theatrical history, these male moon-characters are in dialogue with their more ubiquitous female counterparts. These characters, sometimes unwittingly, are courtiers or servants of the female moon-character, but also, through Lyly's paradigm of the encounter, have the potential to take on the oppositional stance of female moon-characters. The moon itself is multi-gendered. The conception of the moon as a person in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is influenced both by the medieval man in the moon and the re-emerging female Greco-Roman goddess.[100] Moon-characters with complex gendered configurations attest to this mode of character's 'stance apart', as they evade society's delineation of gendered roles.

Male moon-characters point to problems with any attempt to delimit the moon-character—or to categorize a mode of character which itself resists categorisation. Although moon names are my starting point, this thesis aims to highlight this mode of character's indefinite limits. The slipperiness of moon titles indeed reflects the impossibility of delimiting or containing the moon-character, which could also arguably include characters named after the abstract qualities of Diana—for instance, those named Huntress or Chastity. These titles most obviously signify both the character's name and the character's function. This is indicative of the negotiation between the construction of

[99] Martin Wiggins with Catherine Richardson, *A Catalogue of British Drama 1533 – 1642*, 9 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), IV, 171-75, 452-56.
[100] Montgomery, p. 65.

individuality and theatrical function which is a feature of all these moon-characters.[101] These names however seem deliberately to bypass the syncretic associations of the moon and demand more direct interpretation. The nymphs of Diana and the Amazons who worship her also demonstrate the difficulty of stabilizing and delimiting the moon-character, and while I do not include these characters on my timeline, I explore these potential extensions of the moon in *Galatea* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. In this way, my thesis avoids the impossible task of attempting to delimit the moon-character when the limits of the moon-character seem indefinite. Instead, through the frameworks of Diana's band and theatrical encounter, I show how earth-bound characters on stage can become moon-characters, and also how moon-characters themselves become earth-bound. Jennifer Drouin has specifically linked 'Diana's band' to lesbianism and suggested that its use in early modern texts often euphemistically points to 'lesbian separatists'.[102] My thesis complicates this formulation by looking at male members of the moon's band. The thesis uses a looser conception of Diana's band which involves a fluidity of gender presentations and acts of actively adopting or emulating the aspects of the moon-character. Drouin argues that '"Diana" exhibits a stable identity, notwithstanding her many aliases'.[103] I take issue with this notion of stability. Instead, I argue that the indefinable limits of the moon-character themselves become a recognisable feature of this mode of character, especially through Lyly's work, emphasising the fluidity and resistance to fixity associated with Luna and the phases of the moon.

[101] Berger, Bradford, and Sondergard point out that abstract nouns as names indicate both 'the individual character' and 'the individual character's function', p. 10.
[102] Drouin, p. 97.
[103] Drouin, p. 85, note 1.

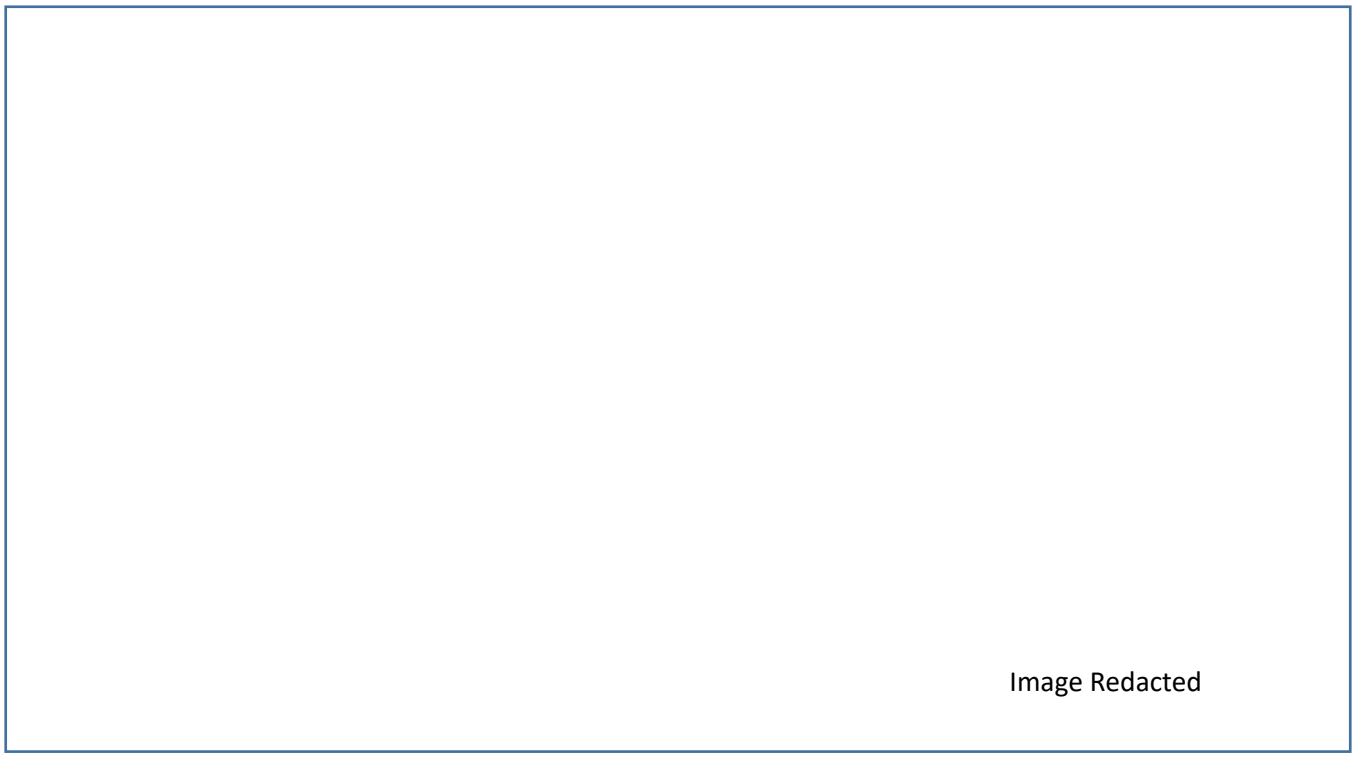

Figure 3: Leonard Digges' geocentric version of the universe and Thomas Digges' heliocentric version of the universe, from *A Prognostication Everlasting of Right Good Effect* (London: 1576), <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> [accessed 4th October 2015], img. 7, img. 46.

In the early modern period, the moon as an object-rock or a heavenly body was itself undergoing a crisis of materiality. Most commentators regarded the moon as either the first of the planets orbiting the earth that designated the border between the translunary ethereal plane and the worldly unstable one, or a de-centred satellite of the earth. In the 1576 edition of Leonard Digges' *A Prognostication Everlasting*, it occupied both of these positions simultaneously (see fig. 3). In this edition, Thomas Digges annexed a Copernican system to his father Leonard Digges' book, which was reprinted many times containing the earth-centric version of the universe. This is the first English book to publish the Copernican cosmos and therefore has significance within critical narratives of the 'rise of science'. These often point out the progressive nature of Thomas Digges' depiction of the universe but ignore the simultaneity of the cosmological structures in the book.[104] The substance of the moon was also contestable. It was considered both as a sacral sphere, which was abstract and mathematical, and as an earth-like body that might be habitable and that was becoming more and

[104] Alexander Koyré writes about 'the step' Thomas Digges made in 1576, *From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe* (Baltimore, Maryland: John Hopkins Press, 1957; 2nd edn 1968; repr. 1970), p.35. Marie Boas writes '[t]he universe of Digges is no longer the closed world of Copernicus', *The Scientific Renaissance*, *1450-1630* (Edinburgh: R. & R. Clark, Ltd., 1962), p. 107; David Wootton writes 'Digges, Bruno, Benedetti and Gilbert were [...] bold pioneers of the new philosophy', *The Invention of Science: A New History of the Scientific Revolution* (London: Penguin, 2015), p. 158.

more a site for space-travel narratives and literary utopias. Scientific discoveries in the early seventeenth century influenced the conception of the moon as increasingly earthly. In 1609, Kepler published *The New Astronomy*, arguing for elliptical orbits of the planets, and in 1610, Galileo, using the new invention of the telescope, confirmed that there were mountains on the moon and new moons around Jupiter.[105]

Anna Marie Roos argues that from 1400 to 1660 there was a process of 'desacralization' of the moon from a 'perfect polished sphere' to a 'potentially earth-like world'.[106] Of course, the purity of the moon had been under question for a much longer time (for example, through the debate over the spots on the moon and their association with sinfulness).[107] Roos' narrative of the desacralization of the moon is broadly useful in showing it to be a contestable and changing site. However, this trajectory of perceptions of the moon from abstraction to earthiness does not map straightforwardly onto the trajectory of the dramatic moon-character, which is not entirely linear on the early modern British stage. Alistair Fowler questions 'how far the Renaissance was a movement of increasing secularity' and argues that a thrust of early science was discovering personal immortality, and that the increasing closeness of or ability to access the moon in fact suggests an opening in the moon's orbit, 'the unqualified divider between mortality and immortality, mutability and immutability'.[108] Likewise, Louise Hill Curth has pointed out that a considerable number of almanacs printed over the period 1550 to 1700 are often overlooked in the history of science.[109] These continued to focus 'almost exclusively on traditional, orthodox medicine based on astrological/Galenic principles' up until 1700, even alongside medical advertisements that reflected a more 'empirical' form of healthcare.[110] Usefully, Mary Thomas Crane characterizes 1530-1610 as a 'period of ferment, confusion and angst [...] when the settled Aristotelian, Galenic, and Ptolemaic accounts of how the universe worked began to fall apart and the ideas that would replace them were still inchoate and in flux'.[111] This thesis is less concerned with a progressivist narrative of the rise of science and more concerned with the co-existence of different readings of the moon simultaneously in the cultural

[105] Anna Marie E. Roos, *Luminaries in the Natural World: The Sun and the Moon in England, 1400-1720* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), pp. 67-68. John North, *The Norton History of Astronomy and Cosmology* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995; first pub, 1994), p. 329.
[106] Roos, p. 2.
[107] See footnote 55.
[108] Alistair Fowler, *Time's Purpled Masquers: Stars and the Afterlife in Renaissance English Literature (*Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), p. 10, p. 68, p. 69.
[109] Louise Hill Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine: 1550-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 1-2.
[110] Curth, pp. 1-2.
[111] Mary Thomas Crane, *Losing Touch with Nature*: *Literature and the New Science in Sixteenth-Century England* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2014), p. 2.

imagination. I will explore how these contesting ideas of the moon keep returning in the efforts of playwrights to map them onto characters. Playwrights who engage with the staged moon ask how they might make a space-object into a theatrical character. In what ways is this character at a remove, powerfully immune from human laws; or, on the contrary, to what extent is it colonisable, earthly, accessible?

The process of considering the moon as a potentially habitable place, such as in William Gilbert's maps of the moon (prepared in the 1590s, published 1631), was a partially colonial exercise—as suggested by Gilbert naming part of the moon's surface 'Britannia'.[112] Texts such as Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moone* (published in 1638; written possibly as early as the 1580s) and John Wilkins' *The Discovery of a World on the Moon* (1640), have been considered as originating texts for the emergence of the moon as a site for literary other-worlds. David Cressy argues that an obsession with the moon began in the 1630s with the question of whether the moon could be habitable, through the writing of Godwin and Wilkins.[113] Cressy writes that, prior to this, the use of 'the man in the moon' is 'a marker of preposterous absurdity […] Audiences from Shakespeare to Behn understood that they were engaged with a comedy whenever there was a reference to "the man in the moon"'.[114] This thesis suggests, however, that serious notions of the moon as an alternative habitable world in fact emerged much earlier than Cressy envisages. As Wilkins himself explains, the idea that the moon has the potential to be another world is not a new one: 'That there is a World in the Moone, hath beene the direct opinion of many ancient with some moderne Mathematicians, and may probably be deduced from the tenents of others'.[115] Wilkins refers to a mixture of mythical and historical sources dealing with the moon: Orpheus, Anaxagoras, Democritus, Heraclides, Xenophanes, Pythagoras, Plato, Alcinous, Plotinus, Lucian, Nicholas of Cusa, Giordano Bruni, Nicholas Hill, Maeslin, Johannes Kepler, Galileo and Tomasso Campanella.[116]

The moon was considered as a space that could be occupied (specifically a prison or sanctuary) from the ancient notion that it was a place of purgatorial atonement or an Elysium, a place occupied by

[112] See Montgomery, pp. 98-101.
[113] David Cressy, 'Early Modern Space Travel and the English Man in the Moon', *The American Historical Review*, 111.4 (2006) <http://www.jstor.org> [accessed 20th December 2015], 961-82 (962).
[114] Cressy, 978.
[115] John Wilkins, *A Discourse Concerning a New World and Another Planet* (London: 1640) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 24th March 2019], p. 77, img. 87.
[116] Wilkins, p. 77, img. 87; pp. 82-83, img. 92.

the souls of the dead.[117] The moon was also a location in the Medieval interpretation of the Bible which construed the markings on its surface of the moon as the man (in Numbers 15: 32-36) expelled from the earth as punishment for neglecting the Sabbath, or as Judas or Cain.[118] Lyly uses this folklore tradition in *The Woman in the Moon*, when Stesias and Gunophilus (turned into a thorn-bush) are sent to the moon with Pandora as punishment.[119] The lunar voyage tradition existed prior to the moon-character on stage, in, for instance, early sixteenth-century Latin translations of Lucian of Samosata's *True History* (from the second-century, and an important source-text for Thomas More's *Utopia,* first published 1516).[120] There is also a lunar episode in Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516-32; cantos 33-36) in which Ariosto ascends to the moon. When Lyly and Shakespeare were writing, arguments about the habitability of the moon would have been available in editions of Plutarch's *De facie in Orbe Lunae* (94 CE), and in the texts produced by Giordano Bruno during his time at Oxford (from 1583).[121] Elizabethan astronomers, John Dee and Thomas Digges, and Jacobean astronomers, Thomas Harriot and William Gilbert, were involved in the exploration of the moon's surface and the questions over its earthliness.[122] Aristotle's *De Caelo*, as explored above, with its influence on early modern cosmologies, looked at the 'matter' of the moon and its status as a 'borderland', occupying a partially earthy position, rather than viewing it as abstract and unreachable. As the popularity of the staged moon-character surged over the turn of the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries, there was also a rise of lunar and solar voyages in print: Endymion goes to the moon in Michael Drayton's poem *Endimion and Phoebe* (1595); Keppler's *Somnium* (started in 1593 and published posthumously in 1634) involves travel to the moon in a dream; while Camponella's *City of the Sun* (1602) describes a comparable other-worldly location of the sun. Ben Jonson's masque *News from the New World Discovered on the Moon* (1620) explicitly combines the tradition of the staged moon-character with the lunar voyage. I will return to this masque in the next section and in the conclusion of my thesis.

[117] Montgomery, p. 14.
[118] Montgomery, pp. 65-67.
[119] Nature tells Stesais, 'Be thou her slave, and follow her in the moon', and Stesias says he will 'bear this bush' 'to revenge [him] of Gunophilus' 5.1.318, 5.1.324, 5.1.322.
[120] Chloë Houston confirms the link between Thomas More's Utopia and Lucian's *True History*, writing 'during his own lifetime, More would have been better known as the translator of Lucian as the author of *Utopia*', 'Travelling Nowhere: Global Utopias in the Early Modern Period', *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion*, ed. Jyotsna G. Singh (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009) pp. 82-98 (p. 86).
[121] See Steven J. Dick, *Plurality of Worlds: the Origins of the Extraterrestrial Life Debate from Democritus to Kant* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 20, pp. 63-69.
[122] Anna Marie E. Roos, *Luminaries in the Natural World: The Sun and the Moon in England, 1400-1720* (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), pp. 3-4.

As we have seen, Cressy's argument hinges on the notion that the idea of humans occupying the moon was not taken seriously prior to the 1630s. The proposed seriousness of such possible other worlds after the 1630s is based on the progressivist narrative of the rise of science (discussed above). Critics relate 'seriousness' to the amount of scientific plausibility and rationality in the texts, and the acceptance of a Copernican, heliocentric world-view. John Anthony Butler, for instance, interprets even the height of Francis Godwin's narrator in *The Man in the Moone* (1638), Gonzalez, as related to a growing knowledge of the insignificance of the human in the universe: '[o]ne explanation might be that by using a small narrator Godwin is reducing man's symbolic importance in relation to the cosmos as far as it can be reduced'.[123] Butler's introduction to the text and the introduction by Andy Johnson and Ron Shoesmith focus on the scientific and cosmological context of the work, viewing the narrative as the beginnings of believable discussion about moon travel, involved with the genesis of the science-fiction genre.[124] For instance, Butler writes: '[t]he incorporation of scientific data in the work, giving as it did a veneer of "possibility" that a work of mere fantasy would not have had, prompted other writers from Wilkins onward to create more interesting and involved texts with similar themes'.[125] Relatedly, these editors also question whether Godwin's narrative fits within the framework of utopian fiction. Butler writes that utopias are often considered less 'artistic' than other literature because 'what is important to their authors is not the craft of fiction but social observation, what Matthew Arnold called "criticism of life"'.[126] By drawing *The Man in the Moone* towards their idea of utopian fiction, they give it a social, political, and scientific importance. Butler decides that this text does not ultimately fit into his conception of utopian fiction because of its disruption of Godwin's Christian religion: '[l]unar civilisation cannot be taken as a substitute for the real paradise which is the life everlasting'.[127] William Poole similarly argues that religion prevents the classification of (the English version of) *The Man in the Moone*, not as utopian fiction, but as science-fiction: 'when we turn to Jean Baudoin's French translation of Godwin, we find that Lunar Christianity has been entirely excised [...] And that is where real science fiction begins'.[128] The inclusion of Godwin both within the utopian genre and the science-fiction genre, for these critics, hinges upon the scientific plausibility of his text, and the extent to which he rejects what might be perceived as non-rational

[123] John Anthony Butler (ed.), 'Introduction', in Francis Godwin, *The Man in the Moon* (Ottawa, Canada: Dovehouse Editions, 1995) pp. 11-63 (p. 29).
[124]Butler, 'Introduction', p. 40, pp. 47-48; Andy Johnson and Ron Shoesmith (eds), 'Introduction', in Francis Godwin, *The Man in the Moone or A discourse of a Voyage thither by Domingo Gonsales* (Throwbridge: Logaston Press, 1996), pp. 1-26 (pp. 3-8, p. 12).
[125] Butler, p. 40.
[126] Butler, p. 37.
[127] Butler, p. 45.
[128] William Poole, 'Kepler's *Somnium* and Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moone*: Births of Science-Fiction 1593-1638' in *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Chloë Houston (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 57-69 (pp. 68-69).

thought (defined by something at odds to scientific progression). Cressy connects the seriousness of the idea of the 'man in the moon' for the writers in the 1630s with modern competing projects of exploration—these writers' speculations, he argues, 'constituted Europe's first space program'.[129] The problem with these critical arguments is with the way that 'seriousness' is measured and regarded. Because earlier space-writing does not fit into a fixed idea of modern science, the moon in earlier texts is viewed as less serious, and thus as less evocative of a potentially utopian or socially and politically ulterior space. This thesis, in contrast, takes these earlier depictions of the moon seriously. The moon in Lyly's drama is an alternative space in which the limits and regulations of the earth might be bypassed or undermined in ways which are no less serious than those explored by other writers after the 1630s.

While Godwin's explicit references to scientific theories of his day present some difference from the way that the moon is explored in Lyly and Shakespeare, Godwin's text very much also engages with ridiculousness and absurdity. Godwin also often uses the female pronoun in referring to the moon, refers to its mythical associations, and his narrator travels to the moon pulled by geese.[130] Arguably, it is the tensions between ridiculousness and possibility which make up the utopian genre. Critics have viewed the publication of Godwin's *The Man in the Moone* (1638) as the point at which the moon emerges 'seriously' as an alternative space in which the limits and regulations of the earth might be bypassed or undermined—but imaginary spaces do not require scientific plausibility in order to be socially and politically engaged. Chloë Houston uses the emblem of the moon in Thomas Traherne's 'On Leaping over the Moon' (written in the mid-seventeenth century) as an example for how 'Renaissance interest in new worlds was not confined to expression in utopian and travel literature themselves'.[131] The narrator's brother in the poem jumps over a stream in which the moon is reflected and witnesses a new world. The closeness of this moon-world to earth and its simultaneous containment within it, for Houston, asserts the centrality of the earth and the human's significance while it also suggests 'a culture in which the discovery of new worlds, both on earth and beyond it, seemed possible'.[132] The poem is 'suggestively optimistic about the presence of heaven

[129] Cressy, 982.
[130] Godwin writes 'As for the Moone […], she appeared of an huge and fearfull quantitie'; he meets 'the Illusions of Devills and wicked spirits' between the earth and the moon suggestive of the moon as classical home for the dead; 'my Gansas [geese] took none other way than directly toward the Moone', *The Man in the Moone or A discourse of a voyage thither by Domingo Gonsales*, ed. Andy Johnson and Ron Shoesmith (Throwbridge: Logaston Press, 1996), p. 17, p. 15, p. 17.
[131] Chloë Houston (ed.), 'Introduction', *New Worlds Reflected: Travel and Utopia in the Early Modern Period* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010) pp. 1-14 (p. 6).
[132] Houston, 'Introduction', p. 8.

on earth [...] heaven and earth are already potentially mingled'.[133] Houston suggests how fiction traditionally not classified as utopian can be viewed as suggestive of new, alternative worlds, and that this perspective does not have to be policed through the lens of scientific plausibility—such as the acceptance of the heliocentric cosmos, or the rejection of beliefs which might be considered irrational.

Pohl helpfully points out how '[f]eminist and queer theory has identified the active construction of space and place as masculinist and heterosexist and thus as exclusionary to women and dissident sexual identities' and that in the early modern era: '[s]patial metaphors testify to the importance of space in the construction of identity, both conceptually and materially, in the abstract and the concrete'.[134] It is possible that Lyly's moon has not been seen as plausible by critics because it is not a masculinist space and because it constructs female and fluidly gendered identities. Lyly's moon has been excluded from serious critical attention partly due to its emphasis on the powerful female, mental disorder, fluidity of gender and sexuality, and astrological influence. Butler even cites Lyly's prologue to *Endymion* as an example of a 'sarcastic description of lunar stories' from which Godwin is different by being 'anchored firmly within the realm of the possible'.[135] As I will go on to explain, lunar encounters with the earth in Lyly's work have been critically perceived as ridiculous, emblematic of the short reach of his poetic ability, part of a discourse of the threatening and misleading 'unnatural natural history' and symptomatic of lunacy. One of Lyly's most often-cited sources (especially for this unnatural history), Pliny the Elder, describes the moon fundamentally through its strangeness and changeability:[136]

> The last planet, which surpasses everyone's wonder, the one most familiar to earth and devised to remedy darkness, is the moon. Her many faces have greatly puzzled the intelligence of those who observe her and are ashamed that the planet closest to earth is one about whom we are most ignorant. It is always waxing or waning, and now is curved into the shape of a sickle-blade, now divided in half, now fully circular, spotted, then suddenly shining clear, vast and full, then suddenly nothing.[137]

[133] Houston, 'Introduction', p. 10.
[134] Nicole Pohl, *Women, Space and Utopia, 1600-1800* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2006), p. 2, p. 17.
[135] Butler, p. 39.
[136] For instance, James E. Ruoff writes: 'for his contemporaries the chief interest in Lyly's work was in its so-called euphuism, a language made up of […] "unnatural natural history" from Pliny's *Historia naturalis*', *Handbook of Elizabethan and Stuart Literature* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan Press, 1975), p. 154. Bevington (ed.) writes Pliny's 'presence is felt everywhere in *Euphues* and the plays', 'Introduction' to John Lyly, *Endymion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996; repr. 2014), pp. 1-72 (p. 11).
[137] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History: A Selection*, trans. John F. Healy (London: Penguin, 1991; repr. 2001), p. 16.

Pliny's moon is both an intimate companion and stranger—it 'surpasses wonder' and is 'most familiar'—and this resembles the alterity and encounterability of Lyly's moon-character. The moon of Lyly's moon-character is not fully understood or understandable. It rejects a scientific narrative which insists upon total clarity and objectivity. My thesis is attuned to these contemporary questions, all of which inform, in different ways, the imagining of the moon as both a form of character and a potential other world in early modern drama.

Figure 4: Design of Diana[?], Inigo Jones, for Ben Jonson, *Time Vindicated to Himself and to His Honours* (published 1623), from Orgel and Strong, I, 360, fig. 126

While the focus of this thesis is on Lyly and Shakespeare, I also broadly chart the trajectory of the dramatic moon-character over the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Characters based on the moon also existed in abundancy within prose and poetry.[138] I look at texts such as

[138] Some other examples of non-dramatic texts which include characters based on the moon include: John Lane, 'An Elegie upon the death of the high and renowned Princesse, our late Soveraigne Elizabeth' (1603); Walter Raleigh, 'The Ocean's Love to Cynthia' (not published by Raleigh); Edmund Spenser, 'Aprill' Eclogue in *The Shepherd's Calendar* (1579), *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (1591), *Epithalamon* (1595), *The Faerie*

Arthur Golding's translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1567), Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynd: Euphues' Golden Legacy* (1590), Michael Drayton's *Endimion and Phoebe* (1595), and Bartholomew Yong's translation of Jorge de Montemayor's *La Diana* (*c*. 1559; translated 1598) only insofar as they inform the staged moon-character. Using Martin Wiggins' *Catalogue of British Drama*, I have collected data on the moon as a dramatic character from between 1550 and 1631 (presented in the timeline in my appendix). There are limitations to the conclusions that can be drawn from this collection of moon-characters because of the moon-character's indefinable limits and because there are more masques, plays, and other forms of drama (which are either lost or without *dramatis personae*) that possibly contain moon-characters. Robert Greene's *Planetomachia* (published 1585), for instance, is a difficult case, which is not included in the catalogue. But, with its dialogue between the planets, I look at it as a partially dramatic text which contains the moon-character Luna. However, this data does demonstrate that the embodied moon was a very popular theatrical character in both public and private plays.

As I have explained above, before the 1580s and Lyly's moon-plays, the Diana character usually appears in a masque and especially within wedding masques. In Buchanan's masque, *Pompae Deorum in Nuptiis Mariae* (1565), Diana appears to propose an alternative to heterosexual monogamy, and her proposition is then overturned. George Peele's *The Arraignment of Paris* (*c.* 1584), performed in front of and directly involving the Queen, is possibly the first play that uses Diana in a more transitional way. Peele directly refers to the syncretic qualities of the moon by also calling her Phoebe and asking explicitly (in Italian) about the slipperiness of the moon on stage. Helen sings: 'If Diana is a star in heaven […] If Diana is a goddess in hell […] If Diana, who on earth is of the nymphs […]'.[139] This moon-character is a hybrid of Diana and Phoebe who resides both on earth and in heaven. The play stresses the problem of categorising this mode of character and representing her on stage—in Helen's song Diana is categorically unstable and the identity of Diana is up for debate. This play expands upon the narrative of the wedding masque and places Elizabeth in a similar position to the one that she occupied in the cancelled performance at Kenilworth (1575)

Queene and the *Mutabilitie Cantos* (1590, 1596); Henry Cuffe, 'A Poem made on the Earle of Essex' (1603); Lodowick Lloyd, 'Certaine Englishe Verses' (1586); Thomas Churchyard, 'A Few Plaine Verses of Truth Against the Flaterie of Time, Made when the Queens Majestie was last at Oxenford' (1592); Fulke Greville, *Caelica* (1633; written earlier); Richard Barnfield, 'Cynthia' (1595); George Chapman, *The Shadow of Night* (1594); the translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* by George Sandys (1626); Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembroke's Arcadia* (1590; 1593). Cobb provides some of these examples, pp. 281-332.

[139] George Peele, 'SI Diana nel cielo è vna stella [...] Si Diana, nel ferno è vna dea [...] Si Diana ch' in [...] è delle nimphe', *The Araygnement of Paris a Pastorall* (London: 1584) <https://quod.lib.umich.edu> [accessed 12th February 2019], 2.2.81-87.

in which Diana attempts to claim back Elizabeth as a lost nymph (Zabeta, or Elizabeth, herself).[140] Peele puts emphasis on the moon-character's choice, as Diana has an instrumental role in choosing whether Pallas, Juno, or Venus should be awarded the golden apple and be regarded as 'The fayrest of the thre'.[141] On one level, the play functions as royal panegyric, since Diana awards the contested golden apple to the nymph Eliza, but it also points back to the Diana of the masque who exists on the margins of the theatrical and has the potential to intercede in lived life. This is a moon-character with an unstable identity, a role that involves choice, and the ability to encounter members of the off-stage audience and involve them in the drama.

Slightly later (*c*. 1584 to 1590), as I will show in my thesis, Lyly's *Galatea*, *Endymion*, and *The Woman in the Moon* (in which Diana is also Hecate, Luna, and Cynthia) establish a clearer precedent for the moon-character on stage as I define it.[142] Building on the masque tradition, Lyly's moon-characters encounter other characters on stage in order to present alternatives to marriage and heterosexual monogamy. Building on the inconstant Luna of Greene's *Planetomachia*, Lyly's moon-characters are expansions of the masque-figure Diana, and seem able to suggest utopian relational configurations. They stand in opposition to enforced relational structures not just through chastity, but also through inconstancy. They also build on Peele's emphasis on choice as a marker of the moon-character, especially with Pandora in *The Woman in the Moon* (*c*. 1588), in order to present this opposition as an agent decision rather than something passive or delusional. I will demonstrate that Lyly's cluster of lunar plays has a large impact on the treatment of the moon-character on the stage. He popularizes the conception of Diana/Cynthia as the moon as planet, and also the moon-character as a site for different, competing, syncretic connotations—chastity, lunacy, female power, gender transitionality, inconstancy, female-female sexuality.

Chronologically after these plays by Lyly, characters named after the moon who are not goddesses appear on stage, in, for instance, George Peele's *The Old Wife's Tale* (*c.* 1592), and the anonymous, *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (*c.* 1599). As I will show in chapter two, Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (*c.* 1600) makes the connection between shepherdess and moon-character explicit with his Phoebe, who like a Lylian moon-character attempts to adopt the qualities of the moon and her namesake. These characters that were becoming popular on stage already existed in prose works such as Jorge

[140] See footnote 52.
[141] *The Araygnement of Paris*, 2.1.51.
[142] 1584-90 is the full date range given in Wiggins' Catalogue.

de Montemeyor's *La Diana* (*c.* 1559; trans. Bartholomew Yong, 1598) and Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynd: Euphues' Golden Legacy* (1590), the principle source for *As You Like It*. *Rosalynd* is also related to Lyly as a sequel to his earlier prose works, *Euphues: An Anatomy of Wit* (1578) and *Euphues and his England* (1580). I show how in Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, however, this character is explicitly linked to Lyly, especially through his *Galatea* (*c*. 1584), and to the dramatic moon-character as it developed in the late sixteenth century. Shakespeare makes this mode of character into a verb in Silvius' line 'do not […] Phoebe', and later again as Rosalind in her alter-ego of Ganymede declares 'she Phoebes me'.[143] The moon-character's ability to stand apart and adopt a distance from enforced relationality is now a theatrical commonplace shorthanded as 'to Phoebe', an adoption of a certain role. The moon-character's potential to resist relational structures, as expanded upon by Lyly, is recalled here but it is ultimately unavailable. Shakespeare's slightly earlier, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c.* 1595), also responds to Lyly's moon-character, as I will show in my third chapter, alongside Lyly's *Endymion* (*c.* 1588). Titania, as I will explore, is both lunar and earthly, and in this play, the moon-character emerges as both person and colonizable place.

Contemporaneous with these more earth-like moon-characters, who are demoted from moon-goddess status and forced to realise their vulnerable humanity, are the spectacular moon-goddesses of high masque culture. In Ben Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (*c.* 1600), Cynthia is described as 'Queene, and Huntresse, chaste, and faire, […] Seated, in thy silver chaire, […] Goddesse, excellently bright'.[144] In Samuel Daniel's *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses* (1604), Diana wears 'a greene Mantle imbrodered with silver halfe Moones, and a croissant of pearle on her head'.[145] In Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* (*c.* 1605), 'the Moone was discouered in the upper part of the house, triumphant in a Silver throne, made in figure of a Pyramis. Her garments White, and Silver, the dressing of her head antique; & crown'd with a Luminarie, or Sphere of light: which striking on the clouds, and heightened with Silver, reflected as naturall clouds do by the splendor of the Moone'.[146] With a stress on spectacular theatrics such as theophany, staged descents from the heavens using cloud machines and thrones, and intricate or bright costumes, these moon-characters are explicitly planetary but also female, unmatchable, and inscrutable. As such they form part of courtly

[143] *As You Like It*, 3.6.1, 4.3.38.
[144] Ben Jonson, *Cynthias Revells*, in *The Works of Benjamin Jonson* (London: 1616) <http://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 25th March 2019], img. 279.
[145] Samuel Daniel, *The Vision of the 12. Goddesses* (London: 1604) <http://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 25th March 2019], img. 7.
[146] Ben Jonson, *The Masque of Blacknesse*, in *The Characters of Two Royall Masques.The One of Blacknesse, The Other of Beautie* (London: 1608) <http://www.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 30th January 2018], img. 31.

assertions of power even after Elizabeth's reign. These masques, along with Lyly's earlier encounterable moon-characters, have an influence on the presentation of the moon-character of *Pericles* by Shakespeare and Wilkins (*c*. 1607) and the non-appearance of Diana in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (*c*. 1613) by Shakespeare and Fletcher, which I will be examining in chapter four.

By 1613, in Thomas Heywood's *The Silver Age* (performed in 1611), the stage-direction to enter 'attired like the Moone' suggests that a costume to designate the moon-character has become a recognisable feature of the early modern stage.[147] By the time of Ben Jonson's masque, *News From the New World Discovered in the Moon*, performed in 1620, lunar accoutrements are called 'the stale ensigns of the stages'.[148] The moon-character now becomes an overused staple of the theatrical scene. Following on from Shakespeare's treatment of the moon-character as colonizable place in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, in Jonson's masque, the moon is clearly habitable and a colonial enterprise. This version of the moon is also an instrument of the assertion of power structures at court, with Prince Charles as one of the moon-masquers. I will return to discuss this masque in my conclusion to the thesis.

The popularity and diversity of the moon-character on the British stage in this period as both a sacral planet and an earth-like conquerable rock reflect the sustained contestable state of the moon as space-object. The treatment of the moon on stage is in conversation with cosmology, colonial expansion, state power, and challenges to a gendered status quo. Moon-characters are revered, degraded, idealized and characterized on a spectrum between utopian and lunatic. The way in which they 'stand apart' or are regarded as 'other' is shaped by their relationship with the material moon and its position in regards to the earth—which relates to whether the moon-character's tendency to depart from traditional modes of personhood and relationality is deemed ideal or is pathologized. Going from appearing as a member of a wedding masque to a stale piece of stage machinery, the moon-character shines briefly but brightly in drama at the turn of the seventeenth-century. By focusing on the moon-character, this project reveals a neglected aspect of theatrical history; uncovers something new about the politics of identity; and puts all this into conversation with the history of ideas (through science, cosmology, and court culture). Lyly and Shakespeare stand either side of the apex of the trajectory of the moon-character. Lyly opens up the moon-character's stance

[147] Heywood, img. 26.
[148] Ben Jonson, *News From the New World Discovered in the Moon* (1620) in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1969; repr. 1975), 107.

in opposition to heterosexual monogamy, while Shakespeare closes it down. The relationship between Lyly and Shakespeare, in regards to this mode of character, therefore reveals ways in which relational and sexual structures within plays interconnect with critical discourse and the process of canonization.

4. Critical Context

Historical Criticism of Shakespeare and Lyly Together

The receptions of Lyly and Shakespeare have been intertwined from the earliest collected editions of their works. Leah Scragg has pointed out the relationship between the publication of Edward Blount's edition of Lyly's plays (1632) and the First Folio of Shakespeare (1623): 'the collection may also throw light on the much more prestigious venture with which the editor had previously been involved, the publication of the First Folio edition of the plays of the writer by whom Lyly's own brief period of glory was eclipsed'.[149] In criticism, Lyly himself has often been elided with his subject matter, the moon. Exploring the way that binaries in language maintain social hierarchy, Hélène Cixous places the moon as the denominator in the 'sun/moon' fraction, subordinate to the sun in the same fashion as 'man/woman'.[150] Lyly has consistently been placed in a similar subordinate position; as the feeble predecessor to Shakespeare. Andy Kesson has looked at the enlightenment origins of the denigration of Lyly.[151] From the time at which Lyly began to re-emerge as worthy of study in the late nineteenth century, the critical history of Lyly and Shakespeare manifests in the following set of hierarchized binaries:

$$\frac{Shakespeare}{Lyly} = \frac{Man}{Woman} = \frac{Sun}{Moon} = \frac{Sanity}{Lunacy}$$

This critical equation was formed in part from cues from responses to Lyly in the seventeenth century. Scragg has shown how the 'master narrative' of Lyly's decline and fall has been overemphasized in twentieth-century criticism.[152] Early rebuttals of Lyly's work reflect Lyly's predominance as a literary figure in the seventeenth century as much as they suggest his

[149] Leah Scragg, 'Edward Blount and the Prefatory Material to the First Folio of Shakespeare', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 79.1 (1997), 117-26 (117).
[150] Hélène Cixous, 'Sorties' (1975), in *The Feminist Reader*, ed. Catherine Belsey and Jane Moore (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 91-103 (p. 91).
[151] Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 5.
[152] Scragg, 'Angling for Answers: Looking for Lyly in the 1590s', *The Review of English Studies*, 67.279 (2016), 237-49 (237).

'faddishness' (stressed by G. K. Hunter in 1962).[153] All the same, from almost the beginning of the critical reception of Lyly and Shakespeare together, the playwrights' works have been evaluated through a comparison that privileges Shakespeare using these fractions. Around the same time that Ben Jonson used a light metaphor to distinguish the playwrights in Shakespeare's 1623 Folio (asking 'how farre [Shakespeare] didst our Lily out-shine'), Lyly's writing was designated 'lunatique' by Michael Drayton in his elegy 'To My Most Dearely Loved Friend, Henery Reynolds Esquire, of Poets and Poesie' (1627).[154] This framework for discussing the playwrights was exaggerated in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries, at which time Lyly is pushed more explicitly into the role of the moon to Shakespeare's sun. Kesson has pointed out the way in which Lyly's exclusion from the literary canon is an example of misogyny. Because of the preponderance of female characters in Lyly's works and the connection of his writing to the Elizabethan court, 'concepts of effeminacy and sycophancy haunt Lylian scholarship: Lyly not only writes for a woman, but is himself described by modern scholars as inappropriately feminine'.[155] Kesson also stresses the way that euphuism has been read as stylistic 'disorder', which is important to my work on the pathologization of Lyly's moon-character.[156] I argue that Lyly's association with the female is interconnected with his association with the moon and the lunatic. Lyly and these associations are also frequently evoked in binary opposition to those of Shakespeare. Through these associations, Lyly has been used as 'other', a marker of difference which has helped to construct Shakespeare as cultural icon and cement Shakespeare's masculinity, centrality, and purchase on 'sanity', or on what is regarded culturally as psychologically normal. Traces of this hierarchical system persist in criticism of the playwrights today. It is important to reflect on this critical history to see why Lyly's moon-character has been critically neglected and misunderstood. Here I focus mainly on late nineteenth- and twentieth-century criticism because this is when Lyly resurges as worthy of study, especially around the first modern collected edition of his works by R. Warwick Bond in 1902. Lyly's work in this period is always put forward with the caveat that he is not Shakespeare. In this way, Lyly's emergence into being considered important to the study of early modern literature has been framed with a notion of his own moonishness.

[153] Scragg, 'Angling for Answers', 238.
[154] See footnote 8; Michael Drayton, 'To My Most Dearely Loved Friend, Henery Reynolds Esquire, of Poets and Poesie', in *The Battaile of Agincourt* (London: 1627) <http://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 16th March 2019], pp. 204-8, img. 109-11 (p. 206; img. 110).
[155] Andy Kesson, '"It is a pity you are not a woman": John Lyly and the Creation of Woman', *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 33.1 (2015) 33-47 (34).
[156] Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 14.

The elision of Lyly himself with his subject matter of the moon can also be seen in his immediate critical aftermath in the early modern period. According to Michael Drayton, it was Philip Sidney who:

> […] did first reduce
> Our tongue from *Lillies* writing then in use;
> Talking of Stones, Stars, Plants, of Fishes, Flyes,
> Playing with words, and idle Similies
> [...] So imitating his ridiculous tricks,
> They spake and writ, all like meere lunatiques.[157]

Drayton implies that the language that Lyly used became an epidemic throughout England which needed to be fixed by Philip Sidney and those after him. The 'Stones, Stars, Plants, […] Fishes, Flyes', 'idle Similies', and 'ridiculous tricks' that Drayton argues characterizes Lyly's writing were later to be reductively branded 'euphuism', a style of writing named after Lyly's two very popular prose works published in 1578 and 1580, which has dominated his critical reception.[158] Sidney's earlier *Defense of Poesy* (1595; written *c.* 1579) anticipates Drayton's 'Elegy':

> Now for similitudes in certain printed discourses, I think all herbarists, all stories of beasts, fowls, and fishes, are rifled up, that they come in multitudes to wait upon any of our conceits [...] [My meaning] is not to take upon me to teach poets how they should do, but only, finding myself sick among the rest, to show some one or two spots of the common infection grown among the most part of writers; that, acknowledging ourselves somewhat awry, we may bend to the right use of matter and manner [...][159]

Although Sidney never mentions Lyly or *Euphues*, he states he is attempting to fix an 'infection' of prose which Drayton later characterizes as originating from Lyly and as indicating lunacy. Late nineteenth-century and twentieth-century readings of this sixteenth-century criticism have served to further push Lyly into the category of lunacy. Albert S. Cook, in his edition of *The Defense of Poesy* (1890), subtitles a section of Sidney's writing 'Euphuism in Prose', indicating that Sidney criticizes euphuism specifically when he writes about 'a most tedious pratling'.[160] Much later (in the mid-twentieth century), Hunter also connected William Warner's anxiety about similes, in *Albion's England* (1589), to Lyly: worrying 'that to run on the letter we often run from the matter; and being

[157] Drayton, p. 206; img. 110.
[158] Leah Scragg writes: '[f]rom the outset of his career, Lyly was inexorably associated with the euphuistic mode […] and the conception of him as a wordsmith continues to dog the appreciation of his work', in 'Re-editing Lyly for the Modern Reader, or the Case of Mother Bombie's Stool', *The Review of English Studies*, 63.258 (2012), 20-33 (23).
[159] Philip Sidney, *Defense of Poesy; Otherwise Known as an Apology for Poetry*, ed. Albert S. Cook (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1890) <http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044011748555;view=1up;seq=1> [accessed 19th January 2016], p. 54.
[160] Sidney, p. 53, p. 54.

over-prodigal in similes we become less profitable in sentences and more prolixious to sense'.[161] These later readings exaggerate the idea of Lyly as lunatic writer. It is not clear in either case that Lyly is being directly referred to in the source-texts, but these readings nevertheless evoke a picture of Lyly as a writer who threatens sanity, and whose writing must be fixed.

This picture of Lyly as 'lunatic' is involved with his association with the moon in late nineteenth-century criticism. Slightly earlier than Cook, Lyly's moonish subject matter and his status as an author are elided in Timothy Harley's *Moon Lore* (1885). 'Old John Lilly' is used here as evidence of the unknowable quality of the man in the moon, the existence of Pandora, the 'mischief maker' woman in the moon, and the moon's influence over tides.[162] At the same time as Lyly was the moon in Harley's *Moon Lore*, Shakespeare was being associated with brighter light in Thomas Lowe's *Shakespeare Under the Stars* (1887). Lowe presents him as a celestial god, living in a state of 'starry calm', writing 'solar splendour', or as a star himself.[163] While the sun 'is the noblest of all subjects of astronomical research', reflecting 'as great a mystery as life itself', Lowe asserts Pierre Bouguer's 1729 theory that 'the light of the full Moon is 300,000 times more feeble than that of the sun'.[164] The moon is presented as female (as 'The Queen of Silence') in Lowe's work in contrast with Shakespeare's association with 'the more glorious luminary of the day' and his 'intense English manliness'.[165] Lowe depicts Shakespeare as the sun (or other star), which is much brighter than the moon because of what Lowe perceives as Shakespeare's home-sprung masculinity and a related rationality. Lowe stresses Shakespeare's opposition to astrology and Ptolemy: '[i]n the clear light of the Copernican system [Shakespeare] beheld from the picturesque banks of the Avon the sublime march of the stars through the azure heavens'.[166] The metaphor of Shakespeare's brightness correlates to an enlightenment idea of clarity and knowledge, privileging Englishness and masculinity. Lowe presents the moon, on the other hand, as a female, beautiful object with feeble affect.[167]

A contemporary critique of Lyly in John Adlington Symonds *Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama* (1883) confines him to a pre-Shakespearean and pre-rational time period. Symonds emphasizes the 'youth' of English drama pre-Shakespeare: '[t]he genius of youthfulness, renascent,

[161] William Warner, *Albion's England* (1589), quoted by Hunter, p. 280.
[162] Harley, p. 56, p. 57.
[163] Lowe, p. vii, p. 16.
[164] Lowe, p. 16, p. 17, p. 25.
[165] Lowe, pp. 24-25, p. 83.
[166] Lowe, p. 52.
[167] Lowe's moon has 'rapid changes of form and beautiful lustre', pp. 24-25.

not new-born, was dominant in that age. Adam stepped forth again in Eden'.[168] For Symonds, Lyly is firmly confined to this age, and his short-lived popularity is due to faddishness, and fashion from the continent: 'Lyly owed his success to what we recognize as the defects of his style'.[169] He calls euphuism 'the English type of an all but universal disease'.[170] He roots this 'disease' of language particularly in Lyly's 'reckless employment of an unreal natural history': [171] '[t]o animals, plants, stones, &c. he attributes the most absurd properties and far-fetched virtues, applying these to point his morals and adorn his tales'.[172] His concern with this disease focuses itself on this irresponsible 'unreal' use of examples, which echo Drayton's list of 'idle Similies' that rendered Lyly a 'meere lunatique'.

Bond's *Complete Works* (1902), is concerned with recognising Lyly's historic importance both as a predecessor to Shakespeare and Lyly's originality in literature: he is the 'first English novelist', 'the first regular English dramatist', and the world 'speedily forgot its benefactor'.[173] But although his primary objective is to assert Lyly's formal innovation, he still emphasizes the modishness of Lyly's works, and that Lyly's use of political allegories were for the purpose of flattery, rather than satire: 'satire is quite inconsistent with Lyly's still active expectations of favour'.[174] For Bond euphuism is generally recognized as 'a tiresome and fantastic style that enjoyed an exaggerated and mistaken vogue among contemporaries of ill-regulated taste'.[175] In his emphasis on Lyly as predecessor, Bond employs light metaphors that reflect the enlightenment origins of Shakespeare's canonization: 'Lyly was one among many; one whose work had been done in the half-light of dawn before the rising of the sun'.[176] Again, Lyly is not as bright a light as Shakespeare. Bond writes that Lyly 'lacked altogether, […] "those brave translunary things" so infinitely beyond his technique, so far above mere grace or daintiness of fancy, of which the true poet is made'.[177] The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines 'translunary' as 'Lying beyond or above the moon', and Bond suggests that Lyly is stylistically stuck at the moon, and unable to pass it.[178] Bond's temporal and spatial definition of Lyly as before

[168] John Addington Symonds, *Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama* (New York: Cooper Square Publishers, 1967; first pub. 1883), p. 22.
[169] Symonds, p. 403.
[170] Symonds, pp. 403-04.
[171] Symonds, p. 409.
[172] Symonds, p. 409.
[173] R. Warwick Bond, *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1902; repr. 1967), I, p. v, p. vii, p. vi.
[174] Bond, p. 63.
[175] Bond, p. vi.
[176] Bond, p. vii.
[177] Bond, p. vii.
[178] 'Translunary', *adj.*, *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com> [accessed 12th December 2015].

the sun and under the moon reflects Bond's view of Lyly's inauthenticity and association with boy actors and the female roles in his repertory. In Bond's narrative of Lyly's downfall following the closure of the Children of Paul's (the theatre troupe for whom Lyly wrote most of his plays), Lyly cannot help but be outshone: '[a]dd to this accident that during the eight years of the Paul's Boy's inhibition there rose into the dramatic heaven a star of such a magnitude as reduced Lyly and his achievements to a remote and insignificant twinkle, and that with it or about it came a number of brilliant satellites; and we need not wonder that Lyly ended his days in poverty and neglect'.[179] Bond associates the perceived lack of passion and character in Lyly's plays with boy actors, which in turn he associates with femininity and mental disorder: '[p]robably the most important result of employing child actors was histrionic rather than literary. In days when women were not yet countenanced on the stage, boys would be far better qualified to render female parts than men, alike by their stature, their voice, their general fairness and smoothness of complexion'.[180] The word 'histrionic' implies that this femininity is especially melodramatic, artificial, disorderly, and lunatic. Lyly is perceived by Bond as style without substance: '[t]he showy and the superficial was always the first consideration with Lyly; wit before learning, speech before thought, manner before matter, shadow before substance'.[181]

John Dover Wilson, in *John Lyly* (1905), also frames Lyly as the 'moon'. He writes '[g]reatest of them all, as [Lyly] must have realised, was Shakespeare, the sun of our drama before whom the silver light of [Lyly's] little moon, which had first illumed our darkness, waved and faded away and was to be for centuries forgotten'.[182] Dover Wilson writes: '[Lyly] was no psychologist, laying bare the human soul with a lancet; and though now and again, as in *Endymion*, he caught a glimpse of the silver beauties of the moon, he had no conception of the glories of the midday sun'.[183] Again, characters with psychological depth are elided with the sun, Shakespeare, the male, and sanity. Lyly, on the other hand, is afforded the moon and superficiality, and in turn effeminacy and lunacy. By using *Endymion*, Dover Wilson makes an intuitive link between his own critical metaphor for poetic insufficiency and Lyly's interest in the moon within his works. For Dover Wilson, euphuism involves an irresponsible joining together of words: '[Lyly] employs alliteration for the sake of euphony alone much more frequently than he uses it for the purpose of emphasis'.[184] The logic at work in euphuism: 'is

[179] Bond, p. 77.
[180] Bond, p. 36.
[181] Bond, p. 77.
[182] John Dover Wilson, *John Lyly* (Cambridge: Macmillan and Bowes, 1905), p. 4.
[183] Dover Wilson, p. 50.
[184] Dover Wilson, p. 6.

precisely the same logical process which induces [...] the farmer to predict a change of weather at the new moon'.[185] The style endorses a superstitious system that treats natural phenomena as though they have material influence, and Dover Wilson selects the moon image specifically to illustrate this. For Dover Wilson, the superficiality of style that connects it to 'the personality of the fop culture' also connects it to the special femininity of Lyly's drama.[186] He sees Lyly as a pioneer in terms of representing women as characters, and Lyly's era itself as a moment of social progress: '[t]hat which comedy before 1580 lacked […] was the female element'; Lyly 'was a courtier who introduced heroines to our drama'.[187] But Dover Wilson connects these female characters to what he views as a superficial version of drama, to do with its staging by Paul's boys: 'depth of passion was beyond their scope'.[188] Lyly's women 'are the Undines in the story of literature, beautiful and seductive, complete in everything but soul!'[189] Although Dover Wilson was writing in the early twentieth century before paradigms on boy acting had shifted, his metaphor of 'undines' to evoke superficial female characters is significant. Undines are imbalanced and watery supernatural creatures and thus they are moon-like or susceptible to the moon's influence according to Galenic humoral theory.[190] As with the farmer who predicts the weather according to the moon, Lyly's moonishness reverts in on itself. According to Dover Wilson's formulations, Lyly's moonish subject matter (the moon itself, but also the feminine, and the lunatic) and his moonish style (feminine and lunatic) sustain one another. Dover Wilson firmly roots Lyly as background reading, important 'for the historian of literature'.[191] For Dover Wilson, the moonish Lyly is a pre-modern pre-rational curiosity.

Several critics, besides Dover Wilson and Adlington Symonds, have emphasized Lyly's use of what they call 'unnatural natural history' and 'unnatural natural philosophy'.[192] They have regarded this as an outdated, strange, superstitious version of nature, and connected it to Pliny's *Natural Philosophy*.[193] The misleading, irrational 'absurd properties' of Lyly's comparisons are offensive and

[185] Dover Wilson, p. 19.
[186] Dover Wilson, p. 23.
[187] Dover Wilson, p. 35, pp. 35-36.
[188] Dover Wilson, p. 45.
[189] Dover Wilson, p. 46.
[190] See Burrow, p. 38.
[191] Dover Wilson, p. 51.
[192] Dover Wilson, p. 8; C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 313; Hunter, p. 278; Jocelyn Powell, 'John Lyly and the Language of Play', in *Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies: Elizabethan Theatre*, ed. John Russell Brown (London: Edward Arnold, 1966), pp. 147-68 (p. 148).
[193] For instance, Lewis, '[w]hat constitutes euphuism is neither the structural devices nor the "unnatural history" but the unremitting use of both', p. 313; Powell, '[t]he style may be absurd, self indulgent, and

backward-looking in the progressivist narrative of the rise of science that underlies much of this criticism.[194] Nineteenth- and twentieth- century readings of Lyly and Shakespeare which treat them as the moon and the sun align with a narrative of the rise of science which was being created concurrently. Shakespeare is cast as both the sun and as harbinger of reason by Lowe above (1887), looking at the stars '[i]n the clear light of the Copernican system'.[195] In *Shakespeare and Science* (1929), Cumberland Clark writes that in the Elizabethan age (and implicitly with the coming of Shakespeare) 'truth finally vanquished superstition'.[196] This is echoed implicitly in much more recent texts. John North, for instance, writing about the growth of astronomy as a discipline in 1994, writes that 'echoes of astrology are growing fainter by Shakespeare's time'.[197] By placing Shakespeare and 'science' coincident with one another, he intimates that they arrive hand-in-hand to combat an old superstitious system. In his *Invention of Science* (2015), David Wootton writes that in the seventeenth century, 'Pliny's reputation fell as a consequence of the new science, and unsophisticated natural histories were soon being replaced by more elaborate programs of observation'.[198] According to his earlier critics, Lyly, with his emphasis on Pliny's 'unnatural history', was also being replaced by Shakespeare. In this grand narrative, which continues to have a purchase on critical consciousness, Shakespeare's sun, 'the spirit of good, pouring down his blessings on mankind' outshines Lyly's superstitious moon.[199]

During the early modern period, as Mary Floyd-Wilson argues, '[…] new discoveries, environments, diseases, and cures mingled with English natural philosophy and mixed with shifting constructions of gender and race to inform and reform what constituted European science'.[200] The critical obsession with Lyly's style as backward-looking demonstrates a critical resistance to the challenge that Lyly makes to a notion of 'modern science' as it was emerging in the late sixteenth century, which, as Katharine Park suggests, 'reflected and encouraged the continual and increasing subjection of

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sensational, heaped with similitude, word-play, proverb lore, and unnatural natural history, but it is almost always sustained by a magnificent sense of extravagance and fun', p. 148; Hunter, 'the most obvious feature of the style—the strings of similes drawn from remote or marvelous nature […] it was this that contemporaries referred to when they noticed Euphuism as a special style', p. 276.

[194] Symonds, p. 409.

[195] Lowe, p. 52.

[196] Cumberland Clark, *Shakespeare and Science* (Birmingham: Cornish Brothers Ltd, 1929), p. 4.

[197] North, p. 264.

[198] Wootton, p. 26.

[199] Clark, p. 79.

[200] Mary Floyd-Wilson, *Occult Knowledge, Science, and Gender on the Shakespearean Stage* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 137.

women and the exploitation of the natural world'.[201] This thesis will argue that Lyly's disordered style is intimately connected to his 'disordered' moon-characters. Paralleling a notion of 'unnatural natural philosophy', as above, Lyly's moon-character stands in opposition to societally enforced versions of what is natural. Lyly's moonishness disrupts a version of scientific enquiry that is invested in colonialism, male gender, and the destruction and pillaging of female environment. Through the paradigm of encounter, Lyly's moon-characters present difference to the relational and sexual status quo as something that can transform what society defines as nature.

Critics have also implicitly supported the hierarchized fractions above by figuring Lyly as background reading to a more mature Shakespeare, associating Lyly with youth and effeminacy alongside analysis of his use of boy players. C. S. Lewis, for instance, confined Lyly to what he labelled the 'drab' period of English literature while Shakespeare belonged to the 'golden' and beyond.[202] M. C. Bradrook in *The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy* (1955) puts Lyly into the context of a narrative of evolving theatrical forms.[203] She argues that there are two distinct forms of comedy, Elizabethan and Jacobean, which are not necessarily time-bound, but obviously their names suggest that they are deeply embedded in their historical contexts. Shakespeare's 'strength alone was capable of welding the two traditions firmly together'.[204] For Bradbrook, only he has the ability to make these disparate ages and thought processes meet. This asserts an idea of growth, stasis, and decline, with Shakespeare at the plateau. She defines Lyly in terms of Shakespeare and Jonson: he 'became the dramatist's dramatist, providing a model for both the youthful Shakespeare and the youthful Jonson'.[205] Bradbrook puts Lyly into the context of the early stages of the lives of Shakespeare and Jonson, before the maturation of Shakespeare's mind and its ability to '[transform] the whole tradition'.[206]

This critical trajectory is reflected in one of the most significant studies on Lyly, G. K. Hunter's *John Lyly: The Humanist as Courtier* (1962). According to Kesson, this book 'introduced methodologies and ideological standpoints that inspired new historicism some twenty years before that term was

[201] Katharine Park, 'Women, Gender, and Utopia: *The Death of Nature* and the Historiography of Early Modern Science', *Isis*, 97.3 (2006), 487-95 (490).
[202] Lewis, p. 313, p. 65.
[203] M. C. Bradrook, *The Growth and Structure of Elizabethan Comedy* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1955; Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963).
[204] Bradbrook, p. 15.
[205] Bradbrook, p. 75.
[206] Bradbrook, p. 85.

coined'. Hunter's subtitle indeed seems to 'subconsciously haunt discussions of Lyly's work'.[207] Kesson's point suggests the importance of Lyly himself to conceptions of the Elizabethan era and to the act of historicizing it at all. Hunter's book and its influence have intensified the ideas in Bond, Dover Wilson, and Bradbrook that there is something distinctly time-bound and historical about Lyly. Unlike them, Hunter is against the idea of Lyly as an innovator, regarding Lyly as a strict follower of Castiglione, and adapter of literature.[208] Hunter stresses the importance of Lyly in the mission of contextualising literature itself, and as a reason why critics should look at a 'writer without the hearty vitality that is supposed to be typical of the age, not a sea-dog of a writer but an exquisite miniaturist, a jewel-encrusted Fabergé nightingale, not a genuine English bird in the rediscovered world of natural beauty'.[209] Rather than having Lyly anticipate Shakespeare, Hunter perceives the playwrights as looking in completely different directions: 'Shakespeare looks forward where Lyly looks back'.[210] This reflects the critical tendency I have been tracing to view Shakespeare as propelling forward a masculine, scientific rationality (emblematised through the enlightenment metaphor of the sun) while Lyly looks backward, to a feminine, irrational, and sinister lunacy. This is essentially the opposite of the approach I take in this thesis in which I emphasize the ways in which Lyly is forward-looking and Shakespeare looks back. Lyly emphasizes futurity in his construction of the moon-character while Shakespeare more conservatively closes its utopian possibilities down. Shakespeare also looks backward to Lyly in terms of literary genealogy through his use of Lyly's work as hypotexts for his own moon-character plays. Hunter also uses light metaphors to explain how the Elizabethan era has been perceived: '[t]he standard view sees [...] different manifestations of the same central urge towards modern freedom and naturalness [...] released at last from the long sleep of medieval "night" preceding—an energy which found its fullest expression in the mature plays of Shakespeare'.[211] Although he is critiquing this position, Hunter suggests that it is Shakespeare's plays which are anomalously modern and enlightening, rather than the preceding dramatists being any less dark. He splits works into the 'individualistic, soul searching', and the 'genuinely Elizabethan', 'representative of the milieu' as though there is one set of texts with which to actually engage and another to read for social and cultural background.[212]

[207] Kesson, p. 10.
[208] Hunter, p. 12.
[209] Hunter, p. 5.
[210] Hunter, p. 2.
[211] Hunter, pp. 2-3.
[212] Hunter, p. 7.

The argument that boy-players produce passionless performances continues in Hunter's book. Although, he explains, *The Woman in the Moon* was perhaps acted by men rather than boys, 'Lyly does not make any capital out of this' as '[t]he roles still show the same pert, shallow variations on the theme of love—[...] no passions to expose'.[213] His formulation of Lyly as the humanist courtier also involves the idea of the separation of wit from wisdom as well as passion: for writers in the Elizabethan era, 'their gift for wit finds itself isolated from their belief in wisdom; at least the wisdom that is available to them is the wisdom for private life and for individual cases. But it may be thought that the pressure to make universal statements through the evocation of particulars is the very soul of art'.[214] Hunter suggests that there is something antithetical to the very idea of art in what he perceives as a use of language that is difficultly inchoate, non-meaningful, and which refuses to signify. For him, there is something non-translatable about this use of the senses and the intellect without objective formulations. The question focuses on a disease-like euphuism, something inextricably involved with the era itself: it 'has come to mean in general, a perversely elaborate style, and historically, a faddish aberration which affected English prose for a period of ten years or so 1578 to *c.* 1590'.[215] Instead of something particular to Lyly, Hunter paints euphuism as a pervading mode of thinking and writing, a style which hinges upon and competes with mental state: '[t]he style is thus entirely functional to a mode of analytical thinking which is natural only to the specialized kind of mind'.[216] As well as only being 'natural' to a certain kind of mind, Hunter sees euphuism as having a mind of its own, involved with the apparent autonomy of 'the most obvious feature of the style – the strings of similes drawn from remote or marvellous nature'.[217] Following on from Drayton, who called Lyly's language 'lunatique', for Hunter, this language is of a different 'nature'. Hunter's problem is that the nature Lyly evokes creates deceitful, incomplete sensory experiences. Hunter cites instances from *Euphues* of a hedgehog hiding in the thorns and Lavia who washes her face, explaining that they 'have their attributes given them only by Lyly's random extension of appearance (the prickles of the hedgehog suggest the prickles of the thorn) or etymology (*Lavia* from lavo, lavare=to wash)'.[218] For Hunter, Lyly's linguistic complexities exceed fact, resulting in the exclusion of the modern reader, who 'may also feel a lack of solidarity of concreteness, in the instances, a lack of sensory impact'.[219] So far in this summary, critics have characterized euphuism as something that endorses superstition, links words by 'euphony alone', is disconnected to real sensory experience and is rooted to the past. Hunter describes this style as sterile: it 'had no real heirs; and prose style

[213] Hunter, p. 290.
[214] Hunter, p. 35.
[215] Hunter, p. 260.
[216] Hunter, p. 272.
[217] Hunter, p. 276.
[218] Hunter, p. 277.
[219] Hunter, p. 277.

developed not by imitating but by reacting against it'.[220] In comparison to Clark's earlier portrayal of the sun in Shakespeare, 'sustaining and infusing life […] giving […] increase to the earth', Hunter's assessment once again seems to deposit Lyly on the moon.[221] Such critical assessments of Lyly's style as 'lunatic' and at odds with 'nature' seem intimately connected to his subject matter of women and the moon, and clearly informed by critical biases regarding notions of rationality, masculinity, and heteronormativity which reproduce themselves.

When Lyly is not regarded as sinister and dangerous, he is reduced to a 'super-aesthetical young man' (Harley's description of the man in the moon in *Moon Lore*).[222] Jocelyn Powell, in her article, 'John Lyly and the Language of Play' (1966), examines the idea that Lyly's language is not worthy of critical attention because of its 'youth', labelling parts of Lyly's prose in *Euphues* 'jejunes'.[223] Powell argues that the very playfulness of euphuism is what makes it worth studying: '[t]he style may be absurd, self-indulgent, and sensational, heaped with similitude, word-play, proverb lore, and unnatural natural history, but it is almost always sustained by a magnificent sense of extravagance and fun'.[224] She argues that Lyly should be looked at in the context of the re-evaluation of play as important in its own right in the 1960s.[225] Powell argues that Lyly's plays 'organise into an elaborate aesthetic game the exploratory, recreational activities of the court for which they were written'.[226] In doing so, she also devalues the symbolism in Lyly's plays: '[t]he important thing about this symbolism is its lack of intensity'; '[i]t is essentially an ornament'; 'Lyly does not think with it. He does not use it to reconstruct experience. He uses it simply to amuse'; and '[t]he effect of Lyly's plays is in the best sense *dilettante*; they exercise the faculties to no other end but their delight'.[227] Powell views Lyly's work as divorced from realism. It does not reconstruct experience and it lacks passion: 'the emphasis in plot, character and language is on figures of thought, on definition and exploration, thinking not feeling'; emotions are exercised, 'not by plot or character but by mood'.[228] At its best Lyly's work is playful and amusing; at its worst it is sinister and lunatic—dragging the reader back into a dark and occult age of dangerous superstition before the scientific revolution. Lyly is portrayed like a witch, deriving his power from the moon. This criticism is (unintentionally or not) like a witch-hunt, attempting to divest Lyly's work of its powerful potential to resist the status quo.

[220] Hunter, p. 280.
[221] Clark, p. 79.
[222] Harley, p. 42.
[223] Powell, p. 147.
[224] Powell, p. 148.
[225] Powell, p. 148.
[226] Powell, p. 156.
[227] Powell, p. 161, p. 162, p. 166.
[228] Powell, p. 164.

These critical biases persist insidiously into the later twentieth century. For Hunter, seemingly, more than others, Lyly is entwined with his own era: '[h]e expressed his own period so perfectly'.[229] Ideas about this period having problems with youth, incompletion and femininity continue into Murray Roston's *Sixteenth-Century English Literature* (1982). In his section on Lyly, he associates the adolescence of the era with what he regards as an adolescent style: 'England itself passed through such an adolescent phase in the later sixteenth century, and Shakespeare, particularly in his earlier plays, formed part of it'.[230] He sees this adolescence in terms of a necessary phase of style over substance: '[a]n intelligent adolescent usually passes through a phase of indulging in atrocious puns. He is really flexing his verbal muscles, testing out his widening vocabulary, his increased command of connotations, his new-found skill at evoking the apt word or phrase whereby to prove his wit'.[231] The plays written for boys, because they can impersonate women 'remarkably well' but cannot reach 'the mature masculinity of a Richard Burbage or Edward Alleyn', are 'dramatically less ambitious'.[232] Peter Happé in *English Drama Before Shakespeare* (1999) also helps to confine Lyly to the 1580s, contextualising him with the use of boy companies and private theatres. He defines the era 'Before Shakespeare' with the dates 1350 to 1590. The last date relates to 'the putative advent of Shakespeare': '[t]he chosen terminal date of 1590 was at a time of expansion [...] the development of professional status for performers [...] the arrival of the new type of playhouse, and the evolution of new financial bases for organizing plays', and 'a flood of playwrights'.[233] Happé stresses the novelty and modernity of the 1590s, which he sees as a breeding ground for creativity, while, in the 1580s, he writes, character is not important: '[t]he important thing was to excite emotion [...] rather than to give in-depth portraits'.[234] He places Lyly in this category: Lyly 'made a significant individual contribution before 1590',[235] using young male actors, for whom '[t]he emotional range is limited' but 'the young actors in costume exhibit elegance and attractiveness'.[236] He suggests that the world in Lyly's plays is not ideal: 'the superficial floss is a deliberate artifice – attractive in itself no doubt – aimed at hinting or reflecting an underlying disturbance'.[237] The 'underlying disturbance' that Happé perceives in Lyly's world is firmly related to his use of boy performers: 'We have already noted the

[229] Hunter, p. 285.
[230] Murray Roston, *Sixteenth-Century English Literature* (London: Macmillan Press, 1982), p. 110.
[231] Roston, p. 110.
[232] Roston, p. 112.
[233] Peter Happé, *English Drama Before Shakespeare* (London and New York: Longman, 1999), p. 1, p. 3.
[234] Happé, p. 17.
[235] Happé, p. 191.
[236] Happé, p. 193.
[237] Happé, p. 195.

particular effect of using boys as performers. The impersonation of women of various ages by young males is sexually challenging'.[238]

The repeated critical notion that Lyly is less dramatic and passionate than Shakespeare often hides the implication that Lyly's work is less masculine or heteronormative. The critical relegation of Lyly reflects a silencing of alternative worlds, of marginalized voices which do not measure up to the received notion of normality. Critics have been unwilling to see the moon-character in Lyly non-pejoratively, instead viewing this character through the lens of the pathologized 'lunatic' moon-character in Shakespeare. The critical stress placed on the youthfulness of Lyly's work divests it of its seriousness, in a similar manner to the critics (above) who excluded him from proposing possible ulterior worlds with his moon. Lyly's simultaneously sinister and naïve reputation is not accidental, but has come about because Lyly's work itself resists normative social structures, and radically dreams of alternative futures which seem implausible and unattainable. These critics, through the lens of Shakespeare, are not able to imagine Lyly's hopeful moon-character as possible. Muñoz writes about hope as a methodology: 'hope is spawned of a critical investment in utopia, which is nothing like naive but, instead, profoundly resistant to the stultifying temporal logic of a broken-down present'.[239] While these critics, in encountering Lyly, have recognised something dangerous or naive in him, this thesis looks at Lyly's resistance to the 'stultifying' logic of his present—relational and sexual norms—through the moon-encounters he presents on the stage. By focussing on Lyly's moon-character, my thesis echoes the kind of criticism that sees him situated on the moon, but it does not regard this as a problem. Instead, I take Lyly's situation on the moon as a deliberate 'stance apart' from the world and from the normative formulations of 'nature'.

Criticism of the Moon, Lyly, and Elizabeth I

The moon has been discussed in terms of the representation of Elizabeth I by critics such as Louis Adrian Montrose (1983), Philippa Berry (1989), Helen Cobb (1989), Susan Frye (1993), Helen Hackett (1995), Theodora A. Jankowski (2000), and Cathy Shrank (2004).[240] These critics draw upon and question Frances Yates' important studies 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea' (1947) and *Astraea: The*

[238] Happé, p. 196.
[239] Muñoz, p. 12.
[240] See footnote 6.

Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century (1975).[241] More recently the new edition of *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I* (2014) has prompted an upsurge in critical discussion about the iconography of Elizabeth, including Helen Hackett's project to re-evaluate the use of neoclassical imagery compared to the apparently more pervasive religious imagery (especially the Virgin Mary) used to discuss Elizabeth.[242] My thesis diverges from the work of these critics in four main ways. Firstly, these works look at the use of the moon as part of a large array of images through which to discuss Elizabeth, focusing on the causal relationship of how the moon affects the way that Elizabeth is perceived. My thesis looks at this relationship the other way around—it considers how Elizabeth contributes to the consciousness of associations around the moon-character, which exist pre- and post- Elizabeth, and how this character provides a broader commentary on early modern forms of relationality. Secondly, these critics tend to focus on the moon as a goddess drawn from classical sources, while my project also considers the moon as a material object in relationship with the earth. Mine is therefore a broader phenomenological study, interested in how 'encounters' between people, narrowly conceived, are also embedded within other aspects of lived life, including cosmology. Thirdly, these critics tend to view Lyly's moon as unquestionably an allegoric symbol for Elizabeth I, and to cast Lyly as a (sometimes disaffected) court panegyrist, whereas Shakespeare's moon is granted more ambiguous and syncretic connotations. Jankowski's recent book, *Elizabeth I, The Subversion of Flattery, and John Lyly's Court Plays and Entertainments* (2018), which 'examine[s] the fraught nature of John Lyly's relationship to Queen Elizableth' reflects this.[243] All of these critics use Lyly, and sometimes Lyly's works, to reveal an anxiety apparently ubiquitous in the court. Their work therefore often echoes the relegation of Lyly to the 'historical' context by Hunter.[244] My thesis, on the other hand, calls into question the idea that Elizabeth can or should be so easily identified in Lyly's work. Lastly, these critics tend to merge together under the label 'sinister' those connotations of the moon which trouble received notions about early modern gender and sexual relations—such as female power, female-female desire, gender transitionality, sexual inconstancy and lunacy. They suggest that playwrights use these properties of the moon only as a means to attack and criticize the monarch. Their scholarship often usefully reveals the overlap of panegyric with political criticism, exploring the notion that panegyric

[241] Frances A. Yates, 'Queen Elizabeth as Astraea', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, 10 (1947), 27-82 <https://www.jsor.org/stable/750395> [accessed 25th March 2019]; Yates, *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1975).
[242] *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*; Helen Hackett, 'Anne Boleyn's Legacy to Elizabeth I: Neoclassicism and the Iconography of Protestant Queenship', in *Queens Matter in Early Modern Studies*, ed. Anna Riehl Bertolet (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018), pp. 157-80.
[243] Jankowski, *Elizabeth I, the Subversion of Flattery, and John Lyly's Court Plays and Entertainments* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018), p. 19.
[244] Hunter, p. 2.

can be didactic, and asserting that Elizabeth is controlled by it as much as she uses it to assert her control. An underlying assumption is that the male courtier suffers anxiety and unease about the stratification of gender in the Elizabethan court. With this in mind, critics have often focused on female power and the reversal of traditional gender roles only insofar as these reveal masculine anxiety. Instead of regarding these properties of the moon as straightforwardly 'sinister', my thesis instead regards them as purposeful challenges to the sexual and gendered status quo.

The way in which these critics focus on how the moon affects representations of Elizabeth rather than how Elizabeth affects the moon-character is reinforced by the critical notion that Elizabethan iconography was used to assert Elizabeth's individuality from other women. Montrose, for instance, writing in 1983, explores the representation of Elizabeth in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, insisting that Elizabeth's symbolic cultural presence, something which 'helped to mould English culture and the consciousness of Englishmen for several generations', both produces and is produced by literature of the period.[245] This culture exposes, for Montrose, 'a stratified society in which authority is everywhere invested in men – everywhere, that is, except at the top'.[246] Montrose focuses on the cultivation of what he sees as exceptional female power, rooting this power in the continual assertion of Elizabeth's chastity: 'the emphasis on [Elizabeth's] difference from other women may have helped reinforce [her power]'.[247] For Montrose, Elizabeth's chastity was portrayed as productive, unlike that of other women, through moon-goddess and Marian imagery: 'the Queen was the source of her subjects' social sustenance, the fount of all preferments; she was represented as a virgin-mother—part Madonna, part Ephesian Diana'.[248] Although he does not go into depth about Diana and the moon, Montrose suggests that referring to the queen as the moon-goddess Diana and as the virgin Mary both promote Elizabeth's chastity as exceptional through isolating and idealising her. For Montrose, allusions to the Amazons mark the point at which direct correlation to Elizabeth seems 'too sinister', since although 'the Amazonian metaphor might seem suited to strategies for praising a woman ruler, it was never popular among Elizabethan encomiasts'.[249] To Montrose, unlike Diana and the Madonna, the Amazon image asserts the importance of female bonds and community. Early modern representations of Amazons, he writes, have a 'penchant for male infanticide' and 'subjecting powerful heroes to their will'.[250] The connotations of a threatening

[245] Montrose, 75, 62.
[246] Montrose, 61.
[247] Montrose, 80.
[248] Montrose, 64.
[249] Montrose, 76.
[250] Montrose, 66.

and violent misandry of the Amazons set the boundary, for Montrose, of acceptable Elizabethan encomium. He writes that '[i]nvariably, the Amazons are relocated just beyond the receding boundary of *terra incognita*'.[251] Montrose's approach blurs the imagery of Mary and Diana, but separates the image of the Amazon. In my thesis, I explore how Amazons have the potential to be moon-characters, as members of Diana's band and worshippers of Diana. The indefinite boundary between Amazons and the moon suggests the indefinable limits of the moon-character which gestures towards a wider idea of femininity beyond Elizabeth I. Montrose's difficulty in placing the Amazonian metaphor itself suggests that the agency the moon-character holds is neither exceptional nor paradigmatic. The moon-character itself is imbued with the Amazon connotations that Montrose describes, crossing from *terra incognita* into the known world.

Montrose's discussion of moon imagery runs alongside an idea of growing 'disenchantment' in Elizabeth's later reign which is shared by all the critics below: '[s]uch processes of disenchantment are increasingly evident in Elizabethan cultural productions of the 1580s and 1590s'.[252] Like Montrose, Berry adopts a chronological approach to expose increasing disenchantment in the imagery used to denote Elizabeth and to deal with her chastity. Writing in 1989, she argues that in the 1580s 'a more passive and contemplative model of Elizabethan courtliness was articulated by John Lyly' which 'implied the surrender of the (political and sexual) initiative of the male courtier to his queen'; while texts with Elizabethan iconography in the 1590s are 'deeply ambiguous', exposing 'frustration at the limitations which a courtly idealization of the queen was perceived to impose upon the search for masculine identity'.[253] The depiction of Lyly as passive courtier is connected to an assumption that Lyly is obsessively writing about himself and his position at court. Berry argues that the Elvetham entertainment of 1591 marks the increasing influence of the moon as image: 'by this time the moon had become the dominant planetary symbol in Elizabeth's cult'.[254] The peak of the use of the moon to depict Elizabeth, for Berry, is at the turn of the 1590s, negotiating between ideas of complete subjection to the queen involving Lyly (1580s) and masculine resistance involving Shakespeare (1590s). For Berry, the clearest uses of the moon as Elizabeth to express the disillusionment of the male courtier are found in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Raleigh's 'The Ocean's Love to Cynthia', and Spenser's 'Cantos of Mutability', at which point 'man can no longer tolerate the enigma posed by a female chastity or autonomy'.[255] This argument

[251] Montrose, 66.
[252] Montrose, 84-85.
[253] Berry, p. 6.
[254] Berry, p. 108.
[255] Berry, pp. 139-65.

conforms to the binary fractions above and to the way in which criticism has historically viewed Lyly as the feminine moon to Shakespeare's sun. As above, Shakespeare's texts are granted more interpretative ambiguity while Lyly's are strictly contextualized.

Berry focuses on the threatening power posed by female chastity towards the male courtier, and looks specifically at what she considers the most apt figuration of the 'nagging doubt of the Renaissance lover': the Diana and Actaeon myth from Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, in which Actaeon is metamorphosed into a stag and dismembered by hounds for glimpsing Diana naked.[256] Berry regards Elizabeth's chastity (and her comparison to Cynthia or Diana, 'the Roman goddess of chastity, untamed nature and the moon') as 'the sign [...] of her own mysterious powerfulness, of a body and an identity which had somehow eluded successful appropriation by the masculine'.[257] Like Montrose, she perceives the courtier's anxiety as he feels himself subject to the queen. Unlike Montrose, she focuses this anxiety in the potential violence towards and destruction of the male courtier in a 'gynocentric' court where the critic has to 're-"member" and reinterpret Elizabeth's forgotten ties to other women'.[258] These ties have the potential to imply a 'deviant sexuality': 'close-knit communities of women from which men were usually excluded is stressed in so many of [Diana's] myths'.[259] Berry points out that England is referred to as Lesbos in Lyly's *Midas* and that Elizabeth is represented by Sapho in his *Sapho and Phao,* and suggests that potential lesbian sexuality is used as a veiled insult to the queen, or something that reveals the uneasy shared consciousness of the Actaeon myth.[260] She writes that in *Endymion*, 'the most polished and exaggerated compliment to Elizabeth', 'there is no trace of any innuendo about lesbian sexuality'.[261] It is revealing that Lyly's 'superficiality', which made him too effeminate for critics such as Bond, Dover Wilson, and Bradbrook, for Berry reveals his misogyny under a need to 'promulgate courtly values'.[262] Either way, Lyly makes people uneasy.

Berry regards Lyly's lunar allegory, especially in *Endymion*, as panegyric which certainly alludes to the queen, in which he potentially refers to and praises other courtiers as well. The moon in *Endymion* is 'the planet which is now becoming the privileged emblem of her courtly cult'.[263] For

[256] Berry, p. 3, p. 5.
[257] Berry, p. 7.
[258] Berry, p. 5.
[259] Berry, p. 8.
[260] Berry, p. 123.
[261] Berry, p. 126.
[262] Berry, p. 112.
[263] Berry, p. 111.

Berry, at this moment the moon is unambiguously the queen. In contrast, my thesis releases Lyly's imagery from these direct political connotations, and also argues that the violence, misandry, and female-female bonding that Berry perceives in the moon image might be read in a light which does not entirely connect it to anxiety, cynicism, or even subjection to Elizabeth's reign. Instead of assuming that the dramatic portrayal of lesbianism and the subjection of the male to the female are always veiled insults to the queen that belong under the category of the 'sinister', this thesis avoids looking at these gendered relations through the lens of male anxiety. The focus on reading early modern literature in order to uncover unease and anxiety in the early modern era has more recently been questioned by critics like Bridget Escolme and Richard Strier. This question over anxiety in the early modern era is connected to whether the early modern self is perceived as a passive receptor of the forces of the universe (as Gail Kern Paster and Michael C. Schoenfeldt argue) or whether it has agency. Strier shifts the focus to look at how early modern literature suggests that people could experience emotions unrepentantly and Escolme argues that pleasure ought to be given equal, if not more, weight to anxiety when reading early modern texts.[264] Following on from Escolme and Strier, I react against a critical tendency for pessimism and anxiety by foregrounding hope and futurity. Again, Muñoz's formulation of hope as critical practice is useful here—something 'profoundly resistant to the stultifying temporal logic of a broken-down present'.[265] By regarding the moon-character as experimentally resistant to the sexual and relational structures which were deemed 'natural' in the early modern era, I look at how, rather than sycophancy and anxiety, a desire for inclusion and transformation characterizes Lyly's drama and idea of self.

The framework of sycophancy and anxiety influences Cobb's examination of Elizabethan iconography (1989). She locates the use of the moon image in panegyric of Elizabeth in the 1590s and regards it as 'apparent praise which contains undertones of criticism and disillusionment'.[266] This criticism was able to exist, she writes, because 'the tacit understanding may have been that the Queen, from long practice in the art of reading as the "exceptional woman", would have excepted herself from these aspersions, while the long-suffering courtiers who made up the rest of the

[264] Richard Strier writes 'expressions of self-assertion, perversity, and worldly containment can be truly "unrepentant" in the period, and [...] the texts expressing such attitudes need not be fissured, anxious, or self-contradictory' in *The Unrepentant Renaissance: From Petrarch to Shakespeare to Milton* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), p. 8; Bridget Escolme writes 'we are obliged, I believe, to give as much serious and as much political attention to the production of that pleasure as to the anxieties that may have emerged "in excess" of it' in *Emotional Excess on the Shakespearean Stage: Passion's Slaves* (London: Bloomsbury, 2014), p. xxvii.
[265] Muñoz, p.12.
[266] Cobb, p. 1.

audience recognized her in the figure all too well'.[267] Cobb's presupposition of deliberate ignorance or obliviousness on the part of Elizabeth suggests a problem with viewing texts as consistently politically engaged and geared towards the specific and current atmosphere of the court. Instead, her argument points to the importance of reading moon imagery in relation to more general notions of female power that draw upon, allude to, and often include the queen. It opens the door for a more genuinely political argument which does not have the same issues of delimitation. The use of 'Cynthia' is one of the means by which Cobb indicates that the image of the moon-goddess is directly referring to the queen. She writes that while Diana appeared as a character in masques throughout her reign, in these cases Diana 'was not directly identified with her'.[268] This helps her to locate Elizabeth as moon-goddess in the 1590s and to assert that the image's 'negative associations' are a reason for its popularity in a period where the aging of Elizabeth and political disenchantment were obvious: 'it may be from these years in the early 1590s that we can date a significant divergence between Elizabeth's public image and her actual physical state'; 'the popularity of the image [the moon goddess] really took off in the 1590s, not only because of its associations with beauty, radiance and virginity, as invoked by Shakespeare, but also because of its negative associations'.[269] There is a difficult division of 'image' here. While for Cobb, Elizabeth's public image is failing and exposing its difference to the reality of the queen, the moon image can articulate those failures and hide as encomium ('within the acceptable outward form of panegyric').[270] She even goes so far as to suggest the moon image itself is custom-made for a simultaneous praise and critique of Elizabeth: it is 'admirably suited to expressing this growing disillusionment', 'because of its darker overtones', and especially because 'the moon was implicitly only an image of secondary power, inferior to the symbol of masculine power, the sun'.[271]

Cobb cites Hélène Cixous and her binaries (sun/moon, man/woman) arguing that 'such categories applied in the sixteenth century'.[272] Not only does the moon imply 'female inferiority' but also the 'sinister qualities' (recalling Montrose's 'sinister' Amazons) of brain-sickness and magical powers.[273] Above, Montrose uses the phrase 'too sinister' to indicate the point at which direct correlation between Elizabeth and the Amazon became unlikely. Cobb's use of the word here also reflects a problem with her attempt to define the boundaries of the moon image in relation to Elizabeth I.

[267] Cobb, p. 342.
[268] Cobb, p. 282.
[269] Cobb, p. 293, p. 282.
[270] Cobb, p. 305.
[271] Cobb, p. 315.
[272] Cobb, p. 315.
[273] Cobb, p. 317.

Although Elizabeth as the moon is granted these 'sinister' connotations here, elsewhere Cobb speculates that, regarding Lyly's Pandora, 'it may seem improbable that such a negative depiction of Lyly's of female, and lunar, power, could have been intended as a reflection on the Queen', and that 'it is difficult, and indeed somewhat alarming, to see Elizabeth in the lines from *Old Fortunatus*' (where Fortunatus sees '"franticke Cynthia naked ride"'), and also that it is exactly these 'sinister' qualities that are praised as 'positive rather than negative' by George Chapman in *The Shadow of the Night*.[274] Cobb writes that in Chapman's poem, '[w]hat is striking about his use of the moon-image is the way in which he employs its sinister and magical attributes without compunction […] for Chapman, this constitutes a celebration of Elizabeth, but only within his highly idiosyncratic symbolic scheme'.[275] Cobb's confinement of celebration of the sinister to Chapman seems to be part of the problem of ascribing texts to a scheme where they are generically described as eulogies, encomia, or panegyrics which necessarily either praise or secretly criticize the queen, instead of thinking about a more complicated, intricate, and nuanced character-creation. For Cobb, unless 'idiosyncratic', the courtier uses the moon either to assert 'negative' properties of Elizabeth or to deny them. Rather than following this binary model, my thesis is attuned to the strangeness of lunar imagery, and is concerned with its use to construct a complicated version of personhood.

Using another of the syncretic associations of the moon, Hackett's *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen* (1995) mainly explores religious and Marian imagery of Elizabeth. In her section on lunar imagery, she considers the way in which the moon image and the Virgin Mary are both involved with an idea of chastity, conception and birth, arguing '[t]he moon was an established motif in the iconography of the virgin Mary'.[276] She acknowledges that 'the classical tradition identifies the moon with virginity and female power', but also that it is 'inadequate to view images of Elizabeth as moon-goddess merely as appropriations of Marian iconography'.[277] In fact, Hackett argues that Marian imagery and lunar imagery are almost competing: 'Elizabeth as Cynthia is quite the opposite of the creation of a new Virgin Mary as an object of cult-worship'.[278] For Hackett, as for Cobb, Berry, and Montrose, the moon figure 'began to flourish' in the 1590s and her section on 'Lunar Imagery' comes under the all-encompassing heading of 'Literature of Disillusionment'.[279] The 1590s are described in terms of Elizabeth's altering physical state and 'the widening gulf between image and reality' of the

[274] Cobb, p. 341, p. 320, p. 327.
[275] Cobb, p. 331, p. 332.
[276] Hackett, p. 175.
[277] Hackett, pp. 175-76, p. 176.
[278] Hackett, p. 197.
[279] Hackett, p. 176.

Queen'.[280] Hackett stresses the idea of an immutable moon and the interest in the Queen's longevity, but argues that 'the moon was a dualistic image, with a dark side as well as bright side, which enabled apparent celebration of Elizabeth as a quasi-divine icon to incorporate negative undertones of criticism'.[281] Her instances of representations of Elizabeth as Cynthia in the 1590s include Raleigh's *Ocean to Scinthia* (1592), Peele's *The Honour of the Garter* (1593), Chapman's *The Shadow of the Night* (1594) and Jonson's *Cynthia's Revels* (1600).[282] According to this chronology, the moon as image is at its worst, implying its most negative associations and incisively attacking the authority of the queen, at the turn of the century. Hackett's concern with the Queen's physical body, and the courtiers' disgust towards it implies that the physical deterioration of the head of state is unexpected or even unnatural (Hackett argues that 'the events of her reign from which God might have preserved her' led to 'expressions of hope and even belief that she would live forever').[283] In writing about the 'negative' aspects of the moon, Hackett's language is eerily similar to Cobb's: the moon implies 'brain-sickness (that is, lunacy), strange behaviour in nature, darkness and night, the occult, sinister female powers, and female licentiousness'.[284] The moon's inferiority to the sun and its influence over the 'troubling changeability of the female body' also serve to make the image a useful one for Queen Elizabeth's detractors, who are 'ostensibly praising the Queen by associating her with the positive qualities of the moon'.[285] Again, the ultimate example of this superficial courtier is Lyly and *Endymion.*[286] There is an assumed knowledge or deliberate silence concerning what these 'sinister female powers' involve. They seem to refer to the opposite of chastity and be involved with notions of inconstancy, licentiousness, darkness, and power, rather than passivity. As above, I view both inconstancy and chastity as means by which women might oppose early modern relational structures. Rather than being 'sinister' or complicit, inconstancy and chastity both have the potential to be enabling and creative forms of agency which pose experimental resistances to an idea of marriage as compulsory.

Jankowski addresses the powerfulness of the chastity involved with the moon-image in *Pure Resistance* (2000), but argues that Elizabeth's representation of virginity was contingent upon her isolation and individuality: '[f]or Elizabeth, being a virgin meant, in part, being a totally anomalous figure, a human woman without a peer. Just as virtually no woman could rule countries, so, too,

[280] Hackett, p. 180.
[281] Hackett, p. 176.
[282] Hackett, p. 174.
[283] Hackett, p. 177.
[284] Hackett, p. 182.
[285] Hackett, p. 183.
[286] Hackett, p. 183.

virtually no woman could live her life as a virgin'.[287] While not ignoring the difficulty for early modern drama to valorize female power and friendships, I want to steer away from this notion that there is an outrageously evil threat in the possibility that Elizabeth's virginity and power might apply to other women. For Jankowski, as with Berry, Cobb, and Hackett, Lyly plays a significant role in the representation of Elizabeth as anomalous virgin and its feasibility. Recalling Berry, Jankowski argues that 'Lyly's allegorical linking to Diana, as well as to Cynthia (*Endimion*) and Sapho (*Sapho and Phao*)—and his identification of England as Lesbos (*Midas*)—had the potential to "cast" the queen as a "lesbian" ruler, or certainly the doyenne of a "lesbian" court circle'.[288] The moon goddesses form only part of this summation of Elizabethan allegory in Lyly, who is treated by Jankowski as someone with remarkable power in the creation and demarcation of Elizabeth's image. For Jankowski, Lyly's use of multiple powerful women inculcates court politics in lesbian sexuality in a way that potentially questions it, rather than suggests a world beyond the court. Lyly's plays, for her, offer a difficult puzzle: '[a]re they purely designed to flatter the Queen? Or are they designed to critique Elizabeth's virgin policy?'[289]

Jankowski's recent book, *Elizabeth I, the Subversion of Flattery, and John Lyly's Court Plays and Entertainments* (2018), goes even further in this direction, directly addressing this dichotomy in the relationship between the playwright and Elizabeth: 'Lyly, while praising the queen and accepting her beneficence, simultaneously manages to present his audience with the "dark queen"'.[290] Here, Jankowski looks at the queen as moon-goddess in relation to Lyly's plays. In *Endymion*, she separates the goddess figure of the second half of the play from an initial picture of 'the moon who bears no resemblance to either an earthly woman or a queen'.[291] Regarding Pandora's location on the moon in *The Woman in the Moon*, however, she asks 'to what extent Lyly wished to compromise iconic representations of the queen', and whether or not 'he was bold enough to arrange for a performance of this play'.[292] Jankowski's questions reflect the precariousness of the equation of Elizabeth as moon. All of these discussions demand that Lyly's characters be pushed into Elizabethan allegorical moulds. The problem is that the multiplicity of powerful, virginal, or even lunar characters in Lyly's plays calls to question the idea that Elizabeth can be so easily identified—she is everywhere, and at the same time, nowhere. Also, the moon, which pervades Lyly's plays, with its syncretic

[287] Jankowski, *Pure Resistance*, p. 13.
[288] Jankowski, *Pure Resistance*, pp. 14-15.
[289] Jankwoski, *Pure Resistance*, p. 13.
[290] Jankkowki, *Elizabeth I, the Subversion of Flattery,* p. 19.
[291] Jankkowki, *Elizabeth I, the Subversion of Flattery*, p. 94.
[292] Jankkowki, *Elizabeth I, the Subversion of Flattery,* p. 152.

possibilities and oppositional stance, often seems radically censurious to the queen. While my thesis makes use of this important work, it avoids the problem of identifying Elizabeth by decentering the queen and looking at her as just one of the elements which make up the presentation of the moon on stage.

These critics' emphasis on disenchantment or disillusionment in the later years of Elizabeth's reign, and their emphasis on the gap between the image and reality, often implies something disgusting about the queen's aging body that persists in popular culture. Kate Maltby, in *The Guardian*, writes that Elizabeth's age continues to be exaggerated on screen, so that '[t]he most powerful woman in our history remains, on our screens, the epitome of the female grotesque'.[293] Helen Hackett compares the reception of Elizabeth to that of Margaret Thatcher in terms of the 'intense fascination, awe and devotion towards the abnormally elevated female figure', and Susan Bassnett (1988) writes about this comparison: '[m]ost recently, yet another version of Elizabeth has appeared, a narrow feminist perspective that accuses her of not having done enough for other women, in much the same terms as Margaret Thatcher might be accused today, but with the difference, of course, that feminist ideology conceived in such terms did not exist in the sixteenth century'. [294] Maltby brings up Angela Merkel and Hilary Clinton as more modern examples of the fear of being 'led by older women – if we can't deny their political power, we'll deny their erotic power instead'.[295] The way that the moon image is read as part of a double panegyric that inculcates both excessive praise and excessive horror is part of the problem. Its potential for mutability is always seen pejoratively. The questions that the moon image poses about boundedness, impenetrability, lunacy, and chastity, are seen in a 'sinister' light, rather than as revealing potential psychological depth, interiority, creativity, and power.

[293] Kate Maltby, 'Why is Elizabeth I, the most powerful woman in our history, always depicted as a grotesque?', *Guardian* (25/5/2015) <http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2015/may/25/armada-documentary-ageing-woman-body-queen-elizabeth> [accessed 22nd February 2016].
[294] Hackett, p. 238; Susan Bassnett, *Elizabeth I: A Feminist Perspective* (Oxford: Berg Publishers, 1988; repr. 1997), p. 5.
[295] Maltby.

Recent Criticism on Lyly

The work of Leah Scragg, G.K. Hunter, and David Bevington to publish the complete dramatic works of Lyly in the Revels Plays series (concluding with *Mother Bombie* in 2010) has been important in creating a recent surge of interest in Lyly.[296] Over the latter half of the twentieth century, criticism from Marco Mincoff, Peter Saccio, and Michael Pincombe, has also helped to expose Lyly's writing.[297] Recent productions of Lyly's plays by Perry Mills and the King Edward's Boys company, James Wallace with Dolphin's Back and Read Not Dead at the Sam Wannamaker playhouse, and Emma Frankland's work on *Galatea* with Andy Kesson's 'Before Shakespeare Project', have all contributed to Lyly's rising popularity, especially within discussions on gender and sexual difference on the early modern stage.[298] Scragg and Kesson, especially, have argued that Lyly's faddishness has been overstated and for his re-inclusion in the canon, following his critical neglect and 'current cultural invisibility'.[299] This work has prompted an upsurge of writing about Lyly's plays by critics such as Kent Cartwright, Christopher Wixson, James M. Bromley, Natalia Khomenko, Gillian Knoll, Armelle Sabatier, Shannon Kelley, Andrew Bozio, and Chloe Porter.[300] Despite this upsurge of interest in Lyly, critics have written recently about the continuing neglect of him in the academy. Arthur Kinney calls Lyly 'the most neglected, underappreciated and misunderstood Elizabethan

[296] Leah Scragg (ed.), 'Introduction' to John Lyly, *Mother Bombie* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2010), pp. 1-53 (p. 53).
[297] Mincoff (1961); Hunter (1962); Peter Saccio, *The Court Comedies of John Lyly: A Study in Allegorical Dramaturgy* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1969); Michael Pincombe, *The Plays of John Lyly: Eros and Eliza* (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1996).
[298] Read Not Dead Lyly productions include *The Woman in the Moon* (with Dolphin's Back, 2014; 2017) and *Sapho and Phao* (2018), both directed by James Wallace. See Lois Potter, 'Pre-Shakespeare: Read Not Dead', *Cahiers Élisabéthains: A Journal of English Renaissance Studies*, 95.1 (2018), 74-79. See *Before Shakespeare* <http://www.beforeshakespeare.com> [accessed 2nd April 2019]. Edward's Boys Lyly productions include: *Endymion* (2009), *Mother Bombie* (2010), *Galatea* (2014), *The Woman in the Moon* (2018), all directed by Perry Mills. See 'Edward's Boys', <edwardsboys.org> [accessed 2nd April 2019]. For Emma Frankland's *Galatea* project see 'Emma Frankland, *Galatea*' <http://jerwoodarts.org/projects/emma-frankland> [accessed 2nd April 2019].
[299] See Leah Scragg, 'The Victim of Fashion? Rereading the Biography of John Lyly', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 19 (2006), 210-26; Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 5.
[300] Kent Cartwight, 'The Confusions of Gallathea: John Lyly as Popular Dramatist', *Comparative Drama*, 32.2 (Summer, 1998), 207-39; Christopher Wixson, 'Cross-Dressing in John Lyly's Gallathea', *Studies in English Literature*, 1500-1900, 41.2 (2001), 241-56; Bromley (2009); Natalia Khomenko, '"Betweeen You and Her No Comparison": Witches, Healers, and Elizabeth I in John Lyly's *Endymion*', *Early Theatre*, 13.1 (2010), 37-63; Knoll, 'How To Make Love to the Moon' (2014); Armelle Sabatier, 'Colour as an Art of Illusion in John Lyly's Campaspe (1584)', *E-rea*, 12.2 (2015), 1-27; Shannon Kelley, 'Desire, a Crooked Yearning, and the Plants of *Endymion*', *Renaissance Drama*, 44.1 (Spring, 2016), 1-23. Andrew Bozio, 'The Contemplative Cosmos: John Lyly's *Endymion* and the Shape of Early Modern Space', *Studies in Philology*, 113.1 (Winter, 2016), 55-81 (67); Chloe Porter, '"Contrived in Nature's Shop": Countering Antitheatricality in *The Woman in the Moon*', *Shakespeare Studies*, 45 (2017), 106-12.

playwright'.[301] Scragg writes that 'Lyly, for all the efforts of successive generations of scholars, has remained on the periphery of the literary canon, identified in the public mind with a peculiarly mannered style'.[302] My thesis shifts the focus from reinstituting Lyly as worthy of study into questioning why he has been forgotten. Through my examination of Lyly's work in relation to the canonical Shakespeare, this thesis will expose new reasons (which can be found within the plays themselves) for his long-term critical neglect.

Scragg has demonstrated that, in contrast to Hunter's influential work which sees Lyly as 'victim of fashion', 'at the end of the 1580s Lyly was a dominant figure in the Elizabethan cultural landscape'.[303] Scragg shows how Lyly has been misrepresented by Hunter in his *The Humanist as Courtier* (1962): '[t]hough he undoubtedly had enemies and detractors […], the attacks to which he was subject serve as a pointer to his prominence, and are equalled by tributes'.[304] As above, Scragg has disrupted the critical orthodoxy set up by the 'master narrative of Lyly's career', outlined by Hunter, of 'a progressive assent and abrupt decline' ascribed to Lyly's 'ill-judged participation in the Martin Marprelate controversy'.[305] While Hunter has (over)emphasized the ways in which Lyly and his use of euphuism were denigrated at the end of the sixteenth century and in the seventeenth century, Scragg has provided evidence that Lyly continued to be admired and perhaps continued to be active in court circles into the seventeenth century.[306] My focus is instead on how these competing views of Lyly in the early modern era are reflective of an ambivalence towards one aspect of Lyly's dramatic milieu, the utopian potential of his moon-character. Because of Lyly's continuing predominance as a literary figure (as outlined by Scragg), this mode of character comes under scrutiny. I show that rather than a 'seismic shift in literary tastes' (as Scragg characterizes Hunter's argument), there was a slow silencing of Lyly's moon-character, and that Shakespeare's own responses to Lyly over the turn of the seventeenth century sow the seeds for Lyly's denigration in later criticism.

[301] Arthur Kinney, 'John Lyly and the University Wits', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare and Contemporary Dramatists*, ed. Ton Hoenselaars (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), pp. 1-18 (p. 2).
[302] Leah Scragg (ed.), 'Introduction', to John Lyly, *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003; repr. 2009), pp. 1-20 (p. 1).
[303] Scragg, 'The Victim of Fashion?', 213.
[304] Scragg, 'The Victim of Fashion?', 213.
[305] Scragg, 'Angling for Answers', 237, 238.
[306] Scragg, 'Angling for Answers', 237.

Scragg also argues that the euphuistic mode as deployed by Lyly is regarded 'not as a stylistic flourish, but the vehicle for a distinctive vision of the world'.[307] For Scragg, Lyly's unnatural natural philosophy, or his use of ill-fitting examples and comparisons, exposes a Saussurean problem with language itself: '[t]he relentless word-play, the puns and homophones yoking disparate areas of experience, the syllabic repetition and half-rhymes challenging the relationship between signifier and signified, the ambiguity promoted by parison, isocolon and paromoion all contribute for the modern reader to an "anatomy of wit" far more disturbing in its implications that the dangerous divorce of intelligence from piety that forms the ostensible subject of the work'.[308] Scragg has suggested that Lyly's critical neglect relates to the instability of Lyly's universe. For instance, Scragg argues that *Euphues* is not a didactic text, but that 'the pervasive ambivalence at the heart of the euphuistic mode endows Lyly's work with a far greater degree of ambiguity than its subject matter initially suggests'.[309] In *The Woman in the Moon*: '[t]he concept of a universe founded upon the unification of antithetical properties at work in the play's opening lines conforms to the notion of "doubleness" projected throughout the Lylian canon – insistently promoted through the see-saw rhythms of the euphuistic mode, the unresolved debates underpinning both plays and prose works, and the imagery enforcing the duality of the natural world'.[310] The unstable universe, she argues, is 'constant, like all Lyly's play worlds, only in inconstancy, and subject to an endless process of mutation'.[311] Lyly's inconstant world, for Scragg, has affected his reception: 'Lyly's dictum that there is "nothing" constant "but inconstancy" has at last proved valid [...] in relation to the estimation of his own work'; '[t]he kaleidoscopic nature of the fable enacted in *The Woman in the Moon* has given rise to a critical response to the play as shifting and unstable as Pandora herself'.[312] I make use of this important connection in order to argue that Lyly's worldview along with his language comes into scrutiny in the years after he was writing—the rebuttals of Lyly are ideological as much as they are stylistic. This thesis builds on Scragg's emphasis on change in Lyly's work but shifts the focus from language to character. Following on from Scragg, this project highlights ideas of transformational encounter and the valorization of change in Lyly's works. Lyly presents worlds in which radical change through encounter with alterity is possible—where laws of 'nature' can be re-inscribed or dismissed. Scragg argues that '[t]he demonstration that meaning is unstable and contingent undermines the notion of an immutable, hierarchical reality rooted in a divinely ordained equation between the World and

[307] Scragg, 'Angling for Answers', 241.
[308] Scragg, 'Introduction' to *Euphues*, p. 19.
[309] Scragg, 'Introduction', to *Euphues*, p. 4.
[310] Leah Scragg (ed.), 'Introduction', to *The Woman in the Moon* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 1-47 (p. 22).
[311] Scragg, 'Introduction', to *The Woman in the Moon*, p. 23.
[312] Scragg, 'Introduction', to *Euphues*, p. 1. Scragg, 'Introduction' to *The Woman in the Moon*, p. 23.

ultimate truth'.[313] Shifting the focus from language to character, I suggest that the same forces which were championing 'empirical science' and rationality were involved in the repudiation of Lyly's moon-character and its potential. As I have shown above, it is difficult to disentangle nineteenth-, twentieth-, and twenty-first-century constructions of the narrative of the rise of science from a historicist account of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries which reflects the simulteniety of competing versions of viewing the cosmos. Instead of a shift in literary tastes, I argue that the repudiation of Lyly is illustrative of slow-forming ideological changes involved with views towards Lyly's use of what Scragg has identified as the instability of his universe, his use of 'disordered' natural phenomena, and the validity of the moon-character's potential to disrupt normative modes of relationship.

Following on from Scragg's work, Kesson makes a powerful argument to resurrect Lyly in his significant contribution to Lylian studies, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship* (2014). He stresses the importance of Hunter's work in affecting the image of Lyly, and argues that from the beginning of New Historicism's account of Renaissance England, Lyly's work is 'plagued' with 'the sycophancy motif'.[314] He argues that Lyly is radical, novel, innovative, popular, surprising, provocative, dissident, dangerously influential and proto-feminist.[315] Kesson argues that what has been regarded as Lyly's conservatism, is instead his 'ability to say provocative, surprising and dissident things under the cover of authenticating references to humanist culture'.[316] My thesis makes use of Andy Kesson's work on Lyly's exclusion from the canon (as a result of misogyny, homophobia, femmephobia).[317] Kesson has done much to show how historic criticism has cast Lyly as a writer who threatens enlightenment values and has painted euphuism in particular as anti-enlightenment. He argues that these enlightenment values are problematic in that they define logic and truth within the parameters of Englishness and masculinity. Kesson shows that the word 'infection' is used influentially by Robert Dodsley to describe euphuism in the eighteenth-century edition of *Old Plays* (1744). For Kesson, the word has had 'a lasting and negative effect on [Lyly's] subsequent reception'.[318] Kesson argues that this indictment of Lyly is associated with eighteenth-century canonization of Shakespeare and is a reaction to Edward Blount's 1632 preface of Lyly's plays.[319] Kesson shows how Lyly's infectiousness manifests in the twentieth century as 'stylistic disorder'

[313] Leah Scragg, 'John Lyly and the Politics of Language', *Essays in Criticism*, 55.1 (2005), 17-38 (37).
[314] Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 10.
[315] Kesson uses 'radical', for instance, to describe Lyly, in *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 44.
[316] Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 109.
[317] See Kesson, '"It is a pity you are not a woman", 33-47 (34).
[318] Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 187.
[319] Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 188.

through critics such as Jonas Barish, who '[made] euphuism pathological'.[320] My thesis builds on Kesson's work but also diverges from it. The purpose of this thesis is not solely to valorize Lyly (this has already been done), but to recognise his contribution to and development of a moon-character which exists prior to and after Elizabeth. I differ from Kesson, in that, rather than focusing on the enlightenment origins of Lyly's neglect, I look at cynical responses to Lyly's drama by Shakespeare himself. I look at how Shakespeare regarded Lyly's hopefulness, in the years following his writing, through the lens of lunacy.

My thesis also builds on the work of critics who have looked at Shakespeare and Lyly together. As I explained above, this work often focuses on linguistic and structural echoes between the two playwrights, as well as the examination of comedy as a genre, while this study looks at dramatic character.[321] As Lyly has often been confined to background material for the reading of Shakespeare, the use of Lyly as 'source' for Shakespeare is rightfully suspect. Avoiding the framework of a straightforward 'source-study', Scragg's *The Metamorphosis of Gallathea* draws connections between the two playwrights through the motif of metamorphosis.[322] Writing in 1982, Scragg argues that while it had been established that Lyly was a major influence on Shakespeare, there was still much to be discovered about the relationship between the two playwrights: '[t]he reasons for this seeming paradox lie in the curiously crab-like progress of twentieth-century Shakespeare-Lylian scholarship'.[323] Looking at Marco Mincoff and G.K. Hunter, Scragg argues 'the majority of contemporary critics have been concerned […] to stress the divergencies between the two authors rather than to emphasize their similarities'.[324] This thesis makes use of the connections drawn by Scragg, but also recognizes the way in which Shakespeare often responds to Lyly's dramatic moon-character with both wistfulness and cynicism. From a different perspective, Kesson warns against reading Lyly and Shakespeare together on the account that Shakespeare's cultural dominance skews views of Lyly: 'Lyly's impact on the print market has been consistently downplayed within a critical discourse that continues to view—often unwittingly—the early modern period from a post-Shakespearean position'. [325] This thesis attempts to privilege neither playwright by using the framework of hypertextuality (as I explained above), and by looking at how Shakespeare both relies upon Lyly and diverges from him. Kesson's argument that Lyly is 'conceptually confined to the 1580s'

[320] Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 14.
[321] See footnote 2.
[322] Leah Scragg, *The Metamorphosis of Gallathea: A Study in Creative Adaptation* (Washington: University Press of America, 1982).
[323] Scragg, *Metamorphosis*, p. 1.
[324] Scragg, *Metamorphosis*, p. 2.
[325] Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 68.

is very useful: '[f]ollowing the rise of bardolotry from at least the eighteenth century onwards, Shakespeare's contemporaries were forced into redistribution around him, with the result that Lyly became conceptually confined to the 1580s, as if to make way for what could then be defined as the first Shakespearean decade'.[326] This is interesting in light of the way the 1590s are considered to have radical and perverse tendencies by critics such as Georgia Brown and critics of Elizabethan iconography (discussed earlier).[327] Historically confined to the 1580s, Lyly is neutralized and stripped of his radical potential. But this confinement reflects Lyly's potential to upset the status quo, as Kesson points out: 'there may be something uniquely threatening about the idea of Lyly's influence over Shakespeare'.[328] Rather than regarding this as a reason not to look at the two playwrights together, the thesis seeks to explore this 'unique threat', asking what it is about Lyly's work that makes it seem so dangerous for Shakespearean critics. As I explored above, criticism that views the playwrights together in the context of Elizabeth I often focuses on the use of both playwrights as sources for a historical narrative rather than the relationship between them. More recent criticism has also had a historicist focus: Chloe Porter has looked at Lyly and Shakespeare together within the historical context of the Reformation; Bart van Es has also looked at the history of child impresement through analysis of Lyly's *Galatea* and Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream.*[329] While my focus on the moon-character is historicist, this thesis also seeks to answer questions about the playwrights' reception in the present day.

In contrast to these recent critics, I argue that Lyly's stance as lunar and as 'lunatic' is certainly cemented within the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries, but it is also cultivated by Lyly himself, and by those writing immediately after him, including Shakespeare. Lyly's writing is itself aware of its position in the denominator of the sun/moon fraction. The fact that Lyly situates himself on the moon is what makes him so significant to this study. Negative reactions towards Lyly's work are testament to his writing's radical potential. Lyly's work attempts to destabilize the binary relationships between man/woman, sun/moon, sanity/lunacy. Lyly's moon-characters are involved with dismantling the binaries that have confined his work. Finally, the thesis also looks at moon-characters in Shakespeare and shows how Shakespeare's plays reveal a pathological need to

[326] Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 68.
[327] Georgia Brown writes that the 1590s, 'were […] a time of dynamic growth and experiment', during which time, 'newness is inseparable from transgression', *Redefining Elizabethan Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004; repr. 2009), p. 24, p. 25.
[328] Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 70.
[329] Chloe Porter, 'Idolotry, Iconoclasm and Agency: Visual Experience in Works by Lyly and Shakespeare', *Literature & History*, 18.1 (2009), 1-15; Bart van Es, 'Captive Children: John Lyly, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and child impressment on the Early Modern Stage', *Renaissance Studies*, 33.2 (2019), 166-84.

medicalize the deviant. Although Shakespeare's 'direct indebtedness to the Lylian canon' illustrates the continuing dominance of Lyly as a literary figure into the seventeenth century, I show how Shakespeare often responds to Lyly's dramatic moon-chracter with both wistfulness and cynicism.[330]

5. Structure of Thesis

The thesis broadly follows a chronological trajectory. It first examines Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon* (*c*. 1588) and looks at the moon as a model for female selfhood in this play. Two comparative chapters follow. First, I read Lyly's *Galatea* (*c.* 1584) alongside Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (*c.* 1600), and then Lyly's *Endymion: The Man in the Moon* (*c.* 1588) alongside Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c.* 1595). These plays are placed together because of specific textual echoes and thematic similarities. The last chapter looks at Shakespeare's later moon-plays written in collaboration with other playwrights: *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (*c.* 1607) and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (*c.* 1613).

Chapter one looks at the use of the moon as a model for ideal female selfhood in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon* (*c*. 1588). In contrast to critical readings of the character of Pandora which minimize her agency, the chapter focuses on Pandora's choice to be placed in the orb of moon (with the character Luna) in the last scene of the play as an active construction of identity. It examines the resistance of Lyly's lunatic moon-character, Pandora, to three early modern methods of categorization: firstly, the Galenic-humoral model of the self; secondly, rigid sexual roles which are restrictive for women; and thirdly, the way in which women are presented as mad on the stage. Finally, it explores how Pandora's stage-raving under the influence of Luna is an act of dislocation from the world and a societally informed version of nature. It looks at how Pandora's lunatic language proffers new ways of seeing that reject a patriarchal and heteronormative view of the natural. This chapter explores how Lyly manifests the oppositional force involved with Diana and the moon in mid-sixteenth century masques into a much more psychologically complex transitional figure based on the moon. The chapter considers the challenging connection between the lunatic and utopian self in this play.

[330] Scragg, 'The Victim of Fashion?', 214.

Chapter two examines the relationship between Lyly's *Galatea* (*c*. 1584) and Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (*c.* 1600), and argues that Shakespeare uses Lyly's play as a hypotext. In both *Galatea* and *As You Like It*, the lunar poses alterity and singularity within an earthly space that demands relationality and conformity and the moon is required to 'yield' to the earthy requirements of these staged worlds. Comparing the characters of Diana in *Galatea* with Phoebe in *As You Like It*, it looks at how Diana's 'unmatchability', connected with queer chastity and gender transitionality, is translated to Phoebe's disdain, an othering lunacy which must be assimilated back into the play-world. As Phoebe is brought to earth in *As You Like It*, she is forced to recognize her own matchability—which involves a repression of the inchoate desires which were privileged in Lyly's *Galatea*.

Chapter three looks at Lyly's *Endymion: the Man in the Moon* (*c*. 1588) alongside Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c.* 1595). Arguing that these texts are in hypertextual relationship with one another, the chapter examines the way in which genre maps onto the relationship between the moon-character and the earth, looking at *Endymion*'s ambivalent relationship to genre in contrast to the comedy of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. It compares the playwrights' portrayals of two different encounters between man and moon: Endymion and Cynthia with Bottom and Titania. While Lyly's encounter (between Endymion and Cynthia) is a transformational one, a neoplatonic elevation which breaks down the distinction between man and moon, Shakespeare's (between Bottom and Titania) involves degradation and an inscribing of monstrous otherness to the moon-character. The chapter also looks at the character of Starveling's Moonshine as a metatheatrical critique of presenting the moon as a character on stage; and 'Pyramus and Thisbe' as a Lylian drama which the court characters dismiss.

Chapter four moves on to look at moon-characters within Shakespeare's later work in collaboration with Wilkins and Fletcher. It looks at the significance of the materiality and absence of the moon-character in *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (*c.* 1607) and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (*c*. 1613). Regarding Lyly as an alternative source to Gower and Chaucer, I show how his moon-character is sought after by the characters in these plays. In *Pericles*, it is only Pericles himself who is able to access the moon. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the moon-character, the culturally established mode of evasion from the wedding, will not arrive to save Emilia from marrying either Palamon or Arcite. Instead, the Jailor's Daughter emerges as a shadow-side to the moon.

Chapter 1. 'Change is my felicity': The Utopian Lunacy of the Moon-character in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon* (*c.* 1588)

Pandora, in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon* (*c.* 1588), encounters a moon-character, Luna, and as a result, chooses to transform into a moon-character herself. Her justification for this active construction of identity is that 'change is [her] felicity' (5.1.307). This chapter will show how, in this play, the moon offers Pandora a transitional personhood that rejects the static partitioning of the self into categories which accord with early modern relational structures. *The Woman in the Moon* is a theatrical exploration of the active adoption of the moon as a model of character. The Prologue begins:

> Our poet, slumb'ring in the Muses' laps,
> Hath seen a woman seated in the moon
> (A point beyond the ancient theoric) (Prologue. 1-3)

The play inverts the tradition ('the ancient theoric') of 'the man in the moon', a subtitle for Lyly's earlier play, *Endymion* (*c.* 1588), and the myth is altered to focus on the creation of woman, offering an unusual exploration of the female self on the stage. Radically, *The Woman in the Moon* presents an emotionally unstable girl as the focus for what it is to be a human person (unlike, for instance, Ophelia, who is arguably in the margins of the *Hamlet* narrative). Pandora is not just emotionally unstable, but emotionally destabilized, and her personality is pushed into different shapes by the contradicting forces around her. Pandora is formed by the character Nature, at the request of the male shepherds that populate Utopia (where the play is set), so they might 'propagate the issue of [their] kind' and like other natural creatures '[h]ave mates of pleasure to uphold their brood' (Iphicles, a shepherd, 1.1.42, 1.1.47). Pandora starts as a 'lifeless image' in the first scene, and undergoes extreme shifts in her personality over the course of the play, as each of the Ptolemaic planets (from Saturn to Luna) enters onstage and enacts a controlling influence over her (1.1.57). The planets 'instil' her with various 'mood[s]' in the framework of the Galenic humoral model of the self (Saturn, 1.1.144).[1] At the same time, the male human characters, the shepherds along with Pandora's servant, Gunophilus, compete with one another for Pandora's attention and, as per the

[1] For instance, 'these inferiour bodies upon earth, are mooved and altered by the ayre and other elements: and the elements are moved by the influence and motion of the Moone, Sunne, and other heavenly bodies', Robert Parsons, *The Seconde Parte of the Booke of Christian Exercise, Apperteyning to Resolution* (London: 1590) <http://eebo.chadwyck.com> [accessed 1st May 2017]. See Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1993); Gail Kern Paster, Katherine Rowe and Mary Floyd-Wilson (eds), *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

shepherds' request for a '[mate] of pleasure', demand that she marry one of them. After being placed under the influence of Luna (or encountering her, as I argue) and being made 'lunatic' (according to Gunophilus) Pandora encounters Nature and the planets and is offered a choice of which one she wants to stay with. Pandora chooses to be placed with Luna in the orb of the moon (5.1.69). By doing so, she escapes the compulsory relational obligations which were a condition of her creation.

When she chooses the moon, Pandora states 'change is my felicity' (5.1.307). Early modern medicine connects the changeable moon to lunacy in the person. Andrew Boorde defines 'a lunatic person', in *The Breviarie of Health* (1587), as he who 'will be ravished of his wits ones in a moone'.[2] For Pandora, the moon and its related lunacy is her 'felicity', her ultimate means of self-expression, and an active choice rather than a loss of 'wits' that is imposed upon her by external forces. The moon is the planet with which she wants to stay, having been under the influence of all of the planets over the course of the play. The play reacts against the relegation of the experience of the self to pathological criteria, rigid sexual roles which are restrictive for women, and the passive humoral model of selfhood which it uses as a framework. 'Felicity' can refer to a favourable aspect of a planet, and Lyly's use of the possessive pronoun 'my' suggests that what is a favourable aspect is dependent on the person, posing a non-prescriptive and non-determinative version of astrology.[3] There has been a critical refusal to recognize Pandora's self-determination as felicitous. Michael Caines, writing about a recent (and rare) performance of Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon* at the Rose Theatre (2014), complains about Pandora's choice of the moon: '[i]t is the inconstant moon goddess who can make the mutability of the last five acts a permanent state of affairs [...] [a] modern audience has to lump it, I guess, even if they don't like it'.[4] Michael Pincombe, comparing *The Woman in the Moon* to Lyly's *Endymion*, writes that Pandora is 'merely mutable, where the Cynthia of the earlier play was mysteriously constant'.[5] This follows an assumption that there is something inherently negative (and derogatively feminine) involved with the mutability that Pandora chooses. Kesson and Scragg, whose work I am building on (as I have shown in my introduction), have re-evaluated critical conceptions of Lyly that saw him as culturally conservative, backward-looking, and pejoratively effeminate, and have placed scrutiny on the character of Pandora, recognising her anomalous, even proto-feminist,

[2] Andrew Boorde, *The Breviarie of Health* (London: 1587; first pub. 1547) <https://data-historicaltexts-jisc-ac-uk> [accessed 5th May 2016], p. 73.
[3] 'Felicity', *n.*, *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com> [accessed 6th March 2019].
[4] Michael Caines, 'Lyly's Lunacy', *Times Literary Supplement Blog* (25/9/2014) <http://timescolumns.typepad.com/stothard/2014/09/lylys-lunacy.html> [accessed 30th May 2015].
[5] Michael Pincombe, *The Plays of John Lyly: Eros and Eliza* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 180.

existence on the early modern stage.[6] But Kesson focusses on Pandora's emotional passivity to the planets and to Nature: she is 'a puppet whom the god-planets continually invade' and 'a character that has been created by one character and is now controlled by another', rather than recognising the self-determination that comes through the play as a result of Pandora's experience of subjection.[7] Scragg, on the other hand, points out that Pandora's 'final decision to embrace her instability is not an act of self-recognition but a means of empowerment'.[8] Following on from this, I argue that, in this play, the recognition of the self as unstable and empowerment are not mutually exclusive.

I argue, with Pandora, Lyly proposes a utopian mode of character. As I explained in my introduction, by 'utopian', I mean something experimentally resistant to the sexual and relational structures which were deemed 'natural' in the early modern era. In this chapter I will show that, in *The Woman in the Moon*, lunacy is neither a dehumanizing nor pejorative state of being but an ultimate means of self-expression—it is presented as a valid choice in a brutal environment which demands obedience to the decrees of 'nature' and the relational structures that it insists upon. Here (as in my introduction), I look at 'nature' as a set of hegemonic practices which are sanctioned by society. References to 'nature' are used in contemporary texts to justify heterosexual monogamy (marriage) and make it an obligatory social practice, as well as to affirm gender roles.[9] In *The Woman in the Moon*, Nature is also a character—the ruler of Utopia—who, in line with these contemporary texts, creates Pandora so that the shepherds can procreate, which results in them competing for her hand in marriage. At the end of the play, Nature assigns the aspects of the moon to all women, telling Pandora after she chooses the moon: 'Reign thou at woman's nuptials, and their birth' (5.1.328). The main focus of this chapter is on the play's ending, in which, as a result of the encounter between Pandora and Luna, Nature re-inscribes the properties of femininity. Femininity itself becomes something which

[6] See Andy Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 1-16; Kesson, '"It is a pity you are not a woman", John Lyly and the Creation of Woman', in *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 33.1 (2015), 33-47; Leah Scragg, 'The Victim of Fashion? Rereading the Biography of John Lyly', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 19 (2006), 210-26; Scragg (ed.), 'Introduction', to *The Woman in the Moon* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), pp. 1-47.

[7] Andy Kesson, '"They that tread in a maze": Movement as Emotion in John Lyly', in *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, ed. Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 177-99 (p. 195).

[8] Scragg, 'Introduction', p. 22.

[9] 'The Form of Solemnization of Matrimony', from *The Book of Common Prayer* (1559), in *Daughters, Wives, and Widows: Writings by Men about Women and Marriage in England*, 1500-1640, ed. Joan Lasen Klein (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), pp. 3-10 (p. 5). Erasmus, *A Right Fruitful Epistle […] in Laud and Praise of Matrimony* (1518), trans. Richard Taverner (1536[?]), in *Daughters, Wives, and Widows*, pp. 65-96 (p. 79). Juan Luis Vives, *A Very Fruitful and Pleasant Book Called the Instruction of a Christian Woman* (1532), trans. Richard Hyrde (1529[?]), in *Daughters, Wives, Widows*, pp. 97-138 (p. 114).

embraces reinvention and instability, rejects a notion of mental normalcy, and disrupts a system of enforced heterosexual monogamy which views women as transactional.

The Woman in the Moon is a play about lunacy which is set in Utopia and as such explores the difficult relationship between these two concepts. Unusually, this exploration is within the framework of female personhood. Lyly's use of the framing dream in his prologue, with the poet 'slumb'ring' above, serves to conceal the political and social implications of his focus on the emotionally unstable girl, but it also propels the audience to an experimental space 'beyond' in which the play can test the appropriateness of fixing female personhood in the unfixed and slippery moon (Prologue.1). By setting the play in 'fair Utopia', the stage becomes a space in which to investigate this potentially utopian notion of character (Prologue.5). Lyly's Utopia is evocative of a separate, experimental space untethered to his present, and as such José Esteban Muñoz's theories of utopia (explored in my introduction) are useful here. Lyly's Pandora becomes a utopian character because she comes to resist the sexual roles and relational structures sanctioned by what Muñoz calls the 'devastating logic of the world' and its creator, Nature.[10] After creating Pandora, Nature notes '[h]erein hath Nature gone beyond herself', and during the play, Pandora proceeds to test the bounds of 'nature' (1.1.78). The aspects of the moon, 'Newfangled, fickle, slothful, foolish, mad, | In spite of Nature that envies us all', are recast as virtuous in their own right: responsive, defensive, and self-determining (Luna, 5.5.5-6). They offer a utopian version of selfhood which resists this version of 'Nature'. They are methods by which to resist categorization into social frameworks that are constructed on a heteronormative and patriarchal basis, such as the system of marriage and related requirement that women by nature are either chaste or inconstant. At the same time, these aspects of the moon are labelled lunatic. Here, rather than being pejorative, 'lunacy' is instead involved with the utopian imagination. The play rejects the dehumanization involved in burgeoning medical and theatrical conventions of lunacy associated with the woman. Lyly recasts the madwoman on stage as a reasonable response to living in the world.

The dating and performance details of *The Woman in the Moon* are contentious issues. The play has been presumed to have failed on the commercial stage with adult actors, because the Prologue states that the 'poet' will write more plays in verse if this one is successful, but Lyly does not write any more plays in verse (Prologue.17, Prologue.18-19). Scragg argues that although the play is

[10] José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2009), p. 12.

regarded as postdating the closure of Paul's boys, around 1590, '[t]he evidence afforded by the play itself [...] does not support the contention that it was written with an adult company in mind' (including the number of songs, Latin wordplay, the number of female and young male parts).[11] Wiggins dates the play at 1588, after Lyly's *Galatea* (1584) and *Endymion* (earlier in 1588). Using this timeline, the staged moon-character prior to *The Woman in the Moon* was chiefly articulated through these two other Lyly plays (which I will explore in my next chapters), through the wedding masques of the 1560s and potentially in 1580 (in the Portrait of Sir Henry Unton), Elizabethan pageantry such as the cancelled Entertainment at Kenilworth (1575), William Gager's *Meleager* (1582), and George Peele's *The Arraignment of Paris* (1584). Apart from the other Lyly plays, these moon-characters are chiefly Diana figures who pose the possibility of evading marriage through commitment to chastity. Robert Greene's *Planetomachia* (1582), however, includes the planet character of Luna, involved with 'fleeting inconstancie'.[12] In *The Woman in the Moon*, Lyly's Luna and Pandora are expansions of these prior moon-characters in that they use both chastity and inconstancy as modes of resistance from early modern relational structures. In Lyly's play, the encounter between Luna and Pandora also emphasises the process of choice and self-determination within a rigid social and relational system. Diana, in Peele's *The Arraignment of Paris*, is the moon-character most associated with choice prior to Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*. Diana is called upon to decide which out of Pallas, Juno, and Venus should be awarded the golden apple (which designates '*Detur Pulcherrimae*', 'The fayrest of the thre', 2.1.50, 2.1.51).[13] Diana, '[w]hom gods have chosen to conclude the case', gives the apple to Queen Elizabeth in the audience at court (Pallas, 5.1.10). Lyly's Pandora builds upon the adjudicating role of Peele's Diana, who describes herself as 'iudge indifferent', and moves away from Peele's emphasis on Elizabeth I towards a broader conception of relationality (5.1.4). Philippa Berry argues that the supposed failure of *The Woman in the Moon* is due to a 'displacement of the figure of Elizabeth', who is identified with the figure of the inconstant Pandora, because of the lunar iconography that surrounds her.[14] I suggest instead that this displacement is merely displacement—rather than indicating a critique of the Queen, it is a move away from explicitly using the moon-character as allegory for Elizabeth. Lyly is using Elizabethan lunar iconography to examine broader questions about relational structures in early modern England.

[11] Scragg, 'The Victim of Fashion? Rereading the Biography of John Lyly', p. 211.
[12] Robert Greene, *Planetomachia*, ed. Nandini Das (Aldershot, Hauts: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007) p. 47.
[13] George Peele, *The Araygnement of Paris a Pastorall. Presented before the Queenes Maiestie, by the Children of her chappell* (London: 1584) <https://quod.lib.umich.edu> [accessed 12th February 2019].
[14] Philippa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989; rep. 1994), pp. 132-33.

The next part of this chapter looks at what Pandora chooses when she chooses the moon, and demonstrates how Lyly's play explores the utopian possibility of actively constructing a personal selfhood, which rejects the passive reception of planetary influence as per the humoral paradigm. It considers the planetary 'influences' on Pandora over the course of the play, and explores how these might be considered more as mutual encounters between Pandora and the planets. This section shows how, through encountering these planets, Pandora is able to resist the demands of Nature and the male residents of Utopia. It then looks at how Luna's aspects offer Pandora an ability to move between all the different planetary roles, including those of chastity and inconstancy, which are both qualities which pose different resistances to marriage and obligatory sexual roles for women. Lyly's play suggests that movement between seemingly polar definitions of the self is possible and desirable. These qualities enable Pandora to resist an idea of marriage as compulsory, together with the notion that there is a set 'nature' of woman. The second part of the chapter considers how Pandora's speech in her final state of lunacy under the influence of the moon is not unconscious and passive but self-assertive and resistant to the relational status quo. The section shows how Pandora's stage-raving and its use of chastity and inconstancy is an act of dislocation from the world its demands. This section will demonstrate that the staging of Pandora is a unique moment in the development of the figure of stage-raving madwoman in the early modern era. Finally, the chapter concludes by looking at the role of Nature in the light of one of Lyly's source texts, Pliny's *Natural History*, to show how this play destabilizes both the 'naturalness' of marriage and the 'nature' of woman. The chapter examines how the encounter between Pandora and Luna, the woman and the moon, has a transformative effect on 'nature'. In this play, adoption of certain aspects of the moon means adoption of an actively transitional and utopian identity—which, in turn, offers protection against transactional versions of womanhood.

Part 1. 'Therefore will I stay with Cynthia': Choosing the Moon

> But Cynthia made me idle, mutable,
> Forgetful, foolish, fickle, frantic, mad.
> These be the humours that content me best,
> And therefore will I stay with Cynthia (5.1.313-16)

When Pandora chooses the moon, she chooses a set of aspects that are to do with mutability and are themselves mutable. They re-emerge through Pandora's interpretation as slightly different from what Luna first calls them ('Newfangled, fickle, slothful, foolish, mad', 5.5.5). Recent critical debates, over the question of control and agency in early modern formulations of the self, illuminate Pandora's seemingly counter-productive choice of changefulness and instability. As I explored in my introduction, Paster, in her emphasis on the humoral model of the Renaissance self, stresses the early modern person's transactional and relational exchange with the world outside of them. For Paster, the self is 'characterized by a corporeal fluidity, openness, and porous boundaries', 'able to be influenced by the immediate environment', with 'exquisite sensitivity to atmospheric change' rendering it 'unstable, full of variation, unpredictable'.[15] Kesson describes *The Woman in the Moon* as 'a very early humours play', and Paster's insights into the early modern conception of the person (and especially the woman) as extremely sensitive and susceptible to influence certainly reflect Pandora who is emotionally destabilized by the planetary forces of the play.[16] It could be argued that Pandora's choice of the moon, her decision to embrace instability and novelty, complies with patriarchal and Galenic notions of the moist, phlegmatic, infectious woman, and to an idea of the ultimate incarnation of woman as inconstant 'leaky vessel'.[17] But the Galenic system does not account for Pandora's decision to define herself through Luna, which is active rather than passive. Instead, Pandora eventually *uses* the Galenic humours (which have been destabilizing her over the course of the play) as a means of self-definition. In choosing Luna's aspects to define herself, Pandora comments: 'these be the humours that content *me* best' (5.1.315, my italics). More recently, Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan have resisted the humoral paradigm as a framework for early modern selfhood. They argue that critical emphasis on the Galenic humours in contextualising early modern character suggests that 'feeling was something that happened *to* the body of the passive, receptive subject, who either gave way to those material impulses or attempted to resist

[15] Paster, *The Body Embarrassed*, p. 8, p. 9, p. 10.
[16] Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 126.
[17] *The Problemes of Aristotle* (1595), for instance, connects the moon to menstruation ('Now the moon hath dominoun over moyst things, and because the flowers are an humiditie, they take their denomination of the moneth'), and menstrual blood to infection that makes older women dangerous to be around ('they are by that meanes so infectious, that they infect men with their breath'), Anon., *The Problemes of Aristotle* (Edinburgh: Robert Waldgrave, 1595), img. 44, img. 45. See Paster, 'Leaky Vessels: The Incontinent Women of City Comedy', *Renaissance Drama*, 18 (1987), 43-65.

them through stoical self-control'.[18] I follow this approach, but show how Lyly uses the humoral paradigm in order to invert it and question the idea of passive emotional responses and planetary influence. Pandora's choice of the moon is less a one-sided 'influence' than a transformational encounter.

Throughout the play, and not just with Luna, the act of planetary 'influence' is under scrutiny. On one hand, the influences that the planets exert over Pandora are presented as uncontrollable imported emotions. The planets stand outside of the main action of the play. They have a 'stance apart' and occupy a position of relative inaccessibility, causing Pandora's moods to fluctuate and affect the other residents of Utopia. These different emotional states are ordered using a Ptolemaic planetary system which goes from outermost planet (Saturn) to innermost (Luna), ascending according to the design of 'each [...] in his course' (Jupiter, 1.1.142). However, this structured hierarchical sequence of influence is revealed to be unstable. The planets have competitive relationships with one another, with Saturn insisting 'My turn is first' and Jupiter worrying 'lest other planets blame my regiment' (1.1.138, 2.1.5). This is particularly marked in the argument between Sol, who makes Pandora 'loving, liberal, and chaste', and Venus, who makes Pandora 'witty, quick, and amorous' (3.1.6, 3.2.2). This argument, to which I will return, almost disturbs the sequence of the outlined 'course' of the planets' dominion over Pandora—Sol only leaves 'lest [Venus] infect me too' (3.2.27). Sol momentarily loses status as influential planet and becomes a more human potential target of influence. Although the planets 'instil' influence onto Pandora, they are also encounterable and subject to influence themselves, and the Galenic system by which they work is undermined (1.1.144). Pandora's own influence over the planets is explicit in the case of Jupiter who discloses himself to Pandora with '[h]igh Jove himself, who, ravished with thy blaze | Receives more influence than he pours on thee' (2.1.24-25). With this, Jupiter's disguise drops and he encounters Pandora face-to-face on the stage, breaking down the impression of spatial and hierarchical distance between person and planet. In his 'regiment', Jupiter becomes so infatuated with Pandora that he gives her his sceptre, reversing the visual representation of power on the stage (5.2.5): There, hold the sceptre of eternal Jove, | But let not majesty increase thy pride' (2.1.44-45). Jupiter's 'influence' is under question here because his demand that Pandora does not become more proud contradicts his initial 'influence', his intention to 'fill her with ambition and disdain' (2.1.3). Jupiter turns into one of Pandora's suitors, and mimics the behaviour of the Utopian shepherds. There is a lack of distinction between planet and shepherd—both of which have been putting pressure on Pandora

[18] Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan (eds), 'Introduction', to *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 1-22 (p. 3).

from different angles. Jupiter's influence of 'ambition and disdain' works to counteract the male Utopians' desires (and even his own desires). Rather than simply an imposition of emotion, 'influence' emerges as a resourceful protection for Pandora.

Although the planets ostensibly impose outside influence onto Pandora, they also offer her resources through which to challenge the transactional position that she has been put in by Nature and the shepherds. Nature, on creating Pandora, declares 'I make thee as a solace unto men' and the planets all work to help prevent Pandora from occupying this supporting role (1.1.91). Saturn's 'melancholy mood' enables her to reject the company of the shepherds who demand that she attend to them (1.1.144):

> No kiss, nor touch, nor friendly look?
> What churlish influence deprives her mind?
> For Nature said that she was innocent,
> And fully fraught with virtuous qualities (Stesias, 1.1.207-10)

According to Stesias, and validated through reference to Nature, Pandora owes services to him and the other shepherds as a result of her supposed innocence and 'virtuous qualities'. Saturn's influence offers Pandora an agency over her body, the ability to be alone, and flexibility to stray from the qualities which Stesias regards as appropriate to women. Similarly, Jupiter fills Pandora with 'ambition and disdain' (2.1.3). The initial purpose of Pandora's creation was to be a '[mate] of pleasure' to the shepherds, and to 'propagate[s] the issue of [their] kind' (1.1.47, 1.1.42). Here these purposes are overturned. Instead, Pandora wants to lead—'By day I think of nothing but of rule' (2.1.8). She firmly rejects a position which is placating to the male gender, telling Jupiter 'I do abjure thy love' (2.1.76). Under Mars, who claims he will make Pandora a 'vixen martialist', she traverses gender roles, with Gunophilus asking, on account of her fighting, 'Is my mistress mankind on the sudden?' (2.1.180, 2.1.198).

The influence of Sol is slightly more complicated:

> She shall be loving, liberal, and chaste
> Discreet and patient, merciful and mild,
> Inspired with poetry and prophecy,
> And virtues appertaining womanhood (Sol, 3.1.6-10)

While Sol insists that Pandora will be appropriately feminine, being 'Inspired with poetry and prophecy' seem odd virtues to casually include under the category 'appertaining womanhood'.

Under Sol, Pandora marries Stesias and succumbs to heterosexual monogamy, but she refuses the role of transactional womanhood which the shepherds required of her. Pandora interrupts the 'holy rites' of matrimony because she becomes overwhelmed by 'some holy power' (3.1.83, 3.1.88). Taking command, when Stesias pesters her, she silences him with '[p]eace, man. | With reverence hear and note my words', announcing a Latin prophecy which implies the downfall of their marriage (3.1.99). Here, under the influence of chastity, she refuses the role of transactional womanhood suggested by Nature to be as 'solace unto men', and instead uses 'virtues appertaining womanhood' as a tactic of control, telling Stesias 'be thou ruled by me' (1.1.91, 3.1.82). Venus emerges to pitch the apparently opposite value of inconstancy against Sol's chastity, but in arguing with Sol, she exposes a similarity between the two—Venus tells him 'all those are strumpets that are over-chaste' (3.2.19). Here, chastity and inconstancy are both tools with which to avoid transactional womanhood in heterosexual monogamy. Under Venus, Pandora rejects the binding contract of marriage: 'Must I be tied to [Stesias]? No! I'll be loose' (3.2.66). As Pandora arranges secret meetings with the shepherds and Gunophilus, gender roles dissipate—the shepherds become feminine to Pandora: 'They look like water nymphs, but speak like men' and Learchus fears 'be[ing] made a stale' (3.2.148, 3.2.306). Mercury's influence arrives at the point when Pandora most needs it, when she is in danger of being punished for her behaviour under Venus. Mercury allows her to be 'Thieving, lying, subtle, eloquent', and he helps her to prevent the exposure of her previous polyamorous behaviour and her rejection of the sanctity of marriage (4.1.10). Finally, Luna's mutability allows Pandora to traverse across all of these resourceful modes of resistances. Rather than uncontrollable imposed emotions, planetary influence emerges as a set of alternative purposes and resources to those that were initially proposed by Nature and the shepherds—instead of a 'solace unto men', Pandora can be alone, a leader, a fighter, chaste, inconstant, cunning, and, finally, lunatic (1.1.91).

With Luna and Pandora, the question of who is influencing and who is being influenced is even more pronounced. When Luna appears at the beginning of the fifth act, she describes herself as the 'lowest of the erring stars', the closest to the earth (5.1.2). While Luna, like the other planets 'stands apart' from the main action of the play, she notes her 'low[ness]', evoking the moon's 'borderland' position between the susceptible earth and the incorruptible celestial heavens, as in Aristotle's *De Caelo.*[19] Similarly, at the beginning of the play, Saturn refers to Pandora as 'this earthly star', giving Pandora a corresponding name to the one Luna designates for herself (1.1.134). Luna's 'influence' over Pandora (chiefly that of changefulness) matches up to the transitional emotionality that

[19] See Introduction, footnote 54.

Pandora has already been undergoing and incorporates the influences of all the other planets (5.1.307). When Pandora chooses the moon, Nature tells the other planets 'You shall glance at her in your aspects', indicating that a part of Pandora can be seen (glanced at) in each of the planets' versions of personhood (5.1.225). Under the influence of Luna, Pandora echoes the moods of the planets she has encountered, particularly the chastity and hypersexuality of Sol and Venus, as I will go on to show. Throughout the play, visually, Pandora is constantly in flux, due to her movements across the stage. Caines stresses the skill required of the actor playing Pandora: 'the part requires tremendous versatility and stamina'; similarly Scragg argues that '[t]he rapid shifts of disposition that Pandora undergoes through the influence of the planets make far greater demands on the performer than any other Lylian role'.[20] She is an immense, changing, difficult role—she rarely leaves the stage, and her stage-directions (from the 1597 quarto) indicate the variation in her action: *'She plays the vixen with everything about her*' (1.1.176.1); '*She winks and frowns*' (1.1.206.1); '*She starteth up and runs away*' (1.1.224.2); '*She snatcheth the spear out of Stesias' hand and lays about her*' (2.1. 197.1); '*She awakes and is sober*' (5.1.285.1). Pandora herself, through the course of the play, reflects transition, indeterminacy, and constant movement as a mode of being. At the end of the play, when Nature instructs Pandora to 'make the moon inconstant like thyself', she suggests that Pandora's inconstancy over the course of the play is equal to or even greater than that of the moon (5.1.327). Luna and Pandora emerge as mutual advocates of mutability, rather than an active influencer planet and a passive influenced human.

All of the planets 'influence' Pandora, but Pandora also 'influences' them. Despite the fact that they set out to 'revenge' Pandora's creation, at the end of the play, they express their affection for her, defending her from the shepherd, Stesias, who wants revenge on Pandora for her infidelity, as I will go on to explore (1.1.132, 5.1.255-72). At this point, the planets no longer stand apart on the stage, invisible to Pandora and the male Utopians, but they encounter them face-to-face. When Pandora is required to choose her preferred planet, and Luna and Pandora encounter one another, they collaborate, allotting lunar roles for one another. Luna gives Pandora the option of what kind of moon-character she would like to be: 'Rule thou my star, while I stay in the woods | Or keep with Pluto in the infernal shades' (5.1.289-90). Pandora deliberates:

> Say, Cynthia, shall Pandora rule thy star?
> And wilt thou play Diana in the woods,
> Or Hecate in Pluto's regiment? (5.1.302-04)

[20] Scragg, 'Introduction', p. 34.

Lyly stresses the multiple personhoods contained within the moon: Luna, Cynthia, Diana, Hecate. Through encountering Luna, Pandora becomes a moon-character herself. She is not subject to the moon, but she 'rule[s]' in her own right. Pandora points out Luna's ability to 'play Diana in the woods'—to act the part of the chaste goddess of hunting. The word 'play' is important because the different aspects of the moon, like the planetary 'moods', are presented as performative roles rather than restrictive and static categories. The mutable Luna contains within it the seemingly contradictory parts of chastity and inconstancy (Sol and Venus), enabling a freedom from entrapment into sexual roles which are particularly restrictive for women (5.1.303). Pandora's mutability contains the aspects of the other planets within it, and when Pandora adopts the moon as her permanent form of self, these aspects are no longer sequentially forced onto her. Pandora's choice of the moon suggests that ability to move unrestrictedly between the planetary definitions of the self (including definitions which seem to contradict each other and are at odds with the requirements for an early modern woman) is the most desirable form of personhood.

When Pandora chooses to 'stay with' Luna, she adopts the stance apart from the play-action that the other planets have had over the course of the play (5.1.316). While this is a spatial marker (Pandora will be removed to the moon), it also indicates a closeness between Luna and Pandora, or even a marriage of sorts (coming at the end of a comedy at which point marriage is expected) which defies the requirements of heterosexual monogamy. This encounter between human and moon is an alternative to the more restrictive version of marriage between Pandora and Stesias. Luna promises to love Pandora, if Pandora chooses to stay with her: 'I will love you more than all the rest' (5.1.288). At the same time as choosing a character to be with, Pandora chooses a mental state for herself, a way of being in the world. There is a lack of critical vocabulary to describe the complex unstable mental state that Pandora chooses. R. S. White and Ciara Rownsley describe a critical 'reluctance to reflect multiple emotional states present simultaneously'.[21] They also show how our tendency to approach characters as though they were defined by self-consistent traits prevents us from recognising how fluctuating emotional states *between* characters and audience drive Shakespeare's drama:

> This is where "discrepant emotional awareness" operates, at the point where the fixed passion bends, adapts or changes in the light of fluctuating situations and in resistance to

[21] R. S. White and Ciara Rownsley, 'Discrepant emotional awareness in Shakespeare', in *The Renaissance of Emotion: Understanding Affect in Shakespeare and his Contemporaries*, ed. Richard Meek and Erin Sullivan (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), pp. 241-63 (p. 241).

> others. It is arguably what makes Shakespearean affective encounters still plausible as explanations of complex human behaviour.[22]

Pandora's choice of the moon signals her choice of the freedom offered by emotional fluidity and resistance. For White and Rownsley, drama depends on characters with unfixed, multiple and conflicting emotions and the progressive recognition of these emotions by other characters. The sense of emotional satisfaction at the end of *Cymbeline*, for instance, comes when 'discrepant emotional states have at long last moved into harmony'.[23] *The Woman in the Moon* moves in the opposite direction, towards emotional disharmony and uncertainty, with the utopian shepherds rejecting Pandora, and failing to understand how Luna and Pandora finally embrace a perpetual state of emotional adaptation. But the play also moves towards the protection of Pandora by the planets (who each represent a competing personality and therefore cannot usually relate to one another) which brings about a similar harmonious emotional satisfaction. In *The Woman in the Moon*, uncertain and mixed emotions do not necessitate inner turmoil, enact a loss of self, or render characters unidentifiable, but are instead part of what drives the desire to engage and identify with them. Pandora goes from experiencing one kind of emotion at once, by way of planetary influence, into a perpetual state of emotional adaptation—into having mixed emotions. At the end of the play, she has a range of emotions which are forces of resistance rather than regulation. Planetary 'moods' become resources to use as a way to cope with the societal forces of the shepherds in Utopia (1.1.144). The moon, with its emphasis on change, encompasses all the emotions, and offers Pandora an emotional arsenal that she can use at her discretion. Geoffrey Sill writes '[f]or Galen, acquiring self-restraint is not a masquerade, but it is a part of the process of curing a disease of the soul'.[24] *The Woman in the Moon* offers the notion that self-determination is the route to felicity instead. The play presents a counter-response to Michael C. Schoenfeldt's argument that '[i]n the early modern regime, it is unfettered emotion that is most to be feared, while in the modern psychoanalytic regime it is the unhealthy effect of those fetters'.[25] Instead, the play delights in the imaginative and transformative properties of mood, and stresses the necessity of self-defining.

[22] White and Rownsley, p. 261.
[23] White and Rownsley, pp. 258-59.
[24] Geoffrey Sill, *The Cure of the Passions and the Origins of the English Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), p. 30.
[25] Michael C. Schoenfeldt, *Bodies and Selves in Early Modern England: Physiology and Inwardness in Spenser, Shakespeare, Herbert, and Milton* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 17.

Part 2. 'For you she raves, that meant to ravish her': Speaking like a Lunatic

Melos. Look how Pandora raves! Now she is stark mad.
Stesias. For you she raves, that meant to ravish her.
Help her recover, or else ye die.
Learchus. May she with raving die! Do what thou dar'st. (5.1.191-94)

In the fifth act, when Luna comes on stage to cast her influence over Pandora, Pandora becomes 'lunatic', according to Gunophilus (5.1.69). Stesias, Melos, and Learchus interpret her use of language as a 'raving' that denotes her lunacy. Stesias' statement, 'For you she raves, that meant to ravish her' suggests that this raving might be a response to potential ravishment and the danger of sexual violence. In this section, I show that what the other characters call Pandora's 'raving' is portrayed as a reasonable rejection of the play society into which she is thrust. By contextualising Pandora alongside other early modern staged 'madwomen', I explore the uniqueness of Pandora's 'lunacy'. Earlier, in his *Endymion*, Lyly refigured the inconstancy of the moon into a means of self-protection, as I will go on to explore in more detail in my third chapter. In that play, Endymion regards the ever-changing form of the moon (Cynthia) as a resourceful defence in a violent world: 'if thou shouldst always continue at thy fullness, both gods and men would conspire to ravish thee' (1.1.48-9). Similarly, in *The Woman in the Moon*, speaking like a lunatic emerges as the most resourceful resistance against compulsory heterosexual monogamy and the threat of enforced sexual relations as its extreme consequence. Stesias suggests the correlation between the threat of sexual violence and Pandora's voice under the influence of Luna. Alan Dessen argues that the stage-signal is the same 'for the boy actor playing a female figure distraught with madness, shame, extreme grief, or the effects of recent violence' which is the use of a theatrical prop of a wig which denotes either raving or ravishment.[26] Here, rather than raving and ravishment having the same theatrical appearance, raving is both a response to the potential of ravishment and a means of protection from it. With what the shepherds call 'raving', Pandora uses both chastity and inconstancy as a response to the transactional and passive version of womanhood which Nature designed her to adopt.

Critics have isolated the early modern 'madwoman' on stage as a recognisable trope marked by her stage-properties, and have outlined the typical aspects of her 'mad speech'. According to Dessen, 'the original boy actor need only have changed his wig to set up a strikingly different image that, in

[26] Alan C. Dessen, *Elizabethan Stage Conventions and Modern Interpreters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984; repr. 1988), p. 36.

turn, could convey a severe change in the state of the character'.[27] This would in turn enact 'a clear visual display of the falling away from or the destruction of the previous image of order'.[28] This costume-change depends however, in Dessen's formulation, on the presence of an 'order' from which to fall-away from; and would therefore not necessarily work as a theatrical signifier for Pandora, who, as I have shown, is constantly changing. Carol Thomas Neely defines 'mad speech' in Shakespeare, looking particularly at Ophelia:[29]

> This speech is something and "nothing;" both coherent and incoherent [...] characterised by fragmentation, repetition, and most importantly by [...] "cultural quotation" [...]. The prose that is used for this mad speech (although it includes embedded songs and rhymes) implies disorderly shape, associates madness with popular tradition, and contributes to its colloquial, "quoted" character.[30]

Again, Pandora's 'lunacy' differs from this mould. It does not contain cultural quotation. It is not in prose but in verse. Although *The Woman in the Moon* is Lyly's most lunatic play, it is his only play in verse—which in a sense, separates it from a connection to his pejoratively 'lunatic' (euphuistic) style. While prose is regarded as one of the tropic elements of the early modern madwoman, Gunophilus is the only character to speak in prose (such as at 5.1.119-27). Pandora does sing, but she appears to invent the song, and she also sings and dances under the influence of Venus (and according to Scragg, there are two other songs not included in the 1597 Quarto, 5.1.80-89, 3.2.40-50).[31] Pandora's 'lunatic' speech does not come in a vastly different form to that of her prior speech, but marks a continuation and evolution of her resistance. The difference between the two occasions of her singing is Pandora's comparative agency under Luna. When she is under the influence of Venus, Pandora asks 'Wherefore should I dance?' and is persuaded to do so by Venus' son, Joculus (3.2.37). When Pandora is under Luna, Gunophilus tells Stesias in order to prove her lunacy 'Nay, stay a while and you shall see her dance', to which Pandora replies 'No, no, I will not dance, but I will not sing' (5.1.78, 5.1.79). Rather than prose and cultural quotation, Pandora's 'lunatic' speech is characterised by wilfulness, contrariness, and creativity.

Pandora does not fit into the trope of the madwoman on stage as articulated in modern criticism and therefore challenges the critical conversation about that figure. Critics often view madwomen on stage as diminished versions of themselves and read stage-raving as passive and unconscious.

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[27] Dessen, p. 37.
[28] Dessen, p. 37.
[29] Carol Thomas Neely, *Distracted Subjects: Madness and Gender in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 51.
[30] Neely, p. 50.
[31] Scragg, 'The Victim of Fashion?', 211.

Neely's characterisation of 'mad speech' as 'something and "nothing"' inculcates an idea of a loss of self. With Pandora, on the other hand, lunacy is involved with the definition and preservation of selfhood rather than its destruction. In the quotation with which I started this section, Stesias suggests that Pandora under the influence of Luna might 'recover', and Learchus suggests that she might 'die' (5.1.193, 5.1.194). Both of these actions are standard behaviours for other early modern 'madwomen' on stage, but crucially, Pandora does neither. For Elaine Showalter, the madwoman on stage is a reflection of a society which sets women 'on the side of irrationality, silence, nature, and body, while men are situated on the side or reason, discourse, culture, and mind'.[32] Pandora challenges this reading because her stage-raving works as a resistance to 'nature' and to comprehensibility. Critics have also looked at how the 'madwoman' is an unusually versatile early modern character for women to play, and a vehicle of Foucauldian subversion and liberation. For Maurice Charney and Hanna Charney, for example, '[m]adness allows women an emotional intensity and scope not usually expected in conventional feminine roles', and 'through madness, the woman on stage can suddenly make a forceful assertion of their being'.[33] For Leslie C. Dunn, looking particularly at Ophelia, madwomen's speech and song on stage has 'disruptive and invasive power' against patriarchal structures, through situating itself in 'opposition to language'.[34] More recently, Sandra Clark has argued that women's mad language on stage is more 'impertinent' than men's; and Paromita Chakravarti has suggested that in Shakespeare's representations of madwomen, the connection between the woman and folly is more nuanced than a feminist either/or formulation which thinks of it as 'uniformly oppressive or consistently emancipatory'.[35] Stage-raving has been regarded as an opaque compilation of inappropriate and unexpected responses that defy or deny interpretation, and this impenetrability of language has been thought of as distinct to the madwoman. Critical tensions in this discussion rest on whether the connection between madness and the female should be seen as misogynistic or a mode of empowerment. Pandora sheds new light on this critical conversation because she is so unique. The conditions of Pandora's 'raving' are set alongside the restrictive circumstances of her creation at the hands of Nature, and therefore directly

[32] Elaine Showalter, *The Female Malady: Women, Madness and English Culture, 1830 - 1980* (Virago Press, 1987; repr. 2014; first pub. 1985), pp. 3-4.
[33] Maurice Charney and Hanna Charney, 'The Language of Madwomen in Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists', *Signs*, 3.2, (Winter, 1977) <http://www.jstor.org.oxfordbrookes.idm.oclc.org/stable/3173295?seq=9#page_scan_tab_contents> [accessed 31st May 2016], 451-60 (451, 459).
[34] Leslie C. Dunn, 'Ophelia's songs in Hamlet: music, madness, and the feminine', in *Embodied Voices: Representing Female Vocality in Western Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; repr. 1996), pp. 50-64 (p. 50, p. 53).
[35] Sandra Clark, 'Women, Class, and the Language of Madness in Early Modern English Drama', *SEDERI, Journal of the Spanish Society for English Renaissance Studies*, 24 (2014), 7-26 (24). Paromita Chakravarti, '"I have no other but a woman's reason": Folly, Femininity, and Sexuality in Renaissance Discourses and Shakespeare's Plays', *The Shakespearean International Yearbook*, 8 (2008), 136-61 (154, 137).

address critical enquiries about the connections between women, madness, and nature. Rather than exposing an innate connection between nature and the woman, her speech under Luna involves rejecting the purpose intended of her by Nature, to be a '[mate] of pleasure' (1.1.48).

Obsession with both sexuality and chastity is one of the conventions for the early modern staged madwoman, as Clark explains '[i]n their madness both [Ophelia from *Hamlet* and the Jailer's Daughter from *The Two Noble Kinsmen*] sing ballads, speak fancifully, are sexually preoccupied and express anxieties about the loss of virginity, quote proverbs, ignore the attempts of onlookers to engage with them, and give rein to unfettered and bawdy imagination'.[36] In the earlier *The Woman in the Moon*, Pandora's dynamism between chastity and inconstancy under the influence of Luna is part of a growing convention of madness on stage. But here, chastity and inconstancy are neither positive nor negative qualities, and both are active means for Pandora to reject the demands of the society in the play. Under Luna, Pandora looks as much like Sol as Venus, and is able to sustain these two polar positions relating to desire simultaneously. She declares: 'Give me a knife, and for my chastity, | I'll die canonizèd a saint' (5.1.51-2).[37] This commitment to chastity comes after Pandora has engaged in sexual activities outside and inside of marriage under the influence of the other planets. Gunophilus, her servant, uses a quotation from Martial to indicate her ability to shift between the classical analogues of Lucretia and Thais ('a celebrated Roman courtesan' according to Scragg): '*Lucretua tota | Sis licet usque die: Thaida nocte volo*' ('You may be Lucretia all day: at night, I want Thais', 5.1.46-7).[38] The quotation, from Martial's instructional and misogynistic epigram, 'To His Wife', refers to how a good wife ought to present an outward appearance of chastity, while maintaining a secret sexual prowess.[39] For Pandora under Luna, the choice is related to her revulsion towards Gunophilus:

> I will not kiss thee till the sun be down.
> Thou art deformed; the night will cover thee.
> We women must be modest in the day;
> Oh, tempt me not until the evening come. (5.1.42-5)

By referring to the 'sun be[ing] down', Pandora looks back to the influence of the planet Sol, who propounded married chastity and 'virtues appertaining womanhood' (3.1.10). Under Luna, Pandora rejects the idea of subscribing to a prescribed set of virtues. The general idea of women's enforced modesty in public is secondary to her personal revulsion towards Gunophilus' public appearance.

[36] Clark, 20.
[37] Scragg, p. 128, note 205-7.
[38] Translation by Scragg (ed.), *The Woman in the Moon*, p. 121, note 46-47.
[39] Martial, *The Epigrams*, trans. James Michie (Penguin: Harmondsworth, 1978; first pub. 1973), pp. 171-73.

Martial's prescription of suitable moments for female chastity and female sexuality are instead a personal decision for Pandora, stemming from revulsion towards Gunophilus. Pandora, in her 'lunacy', exposes the prescriptive set of expectations and the double-standard set up by Martial and Gunophilus.

Luna's qualities promote self-determination, even willed deception and disruption of others to assert the personal self and allow the existence of faults and falseness. In this way, an obsession with chastity and sexuality in Pandora's 'raving' is not part of the sexualization of the woman in her ultimate incarnation of madness, but is full of opportunity when it is set alongside an alternative vision of Luna involved with self-determination and agency. Pandora's lunacy looks like an ability to pass between states of chastity and inconstancy and is part of the uncertainty that Pandora embraces in herself. Following on from her creation, Pandora's planetary education involves resisting, self-defining, and eventually dislocating her understanding from the world. At Pandora's inception, Nature calls the 'unloos[ing]' of her tongue her 'chief defence' (1.1.84, 1.1.85). Under the influence of Luna, not only does Pandora speak for herself but she refuses even to hear the other characters:

> And tell the bellwether I hear him not.
> Not! Not! Not! That you should not come unto me
> This night! Not at all, at all, all. *Dormit.* (5.1.207-209)

Under Luna, Pandora uses the words 'no' and 'not' twenty-eight times in her eighty lines of speech (between 5.1.9 and 5.1.209). The resistance that characterises Pandora's 'lunatic' speech culminates in this moment before she falls asleep and eventually '*awakes*' to make her choice of the planets (5.1.257). Pandora's refusal to 'hear' the bellwether, the leading sheep of the flock, is a refusal to be sexually complicit, to sleep in the arms of her husband, and a refusal to be led like a sheep. Under Luna, she also sings 'Beware of the sheep hook', which again suggests a resistance to complying with the commands of the shepherds and looks forward to this moment (5.1.86). The sheep metaphor implies the role of the transactional possession of the shepherd and passive follower of societal norms. What the shepherds read as Pandora's inarticulacy (being 'stark mad', or 'raving') under Luna involves a refusal to consent and a rejection of the terms of the conversation (Melos, 5.1.191, Learchus, 5.1.194). Speaking like a lunatic involves disruption through voicing dissent and Pandora does not require the other characters to understand her. Her lunacy indicates a rejection of the communal values in the shepherds' society which would have her act like a sheep.

In her set of lines under Luna, Pandora also uses the self-determining phrases 'let me', 'give me', 'I must', 'I say', 'I'll', 'I will', 'I am', and 'I shall' twenty-five times. Throughout her encounter with Luna, she keeps changing what it is she wants, but she nonetheless articulates her desires as she demands an array of fantastic natural phenomena. Natural phenomena are what were initially used to justify the creation of Pandora as a mate 'of pleasure' for the shepherds:

> Each fish that swimmeth in the floating sea,
> Each wingèd fowl that soareth in the air,
> And every beast that feedeth on the ground
> Have mates of pleasure to uphold their brood. (Iphicles, 1.1.45-48)

This mirrors humanist justifications of marriage through the insistence of it being 'natural' that I explored in my introduction.[40] But Pandora, under the influence of Luna, shifts this focus on natural phenomena as justification for her transactional passivity at the hands of the shepherds. Instead, she requires natural phenomena to be in her service:

> Give me a running stream in both my hands,
> A blue kingfisher and a pebble stone,
> And I'll catch butterflies upon the sand,
> And thou, Gunophilus, shall clip their wings (5.1.103-06).

Pandora's natural phenomena become untethered from reality—'Where is the grove that asked me how I did?', 'I'll have the ocean put into a glass', 'Now, let me see thy hand. | Look where a blazing star is in this line, | and in the other, two-and-twenty suns!' (5.1.189, 5.1.197, 5.1.202-04). These strange versions of nature are evocative of lunacy on the stage and irrational 'raving', but they also evoke a bigger picture in the play than that of the world of the shepherds. Pandora might be referring to Diana's 'grove' (she mentions Diana's 'woods' later to Luna), the moon's dominion over the tides, and the way that humans have been in planetary relationships over the course of the play (5.1.303). As Nature went 'beyond herself' in creating Pandora, Pandora under Luna goes 'beyond' the static, small version of nature to which the shepherds adhere (1.1.78). When Stesias implores her to 'sleep within [his] arms', Pandora replies 'Thine arms are firebrands!' (5.1.203, 5.1.204). In opposition to Iphicles' earlier natural justifications, she uses her version of the natural to insist that she will not be bound to a shepherd.

[40] For instance, Richard Taverner's translation of Erasmus' *Praise of Matrimony* (1536[?]) asks 'what thing is so agreeable to nature as matrimony? For nothing is so naturally given neither to men, nor yet to any other kind of brute beasts as that ever one should preserve his kind from destruction and by propagation of posterity to make it as it were immortal, which without carnal copulation (as every man knoweth) cannot be brought to pass', in *Daughters, Wives, and Widows*, pp. 65-96 (p. 79).

As well as a strange version of nature, Pandora's stage-raving also contains parison: 'Thy head is full of hedgehogs, Iphicles' (5.1.299). Russ McDonald calls parison a 'balanced distribution of constituent parts', and writes that '[t]he writer most frequently associated with parison is John Lyly'.[41] McDonald defines parison as something which features 'matching words united by alliteration', something that Andy Kesson and David Bevington label 'paramoion' in their discussion of Lyly's euphuistic style ('equal sound' between words in clauses according to Bevington).[42] The emphasis on Lyly's ornamental style has been used to establish Lyly as a playwright who is 'more style than substance', as McDonald notes: '[s]uspicion that an inordinate attraction to figures of sound was likely to tyrannise a writer's style, that the claims of the ear threatened to dominate those of the mind, has always dogged analysis of Tudor prose, especially in the case of Lyly'.[43] The notion that Lyly privileges the aural over the semantic has come to inform his own treatment as a writer of 'lunatique' language.[44] Stesias' statement, with which I started this section, 'For you she raves, that meant to ravish her' is also an example of parison, linked on a linguistic level, giving the impression that one reaction sonically determines the other. The similarity of sound in the words 'rave' and 'ravish' almost determine their causal connection. But, as we should take seriously the connection between 'rave' and 'ravish', so should we take seriously Pandora's stage-raving. Pandora's unnatural natural utterances are deliberate resistances to an unreasonable 'nature'. The ravings of Pandora under Luna include an obsession with a strange version of nature which is characteristic of Lyly's euphuistic prose (and has been labelled 'unnatural natural history' or 'unnatural natural philosophy' by his twentieth-century critics).[45] Pandora's mad speech intersects with euphuistic characteristics in that it refuses to be easily understood and it eschews natural logic in a privileging of the aural. In Pandora's language under Luna, she evinces a refusal to play in a system which seeks to subsume her. This is a means of self-defining in separation from the world, occupying the 'stance apart' of the moon-character. In *The Woman in the Moon*, then, the language of lunacy is about the privileging of

[41] Russ McDonald, 'Compar or parison: measure for measure', in *Renaissance Figures of Speech*, ed. Sylvia Adamson, Gavin Alexander, and Katrin Ettenhuber (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007; repub. 2011), pp. 39-58 (p. 39, p. 40).
[42] McDonald, p. 40; Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship*, p. 176; David Bevington (ed.), *Henry IV Part 1* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987), p. 199.
[43] McDonald, p. 48.
[44] Michael Drayton, 'To My Most Dearely Loved Friend, Henery Reynolds Esquire, of Poets and Poesie', in *The Battaile of Agincourt* (London: 1627) <http://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 16th March 2019], pp. 204-8, imgs. 109-11 (p. 206, img. 110).
[45] C. S. Lewis, '[w]hat constitutes euphuism is neither the structural devices nor the "unnatural history" but the unremitting use of both', in *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), p. 313; Jocelyn Powell, '[t]he style may be absurd, self indulgent, and sensational, heaped with similitude, word-play, proverb lore, and unnatural natural history, but it is almost always sustained by a magnificent sense of extravagance and fun', 'John Lyly and the Language of Play', in *Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies: Elizabethan Theatre*, ed. John Russell Brown (London: Edward Arnold, 1966), pp. 147-68 (p. 148).

iterative aural patterns and bypassing received wisdom in opposition to what is defined as 'the natural'.

Unlike other theatrical early modern madwomen, Pandora actively chooses lunacy as an ideal, permanent mode of being which does not require corrective or curative measures. Uniquely, Pandora's lunacy does not pre-figure self-destruction but self-assertion and it is presented as a method of defining the self which puts her into a position of influence. When Stesias seeks to help Pandora 'recover' from lunacy, he echoes early modern medical texts (5.1.193). Andrew Boorde gives the following advice to cure lunacy: 'First be not solitary, nor muse not of studious or supernatural matters, use mery company, & use some mery & honest pastime'.[46] Boorde's instruction to 'muse not' encourages a constriction of thought and creativity, depriving the subject of an intellectual voice. In contrast, the first line of Lyly's Prologue ('Our poet, slumb'ring in the Muses' laps') suggests that idleness and musing instigates the process of creation. *The Woman in the Moon* (in which 'the woman seated in the moon' is in parallel with the poet) instead presents a lunacy which does not detract from or augment personhood, but is a condition of it (Prologue.1, Prologue.2). Boorde suggests that lunacy can be cured by placing the person in relationship with others, and modulating their perspective according to the perspective of a broader society. For Boorde, relationality is the cure to lunacy. Pandora's lunacy does not need to be remedied by 'merriness' and the groupthink, but is itself felicitous, and can be creative, expressive, and urgent.

Critics have failed to include Pandora or to see her uniqueness in the conversation on mental disorder on stage. For instance, while Pandora does not speak in prose under Luna, she is still included amongst prose-speaking madwomen by Milton Crane, who writes that *The Woman in the Moo*n 'shows Lyly following established conventions in permitting a clown and a madwoman to speak most of the little prose in the play', putting Pandora into a conventional category.[47] Clark mentions Pandora in her article on the language of madness in early modern English drama, but does not discuss her.[48] Clark argues that in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Isabella's madness, unlike Hieronimo's which 'empowers him in his quest for revenge', is 'turned against her own body', and that this provides an example of how men's madness is 'more socially significant' than women's on

[46] Boorde, p. 73.
[47] Milton Crane, *Shakespeare's Prose* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1951; repr. 2013), p. 15.
[48] Clark, 12.

the early modern stage.[49] For Clark, Isabella's stage-direction in the 1592 edition of *The Spanish Tragedy*, *'She runs lunatic*', 'indicates that the stage had already developed visual codes for female madness'.[50] This is evocative of Lyly's earlier presentation of Pandora's lunacy, but the usual 'codes for female madness' do not apply to *The Woman in the Moon*. Isabella's stage-direction implies that the presentation of theatrical madness involves thwarted physical movement (she '*runs*' lunatic rather than towards anything in particular) and this is backed up by her questioning in the text: 'whither shall I run | To find them out that murdered my son?').[51] The first indication of Pandora's lunacy, on the other hand, is her sinking down with 'I must rest', and acting contrarily to Gunophilus who wants them to 'make more haste' (5.1.9, 5.1.7). Unlike Isabella in *The Spanish Tragedy*, Pandora's version of running 'lunatic' does not involve harming the self but asserting the self. Gunophilus states she is 'absolute Pandora because foolish' (5.1.119-20). Unlike other early modern 'madwomen', such as Zabina, from Marlowe's *Tamburlaine* (1587) and the later Ophelia, Pandora's 'raving' is not a preface to self-destruction. In contrast to Clark's suggestion, Pandora's madness is immensely socially significant in that it works to re-articulate the terms of the social contract itself, as I will show in the next section. Pandora actively makes nature strange, and this eventually results in its reformulation. While Clark calls madness for women on stage 'temporarily empowering' and Neely numbers 'lunatic' as 'one of the adjective[s] denoting not permanent attributes, but temporary behaviours' of distraction in early modern usage, at the end of the play Pandora and Nature make lunacy a permanent state of affairs.[52] Lyly brings tropes involved with the madwoman to a different world, to Utopia, where lunacy can not only be non-pejorative, but can be perfect.

[49] Clark, 11, 10.
[50] Clark, 11.
[51]Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedy* (first pub. 1592), ed. J.R. Mulryne (London: Ernest Benn Limited, 1970; repr. 1978), 3.8.24-25.
[52] Neely, p. 3. Clark, 23.

Conclusion. 'Stark mad when they cannot have their will': Transforming Nature

> Now rule, Pandora, in fair Cynthia's stead,
> And make the moon inconstant like thyself.
> Reign thou at women's nuptials, and their birth;
> Let them be mutable in all their loves,
> Fantastical, childish and foolish in their desires,
> Demanding toys,
> And stark mad when they cannot have their will. (5.1.326-32)

As Pandora's language under Luna works to make nature strange, Pandora's encounter with the moon results in the transformation of Nature. At the end of the play, Nature makes the aspects of Luna ubiquitous for all women, making Pandora their prototype. It is striking that these moments of lunar changeability and the ability to shift between the polarities of chastity and inconstancy come, not just at women's births, but at their nuptials, at the particular moment of women's lives where they are most involved with a kinship system which regards them as passive and transactional.[53] Women are now 'Stark mad when they cannot have their will'—lunacy is a response to being robbed of agency. The moon, in the play, offers a rejection of this system of compulsory marriage, a mode of evasion from this continual pressure to relent to or succeed the wills of others. Lyly uses the contradictions in the associations of the moon, inconstancy and chastity, as part of its potential to represent a desirable version of transitional selfhood, and to imagine an agent version of self that can move between prescriptive versions of female sexualities. As Lyly's poet's vision of the 'woman in the moon' went 'beyond the ancient theoric' and Nature went 'beyond herself' in creating Pandora, Nature's redefinition of the woman as moonish gives womanhood an existence 'beyond' its category (Prologue.2, Prologue.3, 1.1.78). Womanhood is offered a liquidity and ineffability and it is granted changing boundaries rather than being a stable, partitioned identity. Nature comes to define womanhood by its ability to disrupt patriarchal structures and to destabilize rites of passage. The moon's reign over births and nuptials of women encourages a questioning of these moments of inception and initiation into womanhood where the creation of the female is taken as something changeable and uncertain.

The process of going beyond Nature and transforming Nature is a crucial narrative arc in *The Woman in the Moon*. Kesson notes that in contrast to the biblical paradigm of the creation of woman, it is

[53] Gayle S. Rubin argues that '[k]inship systems [...] exchange sexual access, genealogical statuses, lineage names and ancestors, rights and people—men, women, and children—in concrete systems of social relationships', 'The Traffic in Women: Notes on the "Political Economy" of Sex' (1975), in *A Gayle Rubin Reader: Deviations* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2011), pp. 33-65 (pp. 46-47).

remarkable that it is Nature who creates Pandora: '[i]n *The Woman in the Moon*, the preeminent deity and the most perfect human are themselves female'.[54] It is the case that this is unusual—as a play about the creation of woman by a female deity, *The Woman in the Moon* is profoundly concerned with what constitutes femininity. The role of Nature as god is significant not just because she is female but because she introduces questions of whether there is a 'nature' of woman, what womanhood means, and what womanhood might mean in a utopian sense. The often cited source for Lyly's 'unnatural natural history', Pliny's *Natural History*, states: 'The world is sacred, eternal, boundless, self-contained, or, one should say, complete in itself, finite yet resembling the infinite, of all things certain yet resembling the uncertain, embracing in its grasp all things without and within. The world is the work of Nature and, at the same time, the embodiment of Nature herself'.[55] Lyly, like Pliny, makes Nature into an overarching god. In the 1601 translation of Pliny's *Natural History* this is a problem—the translator notes at this point in the margins 'Here let Christians take heed'.[56] Lyly's play asks what it might mean if 'Nature' is God. But unlike in Pliny, the world of *The Woman in the Moon* is not finite, and Nature is able to be surpassed, usurped, and transformed. Nature, in *The Woman in the Moon*, begins as an overarching and restricting authority who makes the assumption that there is a 'nature' of woman, that womanhood is a definitive category, and that humans need and desire procreation in paired sets of man and woman. But Lyly introduces Pandora as a character who goes 'beyond' Nature (Prologue.3). Creating Pandora, Nature gives her a set of qualities, forewarning: 'Use all these well, and Nature is thy friend, | But use them ill, and Nature is thy foe' (1.1.105-6). In the play, Pandora does become Nature's 'foe', working against a notion of nature which is prescriptive. As I have shown, Pandora evades the placating and submissive purpose her creator, Nature, has given her ('I make thee for a solace unto men'), using the resourceful influences of the planets (1.1.91). The planets and Pandora collaborate against Nature, proving that Nature can be overthrown. Pandora's encounter with Luna and resulting lunacy is where Nature is most threatened and resisted. Lyly's moon-characters reconstruct a notion of a uniform and authoritative nature into something malleable and self-determining. Pliny goes on: 'It is madness, absolute madness, I repeat, to go out of our world and examine what lies beyond as if our knowledge of all within it were perfect'.[57] The moon-character that 'lies beyond' and is 'out of our world' represents the utopia that Lyly's Poet in the prologue dreams about and the lunacy (or 'absolute madness') that *The Woman in the Moon* celebrates.

[54] Kesson, '"It is a pity you are not a woman"', 40.
[55] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History: A Selection*, trans. John F. Healy (London: Penguin, 1991; repr. 2001), p. 10.
[56] Anon. (trans), Pliny [the Elder], *The Historie of the World* (London: 1601) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 16th March 2019], img. 32 (paratext).
[57] Pliny, *Natural History*, p. 10.

In his first line of the play, the shepherd Stesias, who is to become Pandora's husband, echoes Pliny, addressing Nature: 'Thou sovereign Queen, and author of the world, | Of all that was, or is, or shall be framed' (1.1.31-32). Stesias, whose name (from *stator*, meaning stationed servant) recalls stasis, is tied to a singular view of Nature as the incorruptible and only ruler. Stesias intimates the constrictions of the static world of Nature which are totally opposed to the figure of Pandora. In the last scene, Stesias tries to kill Pandora:

> *Enter the seven planets.*
> *Saturn.* Stay, shepherd, stay!
> *Jupiter.* Hurt not Pandora, lovely Stesias.
> *She awakes and is sober.*
> *Pandora.* What means my love to look so pale and wan?
> *Stesias.* For thee, base strumpet, am I pale and wan.
> *Mars.* Speak mildly, or I'll make thee, crabbèd swain.
> *Sol.* Take her again, and love her, Stesias.
> *Stesias.* Not for Utopia! No, not for all the world!
> *Venus.* Ah, canst thou frown on her that looks so sweet?
> *Pandora.* Have I offended thee? I'll make amends.
> *Mercury.* And what canst thou demand more at her hand?
> *Stesias.* To slay herself, that I may live alone.
> *Luna.* Flint-hearted shepherd, thou deserves her not.
> *Stesias.* If thou be Jove, convey her from the earth
> And punish this Gunophilus, her man.
> *Gunophilus.* O Jove, let this be my punishment, to live still
> with Pandora! (5.1.255-272)

The planets retain elements of their aspects in their mutual defence of Pandora: Mars' hypocritical inability to be mild, Venus' focus on looks, Mercury's focus on speech. All of the planets find a unique consensus in their love for Pandora, having previously been presented as 'disdain[ful]' of her and at odds with one another (Nature, 1.1.131). Their analogues in Robert Greene's *Planetomachia* (1585), called 'war of the planets' on the title page, are constantly at debate with one another (except for Sol, 'appointed Moderator in this controversie').[58] Here, the moderation of Sol stands out, with his command that Stesias 'Take her again', as does the recognition that Stesias does not deserve Pandora from Luna. They refuse to have Pandora killed, against Stesias' wishes. Luna's response comes after Stesias demands that Pandora kill herself, as an audience might expect of a madwoman, but Lyly's Luna rejects the notion of self-destruction at the command of the restrictive world that he represents. Lunacy does not need to be cured—it is the world that needs to transform.

[58] Title page in Nandini Das (ed.), 'Critical Introduction', to *Planetomachia*, pp. ix-iv (p. xx); Greene, *Planetomachia*, p. 23, p. 136.

Pandora is rewarded for her resistance to stasis by becoming a moon-character herself. Like George Buchanan's wedding masque (discussed in the Introduction), the moon-character enters to pose an alternative to marriage. Unlike in Buchanan's masque, however, Lyly's moon-character eschews the return to nature, the world, and obligatory heterosexual monogamy to which that masque leads. Instead, Lyly's moon-character promotes a version of femininity which is itself resistant to submission into a transactional version of marriage. Pandora is an expansion of the staged Diana figure prior to *The Woman in the Moon* who poses a range of oppositions to early modern marriage as enforced heterosexual monogamy and, rather than being brought back to obedience, her resistance, significantly, is successful.

Stesias, who represents a static version of nature and relational normativity, is the one who is punished by being sent to the moon with Pandora. While the moon is a refuge for Pandora, it is a prison for Stesias, who states he would 'rather die than bear her company' (5.1.319). In a reversal of the creation of Pandora for the sake of the shepherds, Jupiter tells him 'Nature will have it so', and Stesias is compelled by Nature to be Pandora's 'vassal' (5.1.320, 5.1.321). Stesias is now criminalized by Nature for adhering statically to the societal norms of compulsory heterosexual monogamy and seeking to punish those who deviate from them. This is in stark opposition to what is usually regarded as 'crimes against nature' in early modern discourse—for instance, sodomy, referred to as such in the 1553 Sodomy Act statute.[59] Stesias' response, to take the hawthorn-bush that Gunophilus has been turned into and use it to 'scratch [Pandora's] face' 'If she e'er look but back' refers to the Medieval interpretation of the markings on the surface of the moon as the man (in Numbers 15: 32-36) expelled from the earth as punishment for neglecting the Sabbath, or as Judas or Cain (5.1.325, 5.1.324).[60] As the play ends, Lyly twists this biblical paradigm to suggest that stasis and normativity carry on existing, trying desperately to control and harm the transitional moon-character. Even at the refuge of the moon, Pandora is pursued by her husband and the construct of marriage as obligatory. The focus of the planets on the protection of Pandora's body, following Jupiter's 'Hurt not Pandora', is echoed in the last line of the play, when Nature commands Stesias, 'I charge thee, follow her, but hurt her not' (5.1.338). This is also an instruction to the audience to applaud rather than destroy Pandora's mode of being. This is a version of character which eschews biological determinism and definitive gender and sexual identity. Lyly explores how the instability of the moon can be thought of as 'felicity', something precious, protecting, recuperative, and re-

[59] See Donald N. Mager, 'John Bale and Early Sodomy Discourse', in *Queering the Renaissance* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1994), pp. 141-61 (p. 154).
[60] Montgomery, pp. 65-67.

inventive (5.1.307). Lyly's construction of the moon, its lunacy, and its inconstancy and chastity, constitute a utopian vision of a self which is able to protect a personal transitional integrity in the face of the demands of a transactional society.

Chapter 2. 'Never to be matched': Bringing the Moon-character to Earth in Lyly's *Galatea* and Shakespeare's *As You Like It*

Diana, in Lyly's *Galatea* (*c*. 1584), and Phoebe, in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (*c.* 1600), are both moon-characters who are brought to earth, and who yield to certain elements of the play-worlds which they inhabit. Using Gérard Genette's conception of hypertextuality, this chapter regards *Galatea* as a hypotext for *As You Like It*, showing how *Galatea* is 'grafted' onto *As You Like It*.[1] It argues that Shakespeare transforms Lyly's Diana into Phoebe through a complex process of remembering and reformulating. As moon-characters, Diana and Phoebe both occupy a 'stance apart', but through encounter with the other characters on the stage, they are integrated into their play-worlds. Diana 'yield[s]' to accept the relationship between Galatea and Phillida, while Phoebe yields into relationship with Silvius (*Galatea*, 5.3.83). When Lyly's Diana, the goddess of the moon, is described as 'never to be matched', this refers both to her individual, unsurpassable identity and to her chastity—her refusal to be 'matched' with a man (Hebe, 5.2.43). In *Galatea*, the 'unmatchable' Diana stands for a resistance, through chastity, to heterosexual relationality and, through individuality, to categorization into a recognisable typology of woman. Yielding, or consenting to the desires of another, involves the opposite impulse to unmatchability, as it requires relationality and the recognition of the self as one amongst others. This chapter looks at the way Diana's yielding involves her unmatchability encountering the earth. Using the critical framework of 'queer chastity' (chastity as resistance to heteronormativity), I argue that this encounter opens up a space on earth that allows for deviation from an early modern sexual and gender script which demands heterosexuality and which regards it as a natural and necessary part of living in the world. Phoebe, a shepherdess conspicuously named after the moon, also regards herself as unmatchable, telling Silvius, her suitor, 'Come not thou near me' (3.6.32). Phoebe's name evokes the status of the moon-goddess, as another name for Diana*,* but her social standing as shepherdess grants her considerably less agency. Despite Phoebe's desire to be unmatchable, she becomes an inversion of Lyly's Diana. When Rosalind/Ganymede tells her 'Sell when you can; you are not for all markets', Phoebe is regarded as a commodity who is ordinary and who must 'match' (3.6.60). The dramatization of Diana and Phoebe involves the presentation of the lunar and the unmatchable within an earthly space that demands relationality, ordinariness, and obedience to a heteronormative version of 'nature'. In both plays, the moon-character is required to 'yield' to the earthy requirements of these

[1] Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997; first pub. 1982), 5.

staged worlds. These two encounters between moon and earth have very different effects: for Lyly the interaction results in a reformulation of what is considered 'natural'; for Shakespeare, a reinforcement of the restrictive parameters of the 'natural' as defined through hegemonic social practices and biological determinism.

The textual relationship between these two plays has already been established, and this chapter builds on these textual connections to scrutinize one particular example of the development of the moon-character on stage at the turn of the seventeenth century. I propose a new relationship between the plays, in keeping with recent focus on textuality, which is more specific and ambitious. Although still looking at questions of source and influence (through the framework of hypertextuality), my reading is broader than a text-based reading, as it opens up challenging questions about early modern gendered and relational culture. Scragg has demonstrated the connection of *As You Like It* to *Galatea* both directly (*via* the 1592 quarto) and through Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynd: Euphues' Golden Legacy* (which also uses *Galatea* as a source).[2] Lodge's *Rosalynd* is also directly connected to Lyly as it is a sequel to Lyly's *Euphues* books (1578; 1580). *As You Like It*, *Galatea*, and *Rosalynd* all contain women who disguise as shepherd boys (Galatea and Phillida, Rosalynd, Rosalind) and who find themselves courted by other women.[3] They also all contain 'mock wooing' scenes in which the gender identity of at least one character is disguised; and in all three, 'the final union between the two lovers is seen as dependent upon metamorphosis'.[4] Scragg also points out specific textual echoes that indicate a direct relationship between *Galatea* and *As You Like It*.[5] The relationship between Diana and Phoebe, however, has not been discussed. This chapter

[2] Leah Scragg also establishes the connection of *As You Like It* to *Galatea* through Shakespeare's earlier works, outlining the extensive use of Lyly's play in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Love's Labour's Lost*: 'it was via Lodge's *Rosalynde*, the principal narrative source of *As You Like It*, that Shakespeare seems to have returned to the composition [Lyly's *Galatea*] which had pre-occupied him during the creation of the last of the early comedies, the circularity of the route affording him an entirely fresh perspective upon his predecessor's work', *The Metamorphosis of Gallathea: A Study in Creative Adaptation* (Washington: University Press of America, 1982), p. 80. Scragg suggests that Shakespeare's reading of Lodge's *Rosalynd* inspired him to re-read *Galatea* and that '[t]he return to Lyly effected by Lodge's romance is abundantly apparent in the process of selection that has transformed the ground-plan of *Rosalynde* into that of *As You Like It*', p. 86. Since Scragg's exploration, the text-based relationship of the two plays has been established, and *Galatea* is often quoted amongst introductory material in *As You Like It* editions. See Michael Hattaway, 'Introduction', pp. 1-88 (pp. 13-15); and Juliet Dusinberre (ed.), 'Introduction', *As You Like It* (London: Bloomsbury, 2006; repr. 2015), pp. 1-142 (p. 10, p. 42).

[3] See Scragg, *Metamorphosis*, p. 81.

[4] Scragg, *Metamorphosis*, p. 81, p. 82. Scragg also points out that Montanus' love sonnet to Phoebe mentions Galatea by name in Lodge's *Rosalynd*.

[5] These include 'Ah, would I were no woman!' in *Galatea* and 'And I for no woman' in *As You Like It* and the use of Hymen in the marriage ceremonies of both plays (3.1.119-20; 5.2.86). Scragg's analysis concentrates on the 'use of role-playing as a vehicle for emotional release' between Galatea and Phillida and between

focuses on the way in which Lyly's Diana, who is 'never to be matched'—individual and chaste—opens up a queer space through encounter with a violently heterosexual world. It demonstrates how this Diana is grafted upon the construction of Shakespeare's Phoebe, who also brings the concept of unmatchability to a relational world through her dismissal of Silvius as suitor, and her choice of Rosalind/Ganymede as object of affection. Diana's unmatchability, which she achieves through resistance to heterosexual relationality and to categorization into recognisable female typology, is however ultimately denied to Phoebe, who, at the end of *As You Like It*, is required to marry Silvius. By exploring the relationship between these two moon-characters, this chapter contributes to a conversation about the connections between the two plays through opening up a broader conversation about early modern sexual and gender scripts. It also reads these characters within the wide trajectory of the dramatic moon-character at the turn of the seventeenth century, comparing them to the Dianas of the earlier wedding masque tradition, such as those found in Buchanan's *Pompae Deorum in Nuptiis Mariae* (1565). As Buchanan's Diana appears to offer the bride a chance to re-join her band and evade heterosexual monogamy (before 'nature' and the 'world' bring her back to order), these moon-characters resist the heteronormative forces of their play-worlds. Their modes of resistance are expansions of the chastity of Buchanan's Diana, which is now involved with queerness, female-female desire, and gender transitionality.

In *As You Like It*, Diana as goddess is only an illusion to whom Orlando apostrophizes, and Phoebe essentially becomes a moon-goddess in her imagination alone (3.2.2-3). Between *Galatea* (*c*. 1584) and *As You Like It* (*c*. 1600), the dramatic moon-character appeared as a human rather than a goddess for the first time as Delia, later called Berecynthia, the daughter of a king, in George Peele's *The Old Wife's Tale* (*c.* 1592). The moon-character also appeared as a seamstress called Diana in the anonymous, *The Weakest Goeth to the Wall* (*c*. 1599), and as Master Moon the elder in the Cambridge college play *Club Law* (*c*. 1600), possibly by George Ruggle. These characters refer to the prior moon-character tradition via their names. Shakespeare's Phoebe, however, is the first human moon-character whose status as adaptation of the moon-goddess figure is explicit. Shakespeare gives a name to this type of adaptation—he calls it 'Phoebeing':

> ROSALIND She Phoebes me. Mark how the tyrant writes:
> *Reads* "Art thou god to shepherd turned,
> That a maiden's heart hath burned?"
> Can a woman rail thus? (4.3.38-41)

Rosalind/Ganymede and Orlando, as well as the development of the Galatea character into Rosalind, p. 87, p. 88, p. 96, p. 97.

Shakespeare makes 'Phoebeing', or attempting to be an unmatchable moon-character on the stage, into an active verb, highlighting the dramatic construction of this mode of character. From Rosalind/Ganymede's perspective, 'to Phoebe' is to rail at and to praise simultaneously. Phoebe's letter (which Silvius has told her 'bears an angry tenor'), presents an analogous relationship between desiring and scorning (4.3.10). Rosalind/Ganymede's judgment that its contents constitute 'railing' both works as dramatic irony and encapsulates their sustained criticism of a mode of courtship which reifies the object of desire.[6] For Rosalind/Ganymede, becoming an unmatchable moon-character, or being 'Phoebed', is infectious and threatening. It is related to narcissism, overweening praise and unequal courtship. From Phoebe's perspective, 'Phoebeing' means attempting to woo Rosalind/Ganymede, a character of ambiguous gender, in the manner of Galatea and Phillida in Lyly's *Galatea*. The Ovidian setting in Phoebe's letter, in which the desire of maidens is privileged and the transition between god and shepherd is possible, reflects the setting of *Galatea* in which Cupid promises that he will 'under the shape of a silly girl show the power of a mighty god'; Neptune assumes the 'shape of a shepherd to show [him]self a god'; and Phillida follows Galatea 'for that fair boy's favour, who I think to be a god' (2.2.1-2, 2.2.25-26, 2.2.65-66). At their first entrance on stage, Silvius tells Phoebe 'Sweet Phoebe do not scorn me, do not, Phoebe' (3.6.1). This is written as 'do not Phebe' in the 1623 Folio, which is more demonstrative of the way in which the name is used as a verb later in the play.[7] In both of these instances, 'to Phoebe' is to reject heterosexual monogamy and resist categorization into a recognizable typology of woman, redolent of Lyly's Diana, 'never to be matched' (5.2.43). Implicit in Rosalind/Ganymede's incredulous question, 'can a woman rail thus?', is the designation of gender and sexual roles which work to reject the possibility of Phoebe's desire for Rosalind/Ganymede by the end of the play. When Ganymede is revealed to be Rosalind, Phoebe resigns herself to marry Silvius: 'if sight and shape be true, why then my love adieu' (5.4.105). In this chapter, I will show how the regulation of desire and gender through the privileging of 'sight and shape' necessitates Phoebe's marriage to Silvius and results in Phoebe's inability to recover her previous unmatchable status. The play-world of *As You Like It* cannot match up to the more transformational setting of Lyly's *Galatea* that is evoked in Phoebe's letter. The relationship between the two plays could also be regarded through the conceptual lens of 'Phoebeing'. Performed approximately sixteen years after *Galatea*, *As You Like It* simultaneously praises and rails

[6] I am using the gender non-specific 'they/them' pronouns to refer to Rosalind/Ganymede, Galatea/Tityrus, and Phillida/Melibeus, except when I refer to the separate parts of these gender fluid characters. 'They', *pron*. 'In anaphoric reference to a singular noun or pronoun of undetermined gender', *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com> [accessed 24th February 2019].

[7] Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (London: 1623). Text taken from *The Bodleian First Folio: digital facsimile of the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays*, Bodleian Arch. G c.7. <http://firstfolio.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 6th March 2019].

at Lyly's play—both entertaining and condemning its ideas of radical gender and sexual possibility, both recovering and dismissing *Galatea*'s vision of the character as unmatchable.[8]

The first part of this chapter focuses on Lyly's *Galatea*. It explores what happens when Diana's unmatchability is brought to earth—when her individuality and chastity encounter an environment in *Galatea* that enforces violent heterosexuality. I make use of the critical framework of chastity as queer in the early modern era that I explored in my introduction. This includes Theodora A. Jankowski's definition of chastity as 'queer space', Valerie Traub's connection of 'chaste femme love' with 'erotic license', and Jennifer Drouin's link between 'Diana's band' and 'lesbian separatists'.[9] As I explained in my introduction, linking female-female desire to chastity both re-inscribes a notion of its impossibility and enables its existence without censure. My argument here makes use of these important connections between female-female desire and chastity but involves a slight shift in focus. I argue, in *Galatea*, the bringing to earth and yielding of Diana results in the expansion of this queer space to make it accessible to non-deific dramatic characters (specifically Galatea and Phillida). Diana's 'yielding' means that the separate becomes accessible, the invalid is validated, and the 'impossibility' of female-female desire and gender transitionality are rendered possible. The section explores how, through the authority of Neptune and Nature, *Galatea*'s setting of Lincolnshire is characterized by enforced heterosexuality; and, as an extension of this, as a society that sanctions the rape of virgins every five years to prevent a monstrous flood. I look at how in *Galatea*, Lyly treats the 'natural' as a construct which is dictated by the needs of society, and at how the unmatchable Diana, individual and chaste, adopts a stance apart. The encounter between the moon and the earth results in the possibility for diverse relationships and gender configurations, the privileging of virgins' inchoate desires, and a reformulation of what is inscribed onto a notion of the natural by 'bloody custom' in the play (5.2.12). The next section looks at how Lyly's 'unmatchable' Diana manifests itself in the character of Shakespeare's Phoebe, who considers herself 'unmatchable' but

[8] *Galatea* was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1585, but the first and only recorded performance of the play in the early modern period is on New Year's Day in 1588 before the Queen at Greenwich by Paul's Boys, as part of the Christmas revels. See Scragg, 'Introduction', in *Galatea*, pp. 1-36 (pp. 22-24). *As You Like It*, entered in the Stationers' Register in 1600, was also possibly first performed at court in front of the Queen in 1599, on Shrove Tuesday in 1599 at the Palace of Richmond by the Lord Chamberlain's Men, as Dusinberre has suggested, 'Introduction', pp. 36-46. According to Hattaway, *As You Like It* was probably quickly transferred to the public theatre even if it was opened at court, probably the Globe, and possibly but inconclusively performed before King James I in 1603, 'Introduction', p. 50 and 'Appendix 1', pp. 221-22.

[9] Theodora A. Jankowski, *Pure Resistance: Queer Virginity in Early Modern English Drama* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 6; Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), p. 231; Jennifer Drouin, 'Diana's Band: Safe Spaces, Publics, and Early Modern Lesbianism', in *Queer Renaissance Historiography: Backwards Gaze*, ed. Vin Nardizzi, Stephen Guy-Bray, and Will Stockton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 85-110 (p. 97).

is regarded as the opposite by the other characters of the play. As Phoebe is brought to earth, she is forced to recognize her own matchability and repress the inchoate desires that were privileged in Lyly's *Galatea*. The section demonstrates how, in *As You Like It*, Phoebe 'howls at the moon'. The transformational lunar encounter in *Galatea*, which allowed for diverse sexual and gender configurations, is gestured towards in *As You Like It* but remains unfulfilled. The section then examines how Hymen, the god of marriage and policer of a hegemonic sex/gender system which sees women as transactional, as opposed to Diana, takes charge of the wedding masque. The chapter concludes with a comparison of the epilogues of *Galatea* and *As You Like It*, showing how Lyly's dramatization of a transformation encounter between the moon and the earth in *Galatea*, is, in *As You Like It*, placed into the domain of theatrical mechanics.

Part 1. 'Mak[ing] Nothing Anything': Diana in *Galatea*

Diana in *Galatea* raises important questions about the moon-character and about dramatic character more generally. In a sense, Diana's status as goddess and planet-figure is clear—she is described by Hebe as 'the sovereign of all virtues and goddess of all virgins, […] whose perfections are impossible to be numbered and therefore infinite, never to be matched, and therefore immortal' (5.2.40-3). For Hebe, Diana occupies a 'stance apart'. She is unmatchable, intangible, and unable to be harmed. Diana exists outside of the regulations of a punishing society on earth—there is no question of her consideration beside the human female characters, Galatea, Phillida, and Hebe, of being the 'fairest and chastest' virgin who must be tied to a tree, 'left for a peace-offering unto Neptune' as payment for his prevention of flood (1.1.47, 1.1.51). In opposition to Diana, the human virgin characters are regarded as disposable by society, as nothings, whose pretensions to unmatchability instead result in their destruction. But as Cupid asks on Diana's introduction, 'What is that Diana, a goddess?', Diana's status as deity is also under scrutiny from the beginning of the play (1.3.9). *Galatea* explores whether Diana the goddess can 'yield'—can consent to the desires of another person and surrender the self—and in doing so become person-like and earth-like (5.3.83). By extension, *Galatea* explores whether a human person can be Diana-like and moon-like, and if they can lay claim to her unmatchable chastity and individual identity. It is not just through bringing the moon-character Diana to earth that Lyly's play closes the gap between personhood and divinity. *Galatea* is preoccupied with the question of whether humans can be gods and vice versa. Near the end of the play, Neptune asks 'And do men begin to be equal with gods seeking by craft to overreach

them?' (5.3.11-12). Lyly presents, through the encounter of Diana with the earth, a setting in which Diana's chastity and its resistance to heteronormative relationships is available to the earth-bound self. In the play's sub-plot, Peter, a servant, rails against his previous master, an alchemist: 'God shield me from blowing gold to nothing, with a strong imagination to make nothing anything!' (2.3.145-7). In this section, I argue that in *Galatea*, Diana's yielding, and the bringing of the moon to earth, is deeply involved with the process of 'mak[ing] nothing anything'. It is this process over the course of the play that creates a space that enables mortal characters, and especially virgin women, to access a queer chastity which affords them a quasi-divine, quasi-lunar position.

The relationship between Galatea and Phillida and the subsequent gender transition of one of them at the end of the play affords them 'unmatchable' identities. 'Mak[ing] nothing anything' manifests itself most obviously in the dramatization of the '*amor impossibilis*' of Galatea and Phillida and the privileging of imagination as something with a transformative power which is not delimited by material constraints.[10] This 'mak[ing] nothing anything' is a project of the dramatization of chastity through Diana, making something which might be regarded as a refusal to engage in the promulgation of life into something which involves its own relationality and engagement. In *Galatea*, 'mak[ing] nothing anything' involves expanding the queer space of chastity through Diana's yielding, breaking down the binary of chastity/sexuality and closing the gap between the moon and the earth. Critics have argued that the gender transition of either Galatea or Phillida dilutes *Galatea*'s investment in non-heterosexual relationships, since, in the end, Lyly insists on heterosexual marriage. Traub, for instance, has suggested that 'Lyly's play reproduces social orthodoxy' by including the gender transition of one of these characters: 'the prospect of women pursuing a loving and erotic life together simply cannot be'.[11] The gender transition has therefore been regarded as a normalizing element that erases the more aberrant female-female desire. However, following on from the work of Andy Kesson, I suggest this gender transition works to disrupt the rules of the early modern sex/gender system just as much as the same-gender desire of Galatea and Phillida.[12] It is involved with an aspect of Diana's unmatchability: her individual identity and refusal to be categorized—or matched—into a view of ordinary womanhood. The transition of Galatea or Phillida involves a radical liberation from the gendered self as ordained by a society which punishes virgins by virtue of being virgins (which is deeply involved in gendered categorization). The transition reflects the

[10] See Traub, p. 6.
[11] Traub, p. 6.
[12] See Andy Kesson, writing on Emma Frankland's Galatea project, 'Galatea, Britgrad, and diverse alarums', *Before Shakespeare* (4/6/2018) <https://beforeshakespeare.com/2018/06/04/galatea-brigrad-and-diverse-alarums/> [accessed 2nd April 2019].

movement of the moon to earth and the yielding of Diana in as far as it involves the practice of rendering that which is deemed impossible, possible. On one level 'mak[ing] nothing anything' works physiologically as a pun on genitalia which foresees the climactic transition of *Galatea.* On a second more significant level, Peter's 'strong imagination to make nothing anything' involves a de-centering of genitalia and de-privileging of biological determinism, as the no-thing is allowed to be 'anything' (2.3.146-7).

Galatea explores the insecurity involved with being deemed 'no-thing' by society. Throughout the play, Diana, as the moon, promotes an unmatchability that stands at odds to the restrictive heterosexuality on earth, emblematized by Neptune, as the ocean, who wants to destroy virgins. Neptune promotes a violent version of heterosexual union, in which the 'fairest and chastest' virgin is tied to a tree to await the monster, Agar: 'Whether she be devoured of him, or conveyed to Neptune, or drowned between them both, it is not permitted to know, and incurreth danger to conjecture' (Tityrus, 1.1.47; 1.1.59-61). Represented by a flood (the Agar, 'eagre', is a tidal bore in the Humber estuary), this 'drowning' is a ritualistic loss of selfhood, suggestive of unnameable sexual violence. Protected by a code of silence (even thinking about it is dangerous), the Augur refers to it as a sacrifice of the self for the good of the community: 'If you think it against nature to sacrifice your children, think it also against sense to destroy your country' (4.1.3-6).[13] This reflects the way that, in this play, that which is deemed 'natural' is dictated and reformulated by the needs of society. By setting the play in Lincolnshire, Lyly suggests that this fantasy setting, with its monstrous flood, is a reflection of the relational and sexual system at home in England. The flood creates a hierarchy of beauty in which the most unmatchable loses: Melibeus warns Phillida that he '[knows] the greatness of thy beauty; we both [know] the fierceness of the monster'; Galatea bemoans the need to disguise herself to avoid the flood: 'Hath Nature (as you say) made me so fair above all?' (1.3.3-4, 1.1.76-77). 'Nature', representing a set range of hegemonic social practices rather than the instinctual, is in collusion with Neptune, who is the ultimate authority of the play. The flood is a manifestation of an unfair 'Nature' which is emblematically heteronormative. Before Diana 'yield[s]', as I go on to explore, she sanctions this heteronormativity on earth. She calls on Nature to authorize the requirement that Galatea and Phillida end their love for one another, according to the regulations of a world that is still separate from the moon: 'Nature will have it so, necessity must' (5.3.132-34).

[13] Scragg (ed.), *Galatea*, p. 45, note 53.

This heteronormative Nature and necessity work together to justify the virgin sacrifice, what Hebe calls 'the custom, the bloody custom' (5.2.11-12). The sacrifice is an enforcement of accepted behaviour according to regulations of the community. Tied to the tree, awaiting her fate, Hebe compares the horror of the Agar to a more general horror: 'Come, Agar, thy horrible monster; and farewell world, thou viler monster' (5.2.56-8). Hebe emphasizes the relationship between the Agar and the world. Both are monstrous threats to her own sense of unmatchability (her chastity and her individual identity). But the world is the viler of the two—created by Nature, necessity, Neptune and the Agar, it promotes a violent self-shattering in service of relationality and sanctions the rendering of virgin women as 'no-things', forced to yield to the flood of the world. When the Agar does not arrive to take her, Hebe decides that her apparent lack of unmatchability in the world is worse than a recognition of this unmatchability, even if that recognition necessitates its destruction: 'Had it not been better for thee to have died with fame than to live with dishonor, to have preferred the safety of thy country and rareness of thy beauty before sweetness of life and vanity of the world?' (5.2.66-70). Hebe is in a double-bind: according to 'the world' (a metaphor for convention and conformity) in *Galatea*, those who are most inflected with the ethos of Diana, most unmatchable, are most at threat of an annihilation of the self. Diana and her band of nymphs alone stand apart from this threat—as the moon she exists at a distance from the world. But, as I will go on to explore, her nymphs become infatuated with Galatea/Tityrus and Phillida/Melibeus, and Diana closes this gap through the process of her own yielding.

The virgin sacrifice demanded by Neptune is a 'condition' for reclaiming the play-world from under the ocean 'to ease [the people's] miseries' (1.1.43-44). Diana as an archetype of unmatchability is a counterforce against this personal sacrifice on behalf of the reduction of collective pain—her promotion of unmatchability is in resistance to this flood of relationality, which specifically punishes virgins and the state of chastity. Enraged by Galatea's and Phillida's attempt to escape the sacrifice through performing the roles of boys, Neptune's phobia of unmatchability reaches its climax: 'I will make havoc of Diana's nymphs, my temple shall be dyed with maidens' blood, and there shall be nothing more vile than to be a virgin' (5.3.16-19). Neptune pitches the monstrousness of virginity against the monstrousness of Hebe's vile world that demanded a self-shattering relationality. Diana responds to this by propounding the ethos of unmatchability:

> Oh Neptune, have you forgotten thyself, or wilt thou clean forsake me? Hath Diana therefore brought danger to her nymphs because they be chaste? Shall virtue suffer both pain and shame, which always deserveth praise and honour? (5.3.22-26)

The idea of unmatchability provoking violence and subjection is horrific to Diana. Her unmatchability instead involves protection and distinction. Diana's dedication to the protection of virgins is conveyed through her intense devotion to the hunt. The hunting game is recurrently likened to the courtship game through, for instance, the homophones 'hart'/'heart' and 'deer'/'dear' and the sonic similarity of 'chase'/'chaste' (1.2.28, 1.2.29, 1.2.25-6). The unnamed nymph declares to Cupid: 'I will follow Diana in the chase, whose virgins are all chaste, delighting in the bow that wounds the swift hart in the forest, not fearing the bow that strikes in the soft heart of the chamber' (1.3.25-8). Positioning themselves as invulnerable aggressors who occupy the lunar stance apart, Diana and her nymphs reject being objects of affection, or by extension, being objects of pursuit and violence.

However, despite their insistence on unmatchability, Diana's nymphs are shown to be vulnerable to desire after being hit by Cupid's arrows. They fall for Galatea/Tityrus and Phillida/Melibeus. Telusa asks herself 'Is thy Diana become a Venus, thy chaste thoughts turned to wanton looks, thy conquering modesty to a captive imagination?' (3.1.2-4). Cupid's arrows result in a state of lovesickness which has some elements of the flood of Agar and its destruction of self. When Hebe is set upon the tree to be taken by the monster, she declares 'how happy had I been if I had not been!', echoing Telusa, one of Diana's nymphs, on falling for Phillida/Melibeus under Cupid's influence: 'Would Telusa were nobody!' (5.2.45, 3.1.122). Cupid's interference results in a destruction of the static self: 'I feel my thoughts unknit, mine eyes unstayed, my heart I know not how affected (or infected) […] myself in all things unlike myself' (Eurota, 3.1. 53). But Cupid's force is not only destructive but transformational. The nymphs' desires are queer and they resist heterosexual relationships in line with a more expansive notion of chastity. Their existential questioning enacts in part a yielding, a loss of self but also a vision of a more fluid, unmatchable, identity; and it anticipates the gender transition of either Galatea or Phillida, and the overriding of 'Nature' and 'necessity': 'Ah, would I were no woman!', 'Would Tityrus were no boy!' (Eurota, 3.1.53, 129-120; Ramia, 3.1.121). Diana's nymphs are sharply chastized by her and brought back into a more narrow philosophy of chastity ('What greater dishonour could happen to Diana, or to her nymphs shame, than that there can be any time so idle that should make their heads so addle?', 3.4.21-3). But in encounter with the earth, Diana herself is not exempt from the transitional power of desire over the self.

The moon-character is under constant threat of transforming into Venus, and no longer being Diana. The goddess and her nymphs, described as 'Diana's train' and 'a sweet troop', make up a

homogenous group, a chastity collective which is unravelled and reassembled over the course of the drama (1.2.6; 1.2.13). Diana's inability to control her troop infuriates her ('Diana stormeth that, sending one to seek another she loseth all', 3.1.89-90) but it also reflects her own precarious position between vulnerability and invulnerability:

> *Telusa.* Diana cannot yield; she conquers affection.
> *Cupid.* Diana shall yield; she cannot conquer destiny. (4.2.92-3)

The question of whether Diana will yield—and in doing so recognise herself as a self among other selves rather than an unmatchable goddess—recurs throughout the play. Like her nymphs, Diana does yield to Love. She agrees to restore the captured Cupid back to Venus in exchange for Neptune stopping the virgin sacrifice. But her yielding does not require her to completely forgo unmatchability. Instead it is pointedly pro-virgin:

> I account not the choice hard, for had I twenty Cupids I would deliver them all to save one virgin, knowing love to be a thing of all the vainest, virginity to be a virtue of all the noblest. I yield [...] And now shall it be said that Cupid saved those he thought to spoil. (5.3.80-85)

Diana uses yielding as a tool to compassionately protect virgins from the violent self-subsuming heterosexual flood, the Agar. In doing so, she lets loose Cupid, setting him free again to promote virgins' desires. Diana's yielding does not result in the destruction of the self—instead it is a compromise that results in the privileging of virgins' desires. Tied to her tree, Hebe envisions a court in which chastity 'yieldeth to desire and conquereth', where chastity sustains both surrender and victory simultaneously (5.2.39).

Diana yields to Love a second time when she, eventually, like Venus, accepts the love of Galatea/Tityrus and Phillida/Melibeus and the gender transformation of one of them. When asked if she will 'mislike it', she responds 'Not I' (5.3.179, 5.3.181). The desire between Galatea and Phillida that Diana enables, rather than 'spoil[ing]' virgins, venerates them (5.3.85). The inception of their desire for one another precedes Cupid's interference with the nymphs (2.1; 2.2). Instead of finding themselves acted on by an external force and diminished to nothing through the heterosexual forces of the 'viler' world, Galatea/Tityrus and Phillida/Melibeus 'make nothing anything'—they privilege their own inchoate desires for one another without regulating them according to 'Nature'. In contrast to the self-destruction effected by the virgin sacrifice, these desires have the effect that Galatea/Tityrus and Phillida/Melibeus turn one another into gods in each others' eyes, asserting one anothers' individual identity: 'I am willing to go […] for that fair boy's favour, who I think to be a god' (Phillida/Melibeus, 2.1.65-6). They literalize the formulation of Cupid who plans to 'under the shape

of a silly girl show the power of a mighty god' (Cupid 2.2.1-2). The categories of girl, boy, and god become interchangeable. The yielding of Diana, the moon, admits an unmatchability on earth which opposes violently imposed forms of desire, like the Agar and Cupid's arrows, and admits versions of desire which are internal, created from 'nothing', and consensual. This unmatchability insists on difference from the given modes of engagement in a heterosexual and gender-static world. The kind of desire that Diana, through yielding, ultimately permits is desire as an inchoate expression of self before it is mediated by the demands of society, which can turn girls into boys into gods rather than gods to beasts. As Galatea/Tityrus admonishes, referring to classical stories of rape, 'they were beastly gods, that lust could make them seem as beasts' (1.1.97-8).

As Diana explains, by her own yielding to love, Cupid also saves and protects virgins—the pair meet at a point of compromise which overturns the 'condition' of the effective rape of virgins by the Agar and Neptune (1.1.44). The moon-character on earth is not impervious to love, which here becomes something that does not require designated modes of sexual engagement and allows for the valuation of virgins over Cupids. Through the yielding of Diana, *Galatea* provides a world that accommodates the invisible desires which are hidden within a concept of 'chastity'—female-female desire, gender transformation, and the desire to be individual, expanding what have been considered 'fond, fond affections' rather than reducing them (Diana, 5.1.133). Neptune regards the love of Galatea/Tityrus and Phillida/Melibeus for one another as 'An idle choice, strange and foolish, for one virgin to dote on another, and to imagine a constant faith where there can be no cause of affection' (5.3.139-41). Diana's chastity and her love of virgins privileges this 'idle choice'. The play supplies a break from the need to regulate the 'impossible' desires that Neptune cannot understand and allow 'nothing' to be 'anything'.

In *Galatea*, the phrase '[making] nothing anything' is connected with bringing the planet moon to earth. In the sub-plot of the Miller's sons' search for work, Lyly uses a variation of the early modern proverb, 'The Dog (wolf) barks in vain at the moon' (first used in 1520), to suggest that the planet-moon is movable: 'You shall see me catch the moon in the clips, like a cony in a purse-net' (Rafe, 3.3.69-70).[14] This episode emphasizes the question of whether the planetary universe has the capacity to be manipulated by human influence and imagination. Rafe's assertion that he can 'catch

[14] Morris Palmer Tilley cites Robert Whittington's *Vulgaria* (1520) as the first use of the proverb in English, in *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1950) <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001111462> [accessed 1st May 2017], D449. See also '[t]o bark against the moon', M1123.

the moon' is mirrored in a host of other claims about transforming the material world, and the ability to 'make nothing anything' through imagination, such as being able to catch heavenly bodies, and perform magic and alchemy (for instance, the Mariner, 'I can shift the moon and the sun'; the Astronomer, 'When I list, I can set a trap for the sun, catch the moon with lime-twigs and go batfowling for stars', 2.3.147, 1.4.35, 3.3.44-6). The 'catch[ing of] the moon in the clips', as noted by George K. Hunter, refers to Ovid's Medea who draws the moon to the earth in the midst of a grand overhauling of the cosmos, indicating that Rafe's claim belongs to the sinister realm of the powerful female.[15] Reginald Scot, in his *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584), a source for *Galatea*, ridicules those '[who] do write, that [witches] can pull down the moon and the stars', suggesting a comic absurdity to Rafe's claim.[16] The act of bringing the moon to earth, of 'mak[ing] nothing anything', while related to absurdity and put into the province of a dangerous female power, is a cause for celebration in *Galatea*. Rafe's restructured proverb rejects a view of the moon as something unattainable, unmovable, and untouchable. It highlights the project of *Galatea* to bring the moon to earth in a theatrical setting, and to convert planetary influence into human agency through dramatic embodiment. The movement of the physical body of the moon is a cosmic manifestation of the yielding of Diana, another version of 'catching' the moon. Catching the moon on earth results in Diana's unmatchability being available for the other characters in the play and a re-evaluation of what is natural on earth.

Rafe's claim to influence the physical moon and bring it to earth is regarded as impossible by the likes of Peter who will not 'make nothing anything' (2.3.147). This impossibility, like the female-female love of Galatea and Phillida and the gender transition of either one of them, is overturned through the course of the play. Diana, as the moon on earth and the embodied moon on stage, exists at the juncture between the planetary and the personal, susceptible to influence as well as being influential. Embodying unmatchability, it is her yielding which creates a space for the alternative modes of relationality in the play which privilege the inchoate desires of women, of 'fond, fond affections' (5.1.133). Encounter with the moon releases Galatea and Phillida from a restrictive version of womanhood and a static gender-configuration. The gender transition at the end of *Galatea* rejects a binary system of sex/gender, which is ratified through biological determinism. In bringing the moon to earth, *Galatea* reformulates what is natural and instinctual, as well as which

[15] George K. Hunter (ed.), *Galatea*, in John Lyly, *Galatea and Midas*, ed. Hunter and David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p. 71, note 46.
[16] Scot's *Discoverie of Witchcraft* (1584) is used by R. Warwick Bond and Hunter to help date the composition of *Galatea* because of the borrowed 'astrological jargon'. See Hunter, 'Introduction', to *Galatea*, pp. 3-25 (p. 5).

and whose desires matter—nothing becomes anything, and the impossible becomes possible. The play ends before the marriage of Galatea and Phillida takes place and before the gender transition of either one of them is to occur, finishing in a liminal space in between definitive gender and relational states. Like the moon-characters of the earlier wedding masques, Diana in *Galatea* also offers the chastity of her band as an alternative to enforced (and violent) heterosexuality. However, as with Lyly's later *The Woman in the Moon* (*c*. 1588), the masque dynamic is shifted to eschew the return to order and heteronormative marriage at the behest of nature and the world. While Diana yields in Buchanan's wedding masque, for instance, to permit heterosexual monogamy to take place, in *Galatea,* Diana's yielding results in a reformulation of the priorities of society and the 'natural'. Her encounter with the earth combats the extreme violence of a society that regards women as transactional no-things.

Part 2. 'Mak[ing] all this matter even': Phoebe in *As You Like It*

Phoebe, the moon-character in *As You Like It*, is a shepherdess rather than a goddess like Lyly's Diana. Though Phoebe imagines herself unmatchable, Rosalind/Ganymede, as part of their project to 'make all this matter even' and provide suitable couples for the comic ending of the play, insists that Phoebe must be matched—that she is undeserving of the status of moon-goddess, and must yield to the sex/gender system on earth. In the principal source of Shakespeare's play, Lodge's *Rosalynd: Euphues' Golden Legacy* (1590), Rosalynd/Ganymede explicitly asks the pining Rosader (Orlando in *As You Like It*) what Rosalynd is: 'Is she some nymph that waits upon Diana's train [...] Or is she some shepherdess who haunts these plains, whose beauty hath so bewitched thy fancy […]?'.[17] The suggestion is that Rosalynd's status either as someone who is tangibly related to the moon-goddess or as 'some shepherdess' requires discovery. Of course, it is ironic that Rosalynd/Ganymede is the one asking this question, implying that the degree of Rosader's desire is only justifiable if Rosalynd has access to the moon-goddess, or else Rosader has been tricked ('bewitched'). A similar distinction between moon-characters is present in another source for *As You Like It*, Jorge de Montemeyor's *La Diana* (c. 1559; trans. Bartholomew Yong, 1598), in which there is a marked difference between the shepherdess Diana, the inconstant shepherdess

[17] Thomas Lodge, *Rosalynd* (1590), ed. Brian Nellist with the assistance of Simône Batin (Keele, Staffordshire: Keele Univesity Press, 1995), p. 68.

for whom Sireno pines, and the goddess Diana who is revered for her chastity.[18] In *As You Like It*, it is Phoebe whose fragile sense of self moves from regarding herself as the moon-goddess of *Galatea* into recognising herself, like Rosalynd/Ganymede's suggestion, as 'some shepherdess'. Phoebe's connection to Diana the goddess only serves to render her more condemnable and less self-aware. She is forced to recognize herself as a bewitcher rather than a nymph, and what Corin calls a 'proud disdainful shepherdess' rather than a goddess (3.5.41). In *Galatea*, the unmatchability of the goddess Diana is made accessible through her yielding and the bringing of the moon to earth. Phoebe is brought to earth in a more demeaning fashion. For her, being a moon-character in a relational world necessitates too much yielding and results in the loss of her unmatchability. Shakespeare dramatizes her devaluation in *As You Like It* by recalling the world of *Galatea* in which she might have flourished, and in which her desires would have been recognized rather than deemed impossible.

Though the hypotext of *Galatea* can be glimpsed through Phoebe's imagination of herself, her unmatchability manifests in what is regarded as her 'disdain' (Corin, 3.5.45). Phoebe's characterization as disdainful understandably dominates responses to her. She is often dismissed by critics in the same way that the play ejects her: Grace Tiffany writes of her 'inordinate self-regard', and Cynthia Lewis of her 'overweening pride', and 'narcissism' that 'balloons'.[19] There is no account of the earlier context in which Phoebe is connected with the moon and its association with self-determination and personal agency. Instead, in these accounts, Phoebe's Ovidian background (which connects her to Diana and the moon on earth), is what makes her ripe for correction and assimilation into *As You Like It*'s play-world. Connecting male cynicism and misogyny to 'the veneration of a remote asexual deity', Tiffany writes that 'Rosalind [...] persistently engages Orlando in a witty dialogue that cynically recapitulates the tropes of Ovidian/Petrarchan convention in order to highlight their fictionality'.[20] Tiffany regards Shakespeare's exposure of the untenable distance between lover and beloved as a gain, not a loss, even though Rosalind's attempts to 'cure' society of

[18] The narrative contains 'The shepherdesse Diana', and the moon, Diana, 'where by the brightnesse of nocturnal Diana they might disport themselves', Jorge de Montemayor, *Diana of George of Montemayor*, trans. Bartholomew Yong (London: 1598), img. 11, img. 25.
[19] Grace Tiffany, '"That Reason Wonder May Diminish": *As You Like It*, Androgyny, and the Theater Wars', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 57.3 (1994) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3817601> [accessed 14th October 2016], 213-39 (225); Cynthia Lewis, 'Horns, the Dream-Work, and Female Potency in *As You Like It*', *South Atlantic Review*, 66.4 (2001) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3202060> [accessed 14th October, 2016], 45-69 (62).
[20] Tiffany, 222, 230.

this disorder leave Phoebe by the wayside. These critics replicate the way in which Shakespeare's play itself abandons Phoebe and regards her desires as impossible.

This impossibility is reflected in the unrecoverable distance of the physical moon in the play, and Shakespeare's use of a more static version of the proverb that Lyly gives to Rafe above: 'Pray you no more of this: 'tis like the howling of Irish wolves against the moon' (Rosalind/Ganymede, 5.2.92-93).[21] They use this proverb to stop the outpouring of the unreconcilable desires for one other, which belong to Silvius, Phoebe, Orlando and themselves. Silvius sets up the criteria for love: 'It is to be all made of fantasy, | All made of passion, and all made of wishes' (5.2.78-79). The characters respond to this with:

> SILVIUS […] And so am I for Phoebe.
> PHOEBE And so am I for Ganymede.
> ORLANDO And so am I for Rosalind.
> ROSALIND And so am I for no woman. (5.2.83-86)

The repetition of 'And so am I for' by the four lovers of *As You Like It* (three times each), is part of the iterative aural patterns in this scene which are branded 'howling' by Rosalind/Ganymede.[36] The words indicate a continuous connective line from one character to another. Each character defines themself through relationship with another person: [a person] 'so am I for' [another person]. This situates the characters in a relational world and these howls articulate a combination of self-assertion ('so am I') and self-sacrifice ('for' someone else). Like Diana, Galatea, and Phillida, their desires involve a yielding of the self as well as a pronouncement of it. Rosalind's 'And so am I for no woman' interferes with this reading. Her 'howling' suggests the implicit substitution of 'Orlando' for 'no woman', but is also a reminder of the restrictions of the world she is in—Rosalind's 'howling' is a force of regulation as well as desire. Scragg points out that 'And so am I for no woman' is reminiscent of the nymph of Diana, Eurota's 'Ah, would I were no woman!' in *Galatea* (3.1.119-20): 'the ritualistic repetition of the Shakespearian phrase [...] may well derive from the recurring negatives of the all-female wooing scene which follows the exchanges between the nymphs in Lyly's play'.[22] Eurota's desire not to be a woman underscores Rosalind/Ganymede's rejection of a desire for the gender, which is particularly pertinent because this scene initiates the moment when Rosalind must give up Ganymede for good. Recalling the wishes of Lyly's nymphs, which indicated the transformative effects upon the self of their desires for Galatea/Tityrus and Phillida/Melibeus, these howlings instead reflect static selves which are trapped in their own relationships with others.

[21] 'You shall see me catch the moon in the clips, like a cony in a purse-net' (Rafe, *Galatea*, 3.3.69-70).
[22] Scragg, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 87-88.

The 'magical' transformation that might have liberated Phoebe's howling were she a character in *Galatea* is instead an undressing of Ganymede into Rosalind. And following on from the play's dismissal of her howling for a relationship with Rosalind/Ganymede, Phoebe cannot return to the version of herself which is unmatchable rather than relational—unlike the nymphs who return to the chaste versions of themselves at the end of *Galatea*. Her 'impossible' and 'moonish' desires are silenced.

Rosalind/Ganymede, in orchestrating the coupling at the end of the play, promises Orlando that they can 'do strange things' having since infancy 'conversed with a magician' (5.2.48). But these strange things are instead a foreclosure of the possibilities that were enabled in *Galatea*. Rosalind/Ganymede states they will 'make all this matter even' (5.4.18). The word 'even', meaning 'to make straight, to put in line, to align with', indicates both a levelling off of idiosyncrasies and also something divisible by two.[23] As such, it works to dismantle both aspects of unmatchability: individual identity and queer chastity. Here Rosalind/Ganymede enacts the opposite impulse of 'mak[ing] nothing anything', erasing Phoebe's desires for Rosalind/Ganymede—and, in so doing, erasing access to her prior unmatchable state. The authenticity of Phoebe's 'fantasy', which constructs the howling characters (they are 'all made of fantasy'), is denied (5.2.78). Phoebe, like Diana, is presented as both chaste and inconstant (flying from Silvius and then towards Rosalind/Ganymede). She, Silvius, Orlando, and Rosalind/Ganymede all announce the futility of their love for one another, but Phoebe's is the most futile: Rosalind/Ganymede *can* 'help' Silvius, *can* 'satisfy' Orlando, but will not 'marry woman' (5.3.92, 5.3.96, 5.3.95). Phoebe is not able to imaginatively reconstruct her world like Lyly's Galatea and Phillida, and his Diana and her nymphs. She lacks the possibility to ask for what she wants which had emerged in *Galatea* as a rejection of heterosexual union. Phoebe's desire for Ganymede cannot be requited, unlike Galatea's and Phillida's towards one another, and Phoebe is resigned to marry Silvius. Phoebe is abandoned by Shakespeare's play, which cannot accommodate the possibility of either her love for Rosalind/Ganymede or her chastity. Her desire for Rosalind/Ganymede is rendered insignificant and she is brought back into obedience. Rosalind/Ganymede ensures that Silvius will 'marry her | If she refuse me', making a bargain which categorically rejects the unmatchability with which Phoebe entered the play.

[23] 'Even', *v.*, *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com> [accessed 20th June 2018].

Phoebe's aspirational desires are policed by Rosalind/Ganymede's version of the proverb, 'Pray you no more of this: 'tis like the howling of Irish wolves against the moon' (5.2.92-3). In Thomas Lodge's *Rosalynd*, 'howling at the moon' is directly related to the relationship of Montanus (Silvius) and Phoebe, with Rosalynd/Ganymede warning: 'I tell thee Montanus, in courting Phoebe, thou barkest with the wolves of Syria against the moon, and rovest at such a mark with thy thoughts as is beyond the pitch of thy bow, praying to Love when Love is pitiless and thy malady remediless'.[24] Here, the parallel between shepherdess Phoebe and the classical moon figure is explicit—she is portrayed as the moon rather than howling at it. This 'malady remediless' is ultimately remedied in the pairing of Phoebe and Montanus, unlike Phoebe's desire for Ganymede in *As You Like It*. A similar phrase is used by Euphues in a letter to Philautus, to persuade him to cease wooing Camilla, in Lyly's *Euphues and his England*: 'O infortunate Philautus, born in the wane of the Moone, and as likely to obtain thy wish, as the Wolfe is to catch the Moone'. [25] In both instances, the moon represents the Phoebe figure; and each narrative explores whether 'barking' at her is a futile endeavour (Lyly's Philautus is unsuccessful in wooing Camilla who marries Surius instead, while despite Rosalynd/Ganymede's condemnation of it, Montanus' 'barking' at the moon pays off).[26] The howling at the moon in *As You Like It* reflects Phoebe's unfulfillable desire for Rosalind/Ganymede. In Shakespeare's play, Phoebe is made a howling subject as well as an unattainable lunar object—her unrequiteable love for Rosalind/Ganymede and the resumption of her lost state of unmatchability remain the most unsatisfied of the play's howling desires.

Phoebe's desire disappears in a world which decidedly will not 'make nothing anything' (*Galatea*, 2.3.147). Rosalind/Ganymede's misogynistic speech to Orlando on the changeableness of women refers to this moonish desire as a nuisance: 'I will weep for nothing, like Diana in the fountain, and I will do that when you are disposed to be merry' (4.1.121-24). Rosalind/Ganymede warns Orlando that union with someone who is Diana-like will result in an uneven match. Rosalind/Ganymede treats Diana's unmatchability itself as something uncooperative and unreasonable. Michael Hattaway suggests that this line refers either to the fountain restored in 1595 with a statue of Diana in West Cheap; or to de Montemayor's *La Diana*, in which Diana weeps false tears while conveying a faithless love.[27] But the image also recalls Montanus' 'sonnet' to Phoebe in Lodge's *Rosalynd*:

[24] Lodge, p. 112.
[25] John Lyly, *Euphues and His England* (1580), in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit and Euphues and His England: An annotated modern-spelling edition*, ed. Leah Scragg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003; repr. 2009).
[26] Phoebe and Montanus 'make this day the third couple in marriage', Lodge, p. 123.
[27] Hattaway, p. 201, note 92.

Phoebe sat
By a fount;
Sitting by a fount I spied her:[28]

We see Phoebe through Montanus' voyeuristic intrusion of her personal space, sitting by a fountain before she rejects him in his sonnet. The resonance of this moment is quietened in Shakespeare's 'weep for nothing', where the interruption of the needs of the other person, Orlando, 'when you are disposed to be merry', renders Rosalind/Ganymede's proposed future lament deliberately obtuse. The personal desires of the Diana-figure are actively silenced by Rosalind/Ganymede into 'nothing'. This version of Diana alludes to a seemingly pointless female sadness. Unlike in *Galatea*, in which nothings were exonerated, this nothing is not worth weeping over. Celia/Aliena tells Rosalind/Ganymede 'You have simply misused our sex in your love-prate', calling attention to the way in which the desires which were able to flourish in Lyly's play are silenced in a world where imagination is not good enough to sustain them (4.1.162). Diana's weeping for nothing is suggestive of the erasure of female-female sexuality, and the 'fond, fond affections' of Galatea and Phillida (5.3.133). It reflects the way that the play-world of *As You Like It* is unable to instigate gender transformation and to accommodate a fluidity of gender. In weeping for nothing, Diana weeps for Phoebe's loss of unmatchability, and the requirement that she must conform to typology.

Diana, the goddess, exists only as an allusion in this play, put into the space of a fantastical ulterior reality which *As You Like It* cannot enter. She is specifically part of the Ovidian dialogue of lovers, as Orlando initiates the hanging of verses onto trees with:

Hang there, my verse, in witness of my love;
And thou, thrice-crownèd queen of night, survey
With thy chaste eye, from thy pale sphere above,
Thy huntress' name that my full life doth sway (3.2.1-4)

Touchstone attacks Orlando's rhyming verse through comparison to the sexualized lower class: 'It is the right butter-women's rank to market' (3.3.74-75). The comparison is made more explicit when Touchstone tells Audrey: 'I am here with thee and thy goats as the most capricious poet honest Ovid was among the Goths' (3.4.5-6). Phoebe, in a similar way, is forced to abandon pretentions to Diana and recognize her Audrey-ness, her status as a matchable lower-class commodity rather than a goddess, a pastoral nymph, or a Galatea or Phillida. While Audrey, who is not a character in Lodge's *Rosalynd*, does not recognize the word 'poetical' ('I do not know what "poetical" is', 3.4.11),

[28] Lodge, p. 58.

Phoebe quotes Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* to authorize her love for Rosalind/Ganymede: 'Dead shepherd, now I find thy saw of might | "Who ever loved that loved not at first sight?"' (3.6.80-81). Audrey wonders about her own desire to marry Touchstone: 'I hope it is no dishonest desire to desire to be a woman of the world?' (5.3.3-4). Audrey's 'of the world' indicates both the difference between virgin and wife, and the non-lunar earth-bound nature of her request in contrast to the lovers in the previous scene. Like Hebe's reckoning with the 'viler monster' of the world in *Galatea*, Phoebe is forced to conform to its demands of heterosexual relationality (5.2.58). Calling into question what makes a desire honest, Audrey's statement particularly recalls Phoebe's apparently too poetical desire for Rosalind/Ganymede and pretentions to Diana, which are erased by the 'honest' un-alterability of the revealed natural world: 'if sight and shape be true, why then my love adieu' (5.4.105). Desiring another woman or being chaste is not being a member 'of the world'. Phoebe, who Rosalind/Ganymede refers to as 'the ordinary | Of Nature's sale-work', is thoroughly constricted by the demands of a heteronormative view of nature (3.6.12-13). Phoebe's moonishness therefore emerges not as a distinction or a sign of autonomy on earth, but as an othering lunacy which must be contained:

> Love is merely a madness, and, I tell you, deserves as well a dark-house and a whip as madmen do; and the reason why they are not so punished and cured is that the lunacy is so ordinary that the whippers are in love too. Yet I profess curing it by counsel. (3.3.331-334)

Rosalind/Ganymede enacts these curative measures on Phoebe rather than Orlando, because it is Phoebe's moonish desires which are especially lunatic. The creative fantasy of *Galatea* becomes an ordinary problem in *As You Like It*, which must be cured, counselled, resolved and brought into relationality: a 'lunacy [...] so ordinary'. In distinction from *Galatea*, *As You Like It* propounds the necessity of controlling 'lunatic' impulses and of regulating desire and fantasy.

The action in *Galatea* involves the fantastical elements of a collection of gods: Diana, Venus, Neptune, and Cupid, while the only god in *As You Like It* is Hymen, who orchestrates the marriages of the play:

> Here's eight that must take hands
> To join in Hymen's bands,
> If truth holds true contents. (5.4.112-114)

In *Galatea*, 'Hymen' is not one of the gods, but a song, which Rafe, Robin and Dick (the miller's sons) promise to perform ('basely') before the marriage, which suggestively occurs after the end of the play (5.3.208, 5.3.203). The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites 1615 as the first usage of hymen in English as 'the virginal membrane', in Helkiah Crooke's *Μικροκοσμογραφια: a description of the*

body of man, but Jelto Drenth notes that Andreas Vesalius was using it in this sense from 1537.[29] Marie H. Laughlin notes that 'the debate over the veracity of this powerful and pervasive cultural fiction [of the hymen] is a concern of anatomists and physicians from at least the late sixteenth century'.[30] Connotations of prescriptive and constructed biological determinism of gendered and sexual states surround this use of Hymen in *As You Like It* and the notion that 'truth holds true contents'. Hymen, 'god of every town', presides over the ending of *As You Like It*, officiating and regulating both the unions which occur and the return from the forest into civilization (5.4.130). Like Neptune's virgin sacrifice and emphasis on 'maiden's blood' in *Galatea*, Hymen enforces a societally constructed 'nature' which punishes unmatchability and demands an even set of male-female matches (5.3.17-18). Phoebe is only one of the characters in *As You Like It* whose potential for unmatchability is eradicated by the 'full stream of the world' (recalling Lyly's emblematically heterosexual flood) as these unions insist on a reversion to Rosalind/Ganymede's prescribed gender role and the compliance of Celia/Aliena (3.3.345-46).[31] Hymen is the only manifestation of Rosalind/Ganymede's promised 'magic' and he is unfortunately uninterested in transformation (5.2.48). It is Hymen who orchestrates the marriage of Phoebe and Silvius with: 'You to his love must accord, | Or have a woman to your lord' (5.4.117-18). It is also Hymen who decrees that this is the 'truth', and that this truth erases both Phoebe's love for Rosalind/Ganymede and her previous state of chastity. Yielding her own desires, Phoebe 'must accord' with those of someone else. The gender transformation of *Galatea* can be glimpsed in the alternative option posed to Phoebe but 'hav[ing] a woman to your lord' is no longer a viable solution. The deified version of Hymen in *As You Like It* looks to the alternative world where he is not a god (the world in *Galatea*). He looks back to Lyly's play in which this prescribed truth that requires heterosexual unions and static gender-configurations does not '[hold] true contents' and in which Phoebe's unmatchability would be possible.

[29] 'Hymen', *n*., *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com> [accessed 8th December 2016]. Jelto Drenth, *The Origin of the World: Science and Fiction of the Vagina* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2005), p. 68.
[30] Marie H. Loughlin, *Hymeneutics: Interpreting Virginity on the Early Modern Stage* (London: Associated University Presses, 1997), p. 30.
[31] For work on the self-alienation and ultimate compliance to heterosexual pairings of Celia/Aliena see Vin Nardizzi, 'Shakespeare's Queer Pastoral Ecology: Alienation around Arden', *Interdisciplinary Studies in Literature and Environment*, 23.3 (Summer, 2016), 564-82.

Conclusion. 'If I were a woman': The Epilogues

Within Hymen's normalizing phrases ('if sight and shape [...]', 'if truth [...]') are the conditional 'ifs', which, as Tracey Sedinger has pointed out, '[open] up a space'.[32] Despite the normalizing forces at work, Shakespeare leaves room for these to be unpacked and questioned. Rosalind/Ganymede's 'If I were a woman' in the epilogue poses a similar possibility (Epilogue.13). Like Phoebe's desires, the reality of Rosalind/Ganymede's gender has also been subject to the normalizing force of the play's conclusion. The return of a prescriptive biological determinism especially manifests itself in Orlando sending the 'bloody napkin' via Oliver and Rosalind/Ganymede swooning (4.3.88, 4.3.152). As Will Fisher notes, the early modern handkerchief plays a role in 'the ideological production of the female body as a "leaky vessel"' and helps to produce an 'entirely stereotypical ideology of femininity' through being put 'into the hands of women over and over again'.[33] The point at which Rosalind/Ganymede receives the handkerchief is also when Oliver asks them are 'You a man?' (4.3.158). This moment asks whether Rosalind/Ganymede faints due to an inability to conceal feminine identity or due to an inability to conceal love for Orlando but it also draws an equivalency between the two. The bloody handkerchief is a fundamental and visceral piece of evidence which represents a constructed biological proof about the way that gender and relationships are meant to be properly performed, in keeping with Hymen and a ritualistic breaking of female chastity. But Rosalind/Ganymede's fainting also marks a moment of horror at this biological determinism and the limitations that it is about to put onto the play. Like Phoebe's coming to earth, Rosalind's abandonment of Ganymede in the next act is also an abandonment of her 'moonish youth' (and about ten years after the play's first performances, 'Ganymede' was to become the name of a moon of Jupiter, 3.3.338).[34] Rosalind/Ganymede's fainting represents a turn away from the play's hypotext of *Galatea* in which nothing could be anything.

When Rosalind/Ganymede looks back to their imagined 'moonish youth', in which they were 'change-able, longing and liking, proud, fantastical, apish, shallow, inconstant, full of tears, full of smiles […] as boys and women are, for the most part, cattle of this colour' (3.3.338-42), they recall Lyly's theatrical experiment performed by Paul's Boys. In another specific moment of

[32] Tracey Sedinger, '"If Sight and Shape be True": The Epistemology of Cross-Dressing on the Early Modern Stage', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 48.1 (1997), 63-73 (72).
[33] Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern English Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 55, p. 57.
[34] John North, *The Norton History of Astronomy and Cosmology* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1995; first pub, 1994), p. 329.

hypertexuality, *Galatea* is once again figured as a part of a character's imaginative landscape. This youth is a fantasy of Rosalind/Ganymede, an invented past which is part of his game of 'seeming' with Orlando. At the same time, Rosalind/Ganymede describes a catalogue of modes of acting, specifically by a boys' company. Reflecting on the interchangeability of boys and women, Rosalind/Ganymede points backwards to the performative version of gender explored in *Galatea*. Catherine Belsey argues that Rosalind/Ganymede's connection of changeability to womanhood contradicts an idea that womanhood is fixed and suggests an ability to be liberated from the gendered self: 'to be capable of a radical discontinuity which repudiates these defining characteristics'.[35] This power of gender evasion that is afforded to the 'moonish youth' by Rosalind/Ganymede is eminently theatrical—the ability to be both a woman and not a woman at the same time is the province of the early modern boy actor. While in *Galatea*, the absence of a hegemonic truth that 'holds true contents' is part of the rules of the play-world itself, the conditional 'if' is unpacked in *As You Like It* through the mechanics of theatre.

The two epilogues of the plays make this difference clear:

> Go all, 'tis I only that conclude all. You ladies may see that Venus can make constancy fickleness, courage cowardice, modesty lightness, working things impossible in your sex and tampering hardest hearts like softest wool. Yield, ladies, yield to love, ladies, which lurketh under your eyelids whilst you sleep and playeth with your heartstrings whilst you wake; whose sweetness never breedeth satiety, labour-weariness, nor grief-bitterness. Cupid was begotten in a mist, nursed in clouds, and sucking only upon conceits. Confess him a conqueror whom ye ought to regard, sith it is unpossible to resist; for this is infallible, that love conquereth all things but itself, and ladies all hearts but their own.
> (Galatea/Tityrus, Epilogue.10-14)

> It is not the fashion to see the lady the Epilogue, but it is no more unhandsome than to see the lord the Prologue [...] My way is to conjure you and I'll begin with the women. I charge you, O women, for the love you bear to men, to like as much of this play as please you. – And I charge you, O men, for the love you bear to women – as I perceive by your simpering none of you hates them – that between you and the women the play may please. If I were a woman, I would kiss as many of you as had beards that pleased me, complexions that liked me, and breaths that I defied not.
> (Rosalind/Ganymede, Epilogue.1-15)

The epilogues of *Galatea* and *As You Like It* are both spoken by female characters, although the genders of these characters are uncertain. In *As You Like It*, Rosalind/Ganymede alludes to the

[35] Catherine Belsey, 'Disrupting Sexual Difference: Meaning and Gender in the Comedies', in *Alternative Shakespeares*, ed. John Drakakis (London and New York: Routledge, 1985), pp. 166-90 (p. 182).

unusualness of this, beginning with 'It is not the fashion to see the lady the Epilogue', while Galatea/Tityrus begins with an expression that might indicate they alone are appropriate for the job: 'Go all, 'tis I only that conclude all'. 'The fashion' of a male character having the last word is ignored in *Galatea*, while it is exposed (and undermined) in *As You Like It*. Flavia, in *Every Woman in her Humour* (1609), later relates that it is also rare to assign the prologue to a female character, calling herself 'a she Prologue as rare as a usurer's alms'.[36] The positioning of a female character at the margins between the play-world and life that goes on around it is here self-consciously unusual, prolonging the fluidity of actors' genders at this point of transition between on and off stage.

Both the epilogues of Galatea/Tityrus and Rosalind/Ganymede are not entirely female. Galatea/Tityrus separates themselves from the recipients of the address to 'You ladies', referring to 'your sex' (Epilogue.1, Epilogue.4) and not their own, while Rosalind/Ganymede, with 'If I were a woman' (Epilogue.13), even more explicitly indicates an alienation from the female gender, perhaps signalling the undressing of the boy-actor playing a woman.[37] According to Pamela Allen Brown, for instance, 'Rosalind boldly removes her gender mask, in a joke that seems artlessly unrehearsed'.[38] Rosalind/Ganymede's separation from the female role exposes the constructed unreality of theatre, following on from their statement that 'good plays prove the better by the help of good Epilogues' (Epilogue.4-5), which breaks down and itemizes the art of theatrical illusion. Galatea/Tityrus's distance from the female in her epilogue, after the promise of Venus to turn either them or Phillida into a man in the final scene, could instead indicate the continuation of the theatrical reality of this transformation after the conclusion of the play proper, and into the direct address to the audience. Galatea/Tityrus's plea to the ladies in the audience that they 'yield to love', is often interpreted as a petition for Elizabeth to marry in the context of court performance (Epilogue.5).[39] However, Diana's yielding to love in the play certainly did not legitimate societally sanctioned structures of marriage but instead made 'impossible' gender transition and desire outside of heteronormativity possible. The 'love' that was worth yielding to emerged as something

[36] Anon., *Every Woman in her Humor* (London: 1609) <https://archive.org/stream/everywomaninherh28unknuoft#page/n13/mode/2up> [accessed 14th November 2016], img. 14. Also, Dusinberre writes regarding *As You Like It*, '[t]he only other play in the period in which a woman speaks an epilogue is Lyly's *Galatea*, and Galatea addresses the "ladies and gentlemen" of the court deferentially, where Rosalind's insouciant offering of kisses to women and men might have trodden on a royal toe', p. 42.

[37] Hattaway, p. 213, note 13.

[38] Pamela Allen Brown, '"Cattle of this colour": Boying the Diva in *As You Like It*', *Early Theatre*, 15.1 (2012), 145-66 (159).

[39] See Hunter, 'Introduction', p. 5. He also notes it is strange the Epilogue does not mention 'your highness', *Galatea*, p. 108, note 1-13.

inchoate and unmediated by societal demands. In the epilogue, such modes of making anything out of nothing are regarded as 'unpossible to resist'. Instead of pressurizing audience members to conform to heterosexual monogamy, Galatea/Tityrus here encourages what surfaced in *Galatea* (the transformative potential of ladies' desires on hegemonic views of 'nature') to continue beyond the world of the play into lived life. This prolonged imagination is involved with bringing the moon to earth and moving its allegorical counterpart, Elizabeth I. It does not legitimate power structures, however, but instead encourages an imaginative reconstruction of them.

The epilogue of *As You Like It* also looks backwards into its play's experimentation with non-normative modes of being. This epilogue could be regarded as a last ditch attempt to recover the flexible gender and sexuality in *As You Like It* that the play's conclusion corrects: 'If I were a woman, I would kiss as many of you as had beards that pleased me, complexions that liked me, and breaths that I defend not' (Epilogue.13-15). Rosalind/Ganymede's undressing, with the conditional 'were', combines an acknowledgement of both the difficulty for a woman to assert control over her own sexuality and the desire of the male actor for members of the audience with beards. Rosalind/Ganymede's epilogue, unlike Galatea/Tityrus's, ends with an acknowledgement of the howling desires which have not been fulfilled. Galatea/Tityrus is more prescriptive, targeting 'ladies' and demanding that they 'yield' and allow themselves to be dominated in a way which arguably insists upon their passivity. But Lyly's 'conqueror' is a nebulous combination of desire and fantasy, above the earth. What is 'unpossible', according to Galatea/Tityrus, is to mentally accept the restrictions which *As You Like It* later highlights, and *Galatea* asks ladies to yield to their own imaginations which could liberate them from the gendered category of 'lady'. The epilogue to *Galatea* finds controlled and bounded love to be inadequate, offering a truly radical vision of imaginative and theatrical freedom. By setting up its possibility but refusing to catch the moon, *As You Like It* denies its audience what Shakespeare returns to later in his romances, and what T.G. Bishop calls 'a therapeutic magic against the freezing of the world [...] a desire to restore or refurbish a world that has somehow gone wrong, that has resisted or refused the touch of our need'.[40] However, while it may be therapeutic, this reconstruction of the world according to personal desires is perceived as dangerously similar to lunacy in *As You Like It.* The play recalls Lyly's radical vision and points to the limits of this mode of theatrical wonderment, asking if a fantastical reconstruction of an unsatisfying world is enough, and insisting that the imaginative freedom in *Galatea* is an imagined freedom.

[40] T.G. Bishop, *Shakespeare and the Theatre of Wonder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 16.

The plays expose these different approaches to theatrical imagination through their different incarnations of the moon-character and the way in which these are brought to earth. The encounter between Phoebe and the world in *As You Like It* indicates that yielding necessitates sacrifice and a loss of unmatchability. On the other hand, in *Galatea*, Diana's yielding is a liberating rather than restrictive process which allows the characters on stage to evade fixed identities and to explore non-normative forms of relationality. Here the encounter between moon and earth has a transformative effect on nature. Shakespeare's adaptation of Lyly's moon-character into Phoebe is a disenfranchizement—it involves a closing down of the options presented by the more abstract Diana, whose selfhood remains out of reach for an audience living within power structures organised through fixed identities (except perhaps for Elizabeth I). While in *Galatea*, Lyly might gloss over the realities of oppressive processes and systemic inequalities, this glossing is necessary in order to imagine a different version of the way life must be. In *As You Like It*, however, performance legitimates normative social structures. Shakespeare puts emphasis on the oppressive performance of matchability but risks silencing moonish desires in the process, and reinforcing the restrictive parameters of what is considered 'natural'.

Chapter 3. 'A coat to [fit] her form': Voyaging to the Moon-character in Lyly's *Endymion: The Man in the Moon* (*c.* 1588) and Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c.* 1595)

In Lyly's *Endymion: The Man in the Moon* (*c*. 1588), Cynthia, the moon-character, is described as 'never to be measured', as 'no man knoweth […] a coat to [fit] her form' (3.4.181, 1.1.26). This chapter explores how Cynthia, as an immeasurable moon-character, poses a challenge to static genre and theatrical logistics in this play. It goes on to look at the way in which Cynthia's generic instability is 'grafted' onto Titania, the moon-character in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c.* 1595), who, however, cannot escape the parameters of the comedy that she inhabits.[1] This chapter looks at drama at court as performed at the centre of political decision-making and questions critical narratives that view panegyric as necessarily regressive or conservative. It explores how genre, specifically comedy and its orthodoxy of marriage, maps onto the moon-character. As in my last chapter, I look at these two plays in hypertextual relationship with one another, examining Shakespeare's reformulation, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, of Lyly's treatment of the encounter with the moon-character in *Endymion*. However, instead of these encounters involving the moon-character coming to earth (as in *Galatea* and *As You Like It*), the encounters in these plays consist of an earth-bound character voyaging to the moon. I will show how these moon voyages interact with travel-narratives and the operations of colonialism in the way that they frame sexual and relational difference. While Cynthia and Titania are characters that broadly represent the moon as a classical model of female personhood, Endymion, in Lyly's *Endymion*, and Bottom, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, both undertake metaphoric voyages to the moon. These moon visitors are indicative of a different type of moon-person—the folkloric male inhabitant of the moon—but, through encounter, they also access the generic ambiguity of Cynthia and Titania. In *Endymion*, this transformational encounter is utopian—it results in Endymion becoming a moon-character himself, and becoming immune (like Cynthia) to the restrictions of static genre and relational norms. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, however, it results in Titania becoming more like Bottom, and succumbing to a conventional generic and relational role. Finally, through his metatheatrical exploration of the moon on stage with Starveling's Moonshine, Shakespeare suggests there are pragmatic problems with Lyly's utopian thinking and 'genrelessness'.

[1] Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997; first pub. 1982), p. 5.

This chapter therefore explores the relationship between genre and social orthodoxy, looking particularly at the relationship between comedy and marriage as something enforced and transactional. It looks at how generic categorisation intersects with traditional gender roles and relationships. Andrew Stott argues that 'we may view comedy's representation of gender roles, especially in narratives that conclude in marriage, as confirmations of culturally orthodox views of the nature of men and women'.[2] He writes that 'traditional comedy is largely plot driven, moving towards ritualistic resolutions such as feasts, marriages, or revelations'.[3] In this chapter, I focus on the movement towards 'ritualistic resolution' and marriage especially as comedic norm. The 'ritualistic resolution' of marriage that might come at the end of comedy is imbued with an idea of calmness and order in the early modern period, as in one of Thomas Heywood's definitions of the genre: 'Comedies begin in trouble, and end in peace'.[4] As Jill Levenson writes, however, there is 'a spectrum of comic forms' and '[m]ost dramatists regularly ignored [the] norms' that were devised 'sporadically' by early modern English critics.[5] But both *Endymion* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* conform and deviate from this specific norm of movement towards 'peace' and its undertones of marital order to reveal broader ideas about early modern relationality. Lucy Munro writes that an audience 'must […] catch particular generic indications and be alert as to whether a genre is being played "straight" or being parodied'.[6] 'Straight' is the operative word. This chapter concerns itself with whether genre is being played 'straight' or not, although the alternative does not always have to be parody. Movement towards ritualistic resolution involves a generic time-scheme, which has parallels to José Esteban Muñoz's formulation of 'straight time'—a linear time-scheme which requires a person to pass through the normative rituals of growing up, getting married, having children: '[s]traight time tells us that there is no future but the here and now of our everyday life. The only futurity promised is that of reproductive majoritarian heterosexuality, the spectacle of the state refurbishing its ranks through overt and subsidised acts of reproduction'.[7] However, queer temporality deviates from this: 'we might think of a stepping out of time and place, leaving the here

[2] Andrew Stott, *Comedy* (New York and London: Routledge, 2005), p. 63.
[3] Stott, p. 41.
[4] Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors* (London: 1612) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 16th March 2019], img. 51.
[5] Jill Levenson, 'Comedy', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*, ed. A. R. Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990; repr. 1994), pp. 263-300 (pp. 263-64, p. 263).
[6] Lucy Munro, '*The Knight of the Burning Pestle* and Generic Experimentation', in *Early Modern English Drama: A Critical Companion*, ed. Garrett A. Sullivan, Jr., Patrick Cheney, and Andrew Hadfield (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 189-99 (p. 192).
[7] José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2009), p. 22. See also J. Halberstam, 'Keeping Time with Lesbians on Ecstasy', *Journal of Gender and Culture*, 11 (2007), 51-58.

and now of straight time for a then and there of queer futurity'.[8] Again, this is a form of utopian thinking, which 'combat[s] the devastating logic of the world of the here and now'.[9] Here, I also use 'utopian thinking' in the way it has been defined by Ruth Levitas: 'the human propensity to long for and imagine a life otherwise', which is 'an unavoidable and indispensable element in the production of the future'.[10] Utopia in this sense is not a static, complete, and harmonious world which is markedly either 'good' or 'bad', but a step in the process of change. This chapter examines how the moon-character in *Endymion* might be considered utopian, then, because of its interaction with private imaginative space and its presentation of an optimism about the potential of change involved with the evasion of specific dramatic generic category. I argue that, in these two plays, the possibility of 'stepping out' of linear 'straight' time manifests as metaphoric voyages to the 'immeasurable' moon. This 'immeasurable' moon occupies a 'stance apart', and has the potential to be immune from the constrictions of genre and, by extension, from gendered and relational norms. For Lyly, this utopianism is a form of political engagement—a mode of posing different futurities through imagination. The chapter then goes on to look at how the moon in all its forms in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* serves to covertly recall, especially to a courtly audience, a Lylian past that embraces the qualities of immeasurability and aspirational space. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, through recalling the possibility of *Endymion*, Shakespeare dramatizes the painful process of a return to fixity, to nuptials, and to the order of conventional comedy.

Because I am examining moon voyages, the chapter looks at the moon in spatial relationship with the earth through 'cosmic kinship', as I explored in my introduction.[11] Gillian Knoll has emphasized the strangeness of Endymion's 'monstrous' desire (according to his friend, Eumenides) for a Cynthia who is also an object, 'a giant rock in the sky'.[12] Here, I do not focus on the 'thingness' of the moon-character, but its spatial co-ordinates as potential habitation. As I explored in my introduction, the moon was emerging as a site for literary other worlds in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, in texts such as Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso* (1516-32; cantos 33-36); Johannes Keppler's *Somnium* (started in 1593 and published posthumously in 1634); Ben Jonson's masque, *News from the New World Discovered on the Moon* (performed 1620); Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moone* (1638);

[8] Muñoz, p. 185.
[9] Muñoz, p. 12.
[10] Ruth Levitas, *Utopia as Method: the Imaginary Reconstruction of Society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 5, p. 6.
[11] Lisa Messeri, 'Tidally Locked: Lunar Constructions of a Planetary Imagination', lecture given at *Interstellar skies: The Lunar Passage in Literature through the Ages Conference* (Center for Medieval Literature, Hven, Sweden, 2018).
[12] Gillian Knoll, 'How To Make Love to the Moon: Intimacy and Erotic Distance in John Lyly's Endymion', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 65.2 (Summer 2014) <www.proquest.com> [accessed 23rd July 2017], 164-79 (164).

and John Wilkins's *The Discovery of a World on the Moon* (1640). There was also classical precedent for considering the moon as potentially habitable, such as Aristotle's *De Caelo* (350 BCE) and Plutarch's *De Facie in Orbe Lunae* (94 CE). In this chapter, I look at the moon-voyage tradition in Lucian of Samosata's *True History* (from the second century, translated into Latin in the early sixteenth century) and in Michael Drayton's poem *Endimion and Phoebe* (1595, after *Endymion* and contemporaneous with *A Midsummer Night's Dream*), to illuminate my readings of voyaging to the moon-character in *Endymion* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. In both these texts, Endymion, the mythical lover of the moon, undergoes a lunar voyage which intersects with travel literature and discourse on colonialism. Looking at Lyly's play through these texts, I explore how Endymion's 'voyage', in *Endymion*, also interacts with these discourses. Lyly uses the moon as an experimental alternative space in which the regulations of societies on earth can be manipulated. Lucian's *True History* begins with the narrator telling the reader 'do not believe a word I say' and presents what Chloe Houston calls a 'satire of travel literature as a genre' concurrent with sixteenth- and seventeenth-century renditions of utopia, which fluctuate between evoking absurdity and possibility.[13] Lyly uses this device in *Endymion*, explaining in the prologue that this is 'a Tale of the Man in the Moon', a proverbial indicator for an absurd tale.[14] However, I argue, through the relationship between Endymion and Cynthia, he takes the immeasurable character/habitation of the moon out of the realm of ridiculousness and into possibility, using utopian thinking as political action. I show how *A Midsummer Night's Dream* looks back towards *Endymion* through its representation of the moon-voyage. This is Shakespeare's most moonish play, containing over forty variations on 'moon', and as such cannot escape identification with the moonish playwright Lyly and the paradigmatic encounter between man and moon in *Endymion*. This encounter, I argue, is grafted upon the more monstrous and sexualised encounter between Titania and Bottom in Titania's lunar bower. Colonial narratives are particularly present in Bottom's voyage to the moon. The process of considering the moon as potentially habitable was a partly colonial exercise—William Gilbert named part of the moon's surface 'Britannia', for instance, in his maps of the moon (prepared in the 1590s, published 1631).[15] Ania Loomba points out how in early modern England: '[r]acial difference was

[13] Lucian of Samosata, 'True History', trans. David Lear (ed.), in *True History and Other Early Science Fiction Tales* (Firestone Books, 2013), p. 86. Chloë Houston, 'Travelling Nowhere: Global Utopias in the Early Modern Period', *A Companion to the Global Renaissance: English Literature and Culture in the Era of Expansion*, ed. Jyotsna G. Singh (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009) pp. 82-98 (p. 86).

[14] See Morris Palmer Tilley, *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 1950) <https://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001111462>, M240. David Cressy writes '[a]udiences from Shakespeare to Behn understood that they were engaged with a comedy whenever there was a reference to "the man in the moon"', 'Early Modern Space Travel and the English Man in the Moon', *The American Historical Review*, 111.4 (2006), 961-82 (962).

[15] See Scott L. Montgomery, *The Moon and the Western Imagination* (Arizona: University of Arizona Press, 1999), pp. 98-101.

imagined in terms of an inversion or distortion of "normal" gender roles and sexual behaviour […] Patriarchal domination and gender inequality provided a model for establishing (and were themselves reinforced by) racial hierarchies and colonial domination'.[16] While in *Endymion*, Lyly presents a 'distortion' of conventional gender roles and sexual behaviour on the moon as utopian, Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* regards this distortion as something foreign and colonisable.

Aside from the pervasive moon imagery in both plays, *Endymion* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* have been read in conjunction due to a number of textual and structural similarities.[17] These include the presence of fairies in both; the comic figures of Sir Tophas and Bottom; the lunary herb in *Endymion* and the flowers, love-in-idleness and Dian's bud in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*; recurrent motifs of sleep and dreams; and the fight between Scintilla and Favilla in *Endymion* and between Helena and Hermia in *A Midsummer Night's Dream.* Often these readings assert Lyly's cultural conservatism and Shakespeare's progressivism. Sharon Rose Yang, for instance, incorporates discussion on Lyly's *Endymion* and Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* in the same chapter to illustrate representations of what she calls 'the female pastoral guide' as queens and goddesses in drama.[18] Although her examination is not comparative, her discussion draws attention to parallels between the two plays with particular focus on the characters of Cynthia and Titania (examining Cynthia in relation to the moon but not Titania).[19] Her argument follows a conventional critical

[16] Ania Loomba, *Shakespeare, Race and Colonialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 7.
[17] *Endymion* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* tend not to be placed together as much as *Galatea* (*c*. 1584) and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which is considered as a key source by Leah Scragg, for instance, in *The Metamorphosis of Gallathea: A Study in Creative Adaptation* (Washington: University Press of American, 1982). See also Peter Holland, 'Introduction', *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994; repr. 2008) p. 1-117 (pp. 100-1) and Janet Clare, *Shakespeare's Stage Traffic: Imitation, Borrowing and Competition in the Renaissance Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 115-24. Lyly's *Sapho and Phao* (*c*. 1584) and his *The Woman in the Moon* (*c.* 1588) have also been looked at comparatively with *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, as potential sources of its dream-frame in the epilogue (Holland, pp. 17-18). In the nineteenth century, N.J. Halpin puts the two plays into relationship with one another with focus on mapping the plays onto Elizabethan court romance. He decodes the plays in terms of their relationship to Elizabethan court intrigue and romance: Lyly's Cynthia equals Shakespeare's Moon equals Queen Elizabeth; Lyly's Tellus equals Shakespeare's Earth equals the Countess of Sheffield; Lyly's Floscula equals the little flower equals the Countess of Essex; Lyly's Endymion equals Shakespeare's Cupid equals the Earl of Leicester, *Oberon's Vision in the* Midsummer-Night's Dream*: Illustrated by a Comparison with Lylie's Endymion* (London: Printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1843), p. 87. The two plays continue to tend to be read together in an Elizabethan context if they are read together at all. See Phillipa Berry, *Of Chastity and Power: Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen* (London: Routledge, 1989; repr. 1994), pp. 127-30, pp. 143-46; Louis A Montrose, 'A Kingdom of Shadows', in *A Midsummer Night's Dream: Critical Essays*, ed. Dorothea Kehler (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1980), pp. 217-40 (p. 226).
[18] Sharon Rose Yang, *Goddesses, Mages, and Wise Women: The Female Pastoral Guide in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth- Century English Drama* (Selinsgrove: Susquehanna University Press, 2011), p. 15.
[19] Yang, p. 110.

formula, rooted in historical canonicity, of seeing Shakespeare as the more liberal playwright who deviates from established misogynistic conventions. While *Endymion* asserts the 'preeminence of men in the gender hierarchy', *A Midsummer Night's Dream* 'treat[s] the woman's voice not as something to be enslaved but to be listened to with tolerance or even respect'.[20] Phillipa Berry has related the differing portrayals of the moon in these plays to changing perceptions of Elizabeth I, regarding *Endymion* as a play which provides a less complicated court panegyric than the more radical political critique of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The moon, in the 1580s, according to Berry was 'the privileged emblem of [Elizabeth's] courtly cult'.[21] She argues that the image has an allegorical stability which becomes more fractured in the 1590s, as Elizabeth's chastity along with the queen's ageing body cause increasing political unease.[22] For Berry, the decentring of the queen and growing allegorical instability of the moon culminates in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: 'the play's events […] occur in the dark phase of the moon, the phase associated with that aspect of Diana or Cynthia as lunar deity which was most difficult to idealize – Hecate, goddess of witchcraft, death, and the underworld'.[23] In general, Titania has been viewed as a darker, more political, or less affixed rendition of Elizabeth than Lyly's Cynthia.[24] Often in critical analysis, the conservatism of these plays correlates with the perceived allegorical stability of the moon within them and with the relative straightforwardness of its evocation of person. In contrast to the critical precedent, this chapter argues that Lyly's *Endymion* establishes an optimistic reading of an unstable moon-character involved in the production of utopian versions of the future—an ability to change the future through dreaming.

The idea that the moon is allegorically unstable in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* dates back (at least) to Caroline Spurgeon's seminal *Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Tells Us* (1935). In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Spurgeon viewed the moon as a diluted background image, which, rather than evoking something specific about Shakespeare's personality (as Spurgeon generally uses the imagery she discusses to illustrate), 'partly supplies the dreaming and enchanted quality of the play'.[25] In

[20] Yang, pp. 98-136, p. 100.
[21] Berry, p. 111.
[22] Berry, p. 111.
[23] Berry, p. 144.
[24]Montrose writes 'Like Lyly's *Endymion*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is permeated by images and devices that suggest characteristic forms of Elizabethan court culture. However, Shakespeare's ostensibly courtly wedding play is neither focused on the queen nor structurally dependent on her actual presence and intervention in the action', p. 226; Holland writes that Titania relates to 'the multiplicity of the nature of Diana', and the triptych goddess of the moon, Hecate, p. 32.
[25] Caroline Spurgeon, *Shakespeare's Imagery and What it Tells Us* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1935; repr. 1991), p. 261.

contrast, the moon has been mapped unproblematically onto a person in Lyly's *Endymion*. N.J. Halpin's exhaustive exploration of the play as court allegory in the mid-nineteenth century has had a lasting influence on the critical reception of *Endymion*.[26] In viewing the play as court panegyric, critics have regarded the moon as essentially a metonym for both the character of Cynthia and Queen Elizabeth. Focus on *Endymion* as political allegory by Louis A. Montrose and Berry, for instance, presupposes straightforward connections between the moon, Cynthia, and Elizabeth I without scrutinising the ways in which these links vacillate and untether themselves at certain moments in the drama.[27] I will argue that, in both plays, the moon functions as a character and a habitation, rather than as a nebulous part of the backdrop or a straightforward court code. In the first part of this chapter, I argue that the unique instability of the moon in an allegorical function is established in Lyly's play rather than through the deviations of Shakespeare in the context of an ageing queen. In *Endymion*, this instability (or immeasurability) is a feature of the moon-character which makes it utopian and liberates it from genre. This freedom in turn depends, as we will see, on the impenetrable and private imaginative space offered by the moon as place. For Lyly, the allegoric instability of the moon is useful rather than problematic—it offers a site on which to project personal fantasy which is not confined by the regulations of the earth or the categorizations of genre. Through this site, Lyly offers a vision of alternative futures. In the second part of this chapter, I show how Shakespeare, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, offers a sceptical challenge to Lyly's utopian character. The intricately interwoven relationship between moon-place and moon-person crafted by Lyly is here fractured further into a proliferation of more diffuse lunar imagery of moonlight, moonshine, and moonbeams. At the same time, I argue that *A Midsummer Night's Dream* works to stabilize and chart the moon-character through the imposition of the generic markers of comedic drama, involving a return to order through heterosexual union. Shakespeare frames the non-normative genre and relationality that the moon-character promotes through colonial discourse. The immeasurable moon gets mapped—foreignized, possessed, and brought into order. Finally, in my conclusion, I show how Starveling's Moonshine poses a unique challenge to Lyly's utopian moon-character, emphasizing the problems with its mechanical representation on the stage and with its optimistic vision of the future.

[26] See footnote 17. Referring to N. J. Halpin's work, Michael Pincombe writes that 'modern studies may be said to have begun—in 1843—with the "application" of Lyly's most famous play', *The Plays of John Lyly: Eros and Eliza* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996), p. 79.

[27] Berry writes, regarding *Endymion*, '[i]n representing Elizabeth as the moon, Lyly evidently wished to stress her saint-like transcendence', p. 129. Montrose writes that Cynthia is 'a transparent allegorical representation of the queen', p. 226.

Part 1. 'Why, here is a tale of the Man in the Moon': Cynthia and Endymion in *Endymion: The Man in the Moon*

Moonishness frames *Endymion*'s experimentation with genre. The Prologue expands on the subtitle of *Endymion*, 'The Man in the Moon': 'We present neither comedy, nor tragedy, nor story, nor anything, but that whosoever heareth may say this: "Why, here is a tale of the Man in the Moon"' (Prologue.9-12). Although criticism on *Endymion* has been included in introductions to early modern 'comedies', critics have noted the way that Lyly's plays have a complicated relationship with genre, using, for instance, Lyly's terms 'gallimaufry', 'hodgepodge' and 'mingle-mangle', in the Prologue to his *Midas* (*c*. 1589), to evoke generic experimentation.[28] However, critics have not looked at the way in which Lyly's phrase, 'a tale of the Man in the Moon', offers up an evasion of genre that centres on the figure of the moon in encounter. Andy Kesson has recently written about critical misconceptions of rigid genre definitions in the pre-Shakespeare period, arguing that 'comedy' was often synonymous with 'story' or 'play', and that genre at this point 'existed in multiple; sometimes contradictory concepts'.[29] Lyly's 'neither comedy, nor tragedy' is an example of this multifaceted approach to genre in the 1580s, but it is also an explicit evasion of a pre-existing notion of genre as attempt to categorize drama. Following on from the Prologue and its direct connection between genre evasion and the moon, Cynthia, the moon-character in *Endymion*, is the nexus of this uncategorisability in the play—as I explored above, Eumenides complains that she it is 'impossible […] to make love fit to her humour', as 'no man knoweth […] a coat to [fit] her form' (1.1.25, 1.1.26). For Eumenides, she poses a problem to generic drama but also to staging more generally on a literal level—what costume could the actor of Cynthia wear that would represent the physical fluidity of this character? With Eumenides' complaints about Endymion's 'monstrous' love of the moon, the play calls into question whether the immeasurable moon-character, with no genre to confine her, is something that can be staged (1.1.50). They suggest that the play's imaginative experimentation with 'genrelessness' might go too far. But Endymion rebuts Eumenides' concerns. Any movement

[28] *Endymion* is discussed in Alexander Legatt, *Introduction to English Renaissance Comedy* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), pp. 12-26 and Levenson's 'Comedy', pp. 270-72. Levenson writes '[a]ll in all the genre of English Renaissance comedy proved in itself to be a mingle-mangle which represented the hodgepodge of contemporary life, a gallimaufry which satisfied its age', p. 299. Jeffrey Masten uses 'gallimaufry', 'hodgepodge' and 'mingle-mangle' as examples of words which describe Philip Sidney's 'mongrel genres', in *Queer Philologies: Sex, Language, and Affect in Shakespeare's Time* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), pp. 197-97. Robert Weimann also writes of 'Lyly's gallimaufry of generic kinds', *Authority and Representation in Early Modern Discourse*, ed. David Hillman (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996), p. 196.

[29] Andy Kesson, 'Generic Excitement', *Before Shakespeare* (27/04/2017) <https://beforeshakespeare.com/2017/04/27/generic-excitement> [accessed 1st September 2017].

towards the 'ritualistic resolution' of the comedic form is disrupted by Cynthia's atemporality—her ability to renew her youth and turn back time—which Endymion regards as Cynthia's 'greatest virtue […] What thing, my mistress excepted, being in the pride of her beauty and latter minute of her age, that waxeth young again?' (1.1.57-59).

For Endymion, the immeasurability of the moon-character is what makes her so appealing. It is the inability to fit her form into genre and its time-scheme, her 'increasing and decreasing', which he admires about her: 'There is nothing thought more admirable or commendable in the sea than the ebbing and flowing; and shall the moon from whom the sea taketh this virtue, be accounted fickle for increasing and decreasing?' (1.1.28-30). Endymion's argument reclaims a notion of inconstancy and fickleness, pejoratively associated with women, into something commendable. He connects Cynthia's 'increasing and decreasing' to an evasion of sexual violence—Endymion argues: 'O Cynthia, if thou shouldst always continue at thy fulness, both gods and men would conspire to ravish thee. But thou, to abate the pride of our affections, dost detract from thy perfections, thinking it sufficient if once in a month we enjoy a glimpse of thy majesty […]' (1.1.48-50). Through immeasurability, Cynthia is invulnerable to 'ravishment'. Vulnerability to sexual violence, on the other hand, is implicitly linked to being a woman of the earth, with its systems of relationality which regard women as objects of exchange, involved in the comedic drive toward 'ritualistic resolution' in the form of marriage. Tellus, Latin for earth, is another character in *Endymion*, Cynthia's antithesis, who seeks to marry Endymion, and enacts 'revenge' on him when he does not reciprocate (1.2.3). Tethered to the earth and its relational norms, Tellus does not have Cynthia's 'majesty', as there is 'not one in the world can imitate it or comprehend it' (Endymion, 2.3.19-20). Unlike Cynthia, Tellus does not have immeasurability—she is confined by the rules on earth, which demand her submission to a male partner—and rather than having no 'coat' to fit her, she is used by Endymion 'but as a cloak for mine affections' (2.1.26). Concerned with linear temporality, Tellus complains about the way in which Endymion spends his time thinking of Cynthia: 'The prime of his youth and pride of his time shall be spent in melancholy passions, careless behaviour, untamed thoughts, and unbridled affections' (1.2.185-88). Cynthia works as a counterforce against the demands of a 'straight time', and traditional modes of relationality, as Endymion tells her in the fifth act: 'The time was, madam, and is, and ever shall be, that I honoured Your Highness above all the world, but to stretch it so far as to call it love I never durst' (5.4.157-59). Endymion's feelings towards Cynthia, which he cannot articulate with the traditional language of 'love', are free from the restrictions of linear time. The relationship between Endymion and Cynthia evades the comedic genre and proposes an alternative future which is not delineated through milestones of relational orthodoxy.

Crucially, the other relationships in the play, between earth-bound characters, result in marriages at the end of *Endymion* that are all crudely enforced and non-consensual—Endymion and Cynthia are the only characters who are spared the fate of a marriage that looks like punishment and confinement. Semele would 'rather choose to have [her] tongue cut out' than marry Eumenides; Tellus agrees to marry Corsites with 'the picture of Endymion' that she wrought in confinement, to 'possess and play withal'; and Geron agrees to marry Dipsas, on the condition that she '[forsakes] that lewd and detestable course' of witchcraft (5.4.221; 5.4.264, 5.4.266; 5.4.279-80). Lyly evokes the 'genrelessness' of the moon through an exaltation of an alternative mode of relationship to those typically found in the conclusions of comedy (hierarchized platonic male-male and sexual male-female bonds). Endymion's sleep during the course of the play renders him passive and vulnerable, and his relationship with Cynthia involves a fantasy of male submission to the female. His body remains covered on the stage, often as a 'felt but invisible presence behind [a] curtain', Bevington suggests, from the end of act two until act four, scene two.[30] This combination of Endymion's concealment and vulnerability in sleep reflects his relationship with the moon goddess. Eumenides decides to help Endymion rather than pursue his own romantic interests because the 'friendship of man to man [is] infinite, and immortal' (3.4.122-23). Geron, who plays the role of aged wisdom, imported from the prodigal son narrative, expands on this:

> Love is but an eye-worm […]; friendship the image of eternity, in which there is nothing movable, nothing mischievous. As much difference as there is between beauty and virtue, bodies and shadows, colours and life, so great odds is there between love and friendship (3.4.130-136).

Cynthia offers an alternative 'immortal' bond to the virtues of male-male friendship expounded by Geron and Eumenides—an asexual male-female relationship with inverted power dynamics. The love/friendship of Cynthia and Endymion brings together the apparently antonymic qualities which Geron uses to render love an insubstantial version of friendship. As the other characters marry and must prioritise romantic love over platonic, the relationship of Cynthia and Endymion occupies a space beyond these restrictive relational categories. As in Buchanan's masque, *Pompae Deorum in Nuptiis Mariae* (1565), explored in my introduction, the moon-character (now Cynthia) proposes an alternative to the enforced heterosexual monogamy associated with Tellus, the comedic 'ritualistic resolution', and the couples who are tethered to the earth. In a gender-reversal, Endymion becomes the bridal nymph rescued from marriage and relational conventionality. As Endymion rejects the earth (and Tellus), he rejects the imposition of the comedic return to order in favour of the moon

[30] Bevington (ed.), 'Introduction' to John Lyly, *Endymion* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996; repr. 2014), pp. 1-72 (p. 52).

and becomes a moon-character himself. The moon-characters' proudly unmarried end-states contrast with the unsatisfactory worldly relationships of the other couples.

Endymion accesses the moon-character and its 'genrelessness' through undertaking a moon-voyage. *Endymion* has an indeterminate setting, which contains the lunar space of the moon-bank (the hill covered in the lunary herb on which Endymion falls asleep). Shannon Kelley writes that '[i]f lunary seedpods were on stage with Endymion […] the effects would be spectacular: the disc-shaped seedpods would have mirrored the shape, light, and color of the moon and reflected the hall's candles'.[31] A reference to Cynthia's palace in the fourth act causes David Bevington to set the play 'at and near the court of Cynthia', and to suggest that a door in the playhouse façade might have been used to represent Cynthia's palace (4.3.52).[32] Presumably, though, when Endymion is apostrophising to the physical body of the moon in the first act, he is looking upwards, at the symbolic sky, 'as high as [he] can see' (1.1.6). Instead of being set 'near the court of Cynthia', Lyly's stage figuratively moves closer to the moon over the course of the play, with the sleeping Endymion. The moon is at an unobtainable distance in the first half of the play, while the second half draws attention to the closeness of the moon-character's house. The amorphous setting of *Endymion* reflects Endymion's moon-voyage, as Cynthia is introduced in the third act and grows closer to the sleeping Endymion (and kisses him) in the fifth. This movement towards the moon occurs while Endymion is dreaming on the 'lunary bank', a liminal space between the earthy and the lunar (4.1.59). Endymion's dream is portrayed in a dumb show in Edward Blount's 1632 edition of the play but not in the 1591 quarto and is related by Endymion on waking (2.3, 5.1.8-102).[33] His dream is a moment that demands to be accounted for in dumb show, and the absence in the quarto of this dumb show (or any marker to indicate that it should be inserted, unlike the songs) indicates that there is a vexed issue over what is shown and not shown of the dream. Endymion's dream, in his relation of it, contains three ladies, who, for Bevington are evocative of attributes of Cynthia (violence, malice, and pity), and 'must reflect to some extent the ambivalent feelings in Endymion's psyche concerning Cynthia'.[34] As well as presenting the contents of Endymion's sleeping body in spatial co-ordinates, the dream also serves as a means of articulating Cynthia's personhood through Endymion. But, instead of just attempting to interpret the dream, it seems important to focus on its deliberately occlusive texture

[31] Shannon Kelley, 'Desire, a Crooked Yearning, and the Plants of *Endymion*', *Renaissance Drama*, 44.1 (Spring, 2016), 1-23 (13).
[32] Bevington, Characters in Order of Appearance.25; 'Introduction', p. 51.
[33] John Lyly, *Sixe Court Comedies* (London: 1632) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 17th January 2018], img. 26.
[34] Bevington, 'Introduction', p. 25.

and the way in which its dramatic representation on stage is at issue. Once Endymion has related his dream, Cynthia responds 'A strange sight. Gyptes at our better leisure shall expound it' (5.1.103-4). Gyptes does not 'expound it' within the play and its meaning is left obscure, shielded from view like Endymion's body over the course of the drama. In his *Moste Pleasaunte Arte of the Interpretacion of Dreames* (1571), Thomas Hill warns of the perils of dream interpretation: 'who then shall dare presume to open the secreats of dreames, wherein is contayned so high, and so many mysteries'.[35] In *Endymion*, the height and mysterious symbolic weight of Endymion's dreaming interplays with the height of his thoughts and desires that would make him 'the man in the moon'. It is this dream that takes Endymion on a neoplatonic lunar journey which metaphorically transports him to the earth and into the habitation/character of Cynthia.

Endymion's lunar voyage during his dream also places him on an alternative timeline to that of the other characters. Cynthia restores Endymion's youth after he dreams for an indeterminate length of time—either twenty or forty years (3.4.19, 5.1.56). The temporal ambiguity brought on by Endymion's sleep, rather than 'a slip here on Lyly's part' (George P. Baker) or a 'discrepancy' (Bevington), is a feature of the stress on personal experience of time expressed in the play.[36] It is reflected (and satirized) elsewhere in the figure of Sir Thopas, who 'would fain take a nap for forty or fifty years' (Dares, 4.2.19-20). On top of the indeterminate length of Endymion's dream, while the Endymion actor would probably wear a grey wig and beard to show he has aged, it is unclear whether the other characters have aged during Endymion's sleep.[37] In having Endymion grow old alone, Lyly does not just de-privilege a logical collective progression of time for theatrical efficiency, but creates a narrative of ageing which is highly personal and highly un-generic. Endymion's experience of time on Lyly's stage is strictly his own. In Endymion's lunar voyage, time speeds up indeterminably. He is not subject to the linear time of the comedic characters on earth. The climactic moment of Cynthia's recuperative kiss brings on Endymion's most significant moment of atemporality and interaction with 'queer time'. Here Cynthia becomes her most material and earthly, stating: 'although my mouth hath been heretofore as untouched as my thoughts, yet now to recover thy life (though to restore thy youth it be impossible) I will do that to Endymion which yet never

[35] Thomas Hill, *The Moste Pleasaunte Arte of the Interpretacion of Dreames* (London: 1576; first pub. 1571) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 1st June 2017], img. 9.
[36] George P. Baker (ed.), *Endymion: the Man in the Moon* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1894) <http://archive.org> [accessed 23rd July], p. 81, note 1. Bevington, *Endymion*, p. 165, note 56.
[37] Bevington writes 'if all were to age onstage except Cynthia, the contrast between all other mortals and the godlike queen would be striking, but to strive for this effect in the theatre would be to rob Endymion's ageing and renewal of its centrality and would also necessitate an immense and potentially ludicrous fuss of removing beards and such', p. 55.

mortal man could boast of heretofore, nor shall ever hope for hereafter. *She kisseth him*' (5.1.24-29). While Cynthia becomes her most material, Endymion, stepping beyond the 'mortal man', becomes his most lunar. This kiss begins the transformational process of waking Endymion and turning back time. Afterwards, Endymion's youth is recovered, with Cynthia asking 'What young again?' (5.4.193). He becomes a moon-character himself, like the immeasurable Cynthia who 'waxeth young again' (1.1.59). This encounter between moon-characters, through the unifying action of the kiss, sees Endymion's and Cynthia's identities meld into one another, and as they become 'genreless' and genderless, they both step out of the comedic time-scheme and its relational and sexual categorisations.

Endymion's dream acts as a vehicle which renders Endymion situationally in the 'other' place and allows him to acquire the ideal qualities of the moon—impenetrability and fluidity of self. The interactivity between place and person in the moon-character is reflected in Endymion's ability to access unworldly co-ordinates of personhood, temporality, and relationships by staying still on the stage in an apparent state of inwardness. In Lucian's *True History*, the character Lucian meets Endymion on the moon: 'he too was a human being, Endymion by name, who had once been ravished from our country in his sleep, and on coming there had been made king of the land. He said that his country was the moon'.[38] In *True History*, the ravishing of Endymion in his sleep transports him physically to the moon. In Lyly's *Endymion*, Endymion's transportation to the moon occurs as he dreams and as his body remains hidden and passive on the stage. *Endymion* contains a similar dream-journey to that of Lucian's *True History*, but Lyly's Endymion does not become 'king' of the moon in Lyly's play—he does not stake claim to the 'majesty' of Cynthia, or to marital ownership of her: 'to call it love I never durst' (5.4.159). Lyly would have also encountered Endymion in Pliny's *Natural History* as an astronomer who charted the moon's movements: 'Endymion was the first man to observe these individual facts about the moon. This was the reason for the tradition about his love for it'.[39] Rather than the colonial enterprise of Lucian's Endymion, Lyly's Endymion (like Pliny's) is concerned with learning—he undergoes a metaphoric lunar voyage that involves gaining knowledge and transforming into a moon-character himself. On waking, Endymion forgets himself and his friend, Eumenides: 'Endymion? I call to mind such a name', 'Thy name I do remember by the sound, but thy favour I do not yet call to mind' (5.1.42, 5.1.60-1), evoking a departure from his

[38] Lucian, p. 261. Lucian's texts were available in Greek and Latin translations in the sixteenth century, see Introduction, footnote 120.
[39] Pliny the Elder, *Natural History: A Selection*, trans. John F. Healy (London: Penguin, 1991; repr. 2001), p. 16.

physical self on the earth. This spiritual journey during the dream is figured literally in Drayton's later narrative poem, *Endimion and Phoebe* (1595):

> Thus whilst he layd his head upon her lap
> She in a fiery mantle doth him wrap,
> And carries him up from this lumpish mould,
> Into the skyes […]
> Then dooth she mount him up into her sphere
> Imparting heavenly secrets to him there […][40]

In Lyly's *Endymion*, Endymion's altered perspective on waking and acquisition of un-worldly wisdom does not require this movement of the physical body. Endymion's dream has allowed him to fulfil his promise to Eumenides, who early on in the play he tells to: 'Follow thou thine own fortunes, which creep on the earth, and suffer me to fly to mine, whose fall, though it be desperate, yet shall it come by daring' (1.2.84-87). In a choice of Lyly's that seems perversely undramatic, Endymion, the titular character, is asleep for most of the play. He accesses the other world of the moon through staying still, not moving—through sleep and idleness. Endymion's static journey reformulates notions of both spatial and temporal movement. As it takes him outside of human time, 'straight time' and generic time, it also disrupts discourses on spatial movement and ownership. This is a personal metaphoric journey rather than a colonial enterprise.

Endymion's movement to the moon via idleness and stillness is evocative of a sort of anti-travel narrative. Shannon Miller argues that by the middle of the sixteenth century, 'anxiety about English idleness began to be tied to the nation's belated entry into new world colonization'.[41] The anti-travel narrative that *Endymion* tells involves a merging of the alien with the familiar. The moon begins as a 'monstrous' alien location which over the course of the play is assimilated into the play's setting itself. Endymion, the traveller, seeks to reflect the destination rather than impose his own codes and practices onto it. The play positions the traveller as subordinate to the destination. In a marked difference to the androcentric and highly-sexualized society that Lucian finds on the moon in his *True History* in which they 'do not even know the word woman', Lyly presents a love/friendship that occupies a space beyond restrictive gender and relational categories as the identifier of this other-world instead.[42] Sexuality and gender roles on Lyly's moon are also, to use Loomba's term, 'distorted'

[40] Michael Drayton, *Endimion and Phoebe* (London: 1595) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 1st June 2017], img. 35.
[41] Shannon Miller, 'Idleness, Humanist Industry, and English Colonial Activity in Thomas More's "fruitful, pleasant," "wittie" and "profitable" *Utopia*', in *Essays in Memory of Richard Helgerson: Laureations*, ed. Roze Hentschell and Kathy Lavezzo (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2012), pp. 19-50 (p. 19).
[42] Lucian, p. 261, p. 275.

and different from the ones that are allowed on the earth. But Lyly employs this difference through the use of culturally accepted codes and techniques—through recourse to Elizabeth I's chastity and courtly love tropes. These techniques enable *Endymion* to find a non-comic ending for Endymion and Cynthia who do not finalize the play with a contract that necessitates the commodification of the female character but instead navigate a new, undefined relationship outside the parameters of either friendship or marriage. Andrew Bozio argues that in *Endymion*, 'the erotic fixation upon the moon acquires the contours of philosophical dimension'.[43] I suggest instead that the relationship between Endymion and Cynthia lies between the given modes of the erotic and contemplative. It involves both distance and closeness, both adulation and emulation. But while Endymion cannot categorize his desire for the moon ('to call it love I never durst'), Cynthia redefines 'love' through Endymion's desire: 'this honorouble respect of thine shall be christened "love" in thee' (5.4.159, 5.4.177-78). Making love individual, Cynthia reformulates what it might include.

At the same time, Endymion's static moon journey illustrates an unspoken colonial prerogative of imaginatively constructing the topography of the colonized space. The 'other side' to not dominating the moon is the licence to go on imagining it from the stance of the dreamer. Endymion's dream is an unconscious act of trying to constitute the inconstitutable Cynthia. A key difference between Endymion and the archetype of 'colonizer' is that Endymion uses his imaginative construction of the moon to grow closer to the moon-character rather than further away. Edward Said explains 'there is no doubt that imaginative geography and history help the mind to intensify its own sense of itself by dramatizing the distance and difference between what is close and what is far away'.[44] The project of waking Endymion up is also one of alerting him to the constructed-ness of his attempt to map, and subsequently stake claim to Cynthia. Endymion's sleep is a magic spell, a curse from which other characters hope to rescue him. But it is also liberating for Endymion as the impetus for the development of his relationship with Cynthia—a relationship which crucially does not involve her being ravished and importantly involves no sexual metaphors for control over or ownership over colonized space. The internal journey to the moon in Lyly's *Endymion* acknowledges that the projected fantasy of unknown lands lies within the self and suggests that aspirational dreaming, while passive and private, is a valid mode of daring progressive movement.

[43] Andrew Bozio, 'The Contemplative Cosmos: John Lyly's *Endymion* and the Shape of Early Modern Space', *Studies in Philology*, 113.1 (Winter, 2016), 55-81 (67).
[44] Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Random House, 1978; repub. 2003), p. 55.

During this discussion, I have de-privileged historicist readings of *Endymion*, which place it firmly within its context in the Elizabethan court. But these readings should not be regarded as irreconcilable with my argument. Instead, the fact that Lyly's play was performed at the centre of political decision-making, 'Played before the Queen's Majesty', reflects *Endymion*'s kinship with utopianism as a method. Lyly's play distances itself from direct political involvement but it is this distance which is important.[45] The play attempts to influence policy by providing a model of potential alternative worlds and queer timeframes, and by evoking the possibility of change with a noncommittal attitude to a future as arbitrated by the structures of genre. Lyly's text is intimately involved with the process of creating and reaching those alternative worlds. The process aligns with a political imperative of securing the position of Elizabeth I and ingratiating the players and playwright to the Queen, but is also optimistically suggestive of an alternative world that would foster radically different versions of relationships and personhood. The distance at which the moon exists is presented as insurmountable and yet linked with a private and personal part of the self. Endymion relates that Cynthia's 'virtues are not within the reach of our capacities'—the possible selfhood that she promotes is just out of the reach of the human (2.2.87-8). Epiton, joking about his height in the comic subplot, calls himself 'an absolute microcosmos', encapsulating the tension in the play between the person containing a cosmos or inner world and a more pragmatic spatial existence in the cosmos—being too short to reach the moon (4.2.40). Cynthia, with her connection to Elizabeth I, is herself un-colonisable, immeasurable, and in a constant state of alteration. But Endymion is not simply an adoring courtier of the queen since, through transformational encounter with the moon, he becomes a part of her. He is allowed to access a type of personhood which is utopian—involved with a personal imaginative space and the process of change, 'imagin[ing] a life otherwise', through the creation of alternative futurities.[46] In this way, the encounter between Endymion and Cynthia reformulates the categories of genre and gender that are permitted on earth.

[45] Title page, *Endymion*, p. 73.
[46] See footnote 10.

Part 2. 'Be as thou wast wont to be': Titania and Bottom in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*

A Midsummer Night's Dream (*c*. 1595), written and performed at least six years after *Endymion* (*c.* 1588), is often considered to be one of Shakespeare's most 'Lylian comedies'.[47] Out of Lyly's plays, *Endymion*, according to G.K. Hunter, influenced Shakespeare most directly.[48] Leah Scragg writes that Shakespeare had 'constant recourse' to *Endymion*.[49] In general though, as noted above, when *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is looked at alongside Lyly, it is mainly related to Lyly's *Galatea*.[50] *Endymion* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* tend to be read together in contextual commentaries on Elizabeth, which centre on the iconography of the queen rather than in studies that focus on the way in which the earlier play influences *A Midsummer Night's Dream*.[51] But the moon of *Endymion*, which is not only emblematic of Elizabeth I but involved in the creation of alternative futures, is grafted onto Shakespeare's play. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is pervaded by a kind of lunar omnipresence: Titania remarks how 'the governess of floods' 'washes all the air' and the fairies are charged with 'fan[ning] the moonbeams from [Bottom's] sleeping eyes' as though measures need to be taken to avoid the effects of the moon and its light (2.1.103-104; 3.1.164). This is a moon, evidenced in the amount of literary criticism it has attracted, which flirts with its own symbolic importance. Shakespeare's moon specifically recalls and questions its radical potential as evocative of genreless person and place in *Endymion*. But Oberon's employment of 'Dian's bud o'er Cupid's flower' to make Titania 'Be as thou wast wont to be' reverses the transformational potential of the moon-character (Dian) into a normalizing force, which pushes Titania back into customary behaviour (4.1.72, 4.1.70). This section focuses on the moon-characters of Titania and Bottom, but the moon is also evoked in person-form as 'a step-dame or a dowager', Diana, Phoebe, the 'governess of floods', and the 'imperial vot'ress' (1.1.5; 1.1.89; 1.1.209; 2.1.103, 2.1.163). Titania and Bottom undergo a romance which mirrors and undercuts the relationship between Cynthia and Endymion, while Shakespeare's presentation of Moonshine, which I look at in my conclusion, involves a satiric commentary on the absurdity of an attempt (such as that by Lyly and Shakespeare himself) to dramatize the moon as character. While Lyly in *Endymion* used the moon as a tool to evade the restrictions of genre, this section explores how the moon in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is brought back into generic conventionality. Likewise, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Shakespeare dramatizes

[47] See Clare, p. 155.
[48] Scragg, *Metamorphosis*, p. 2.
[49] Scragg, *Metamorphosis*, pp. 11-12.
[50] See footnote 17.
[51] See footnote 17.

the foreclosure of the radical relational configurations of encounter with the moon-character in *Endymion*.

The limitations and representational issues around the moon-character that Lyly exposed through the voice of Eumenides in *Endymion* would most likely have come to Shakespeare through the 1591 play-text rather than through performance.[52] Reading *Endymion* might highlight a perplexity about how the moon-character and the play itself could be staged and might work as theatre. At the same time (as noted above), the contradictory presence of what is difficult to represent on the stage and what is theatrically possible (such as Eumenides' journey to a fountain 'hard by' that takes him twenty years to complete) is not a problem for Lyly. Lyly's temporal and spatial ambiguities centre around the moon and its 'genrelessness'—its ability to evade linear 'straight' time-schemes—with the ultimate short-long journey being between the earth and the moon. In *Endymion*, Lyly exonerates the dream and experiments with dramatizing stillness and idleness. In Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, echoes of Lyly's temporal ambiguity also centre around the predominant motif of the moon, as its various speeds are flagrantly unregulated and highly personalized. *A Midsummer Night's Dream* begins with a dispute over the meaning of the moon by Theseus and Hippolyta and the rate at which they perceive the moon to change (1.1.1-11). For Theseus the moon 'lingers [his] desires', while for Hippolyta, in a manner evocative of Lyly's focus on speed in idleness, the nights 'will quickly dream away the time' (1.1.4, 1.1.8). References to the speed of the moon continue throughout the play: 'swifter than the moonës sphere', 'swifter than the wand'ring moon' (2.1.7, 4.1.97). At the beginning of the play, the argument between Theseus and Hippolyta connects the character they see in the moon to their personal interpretation of time. For Theseus, the moon is nothing like Lyly's age-replenishing Cynthia but 'Like to a stepdame or a dowager | Long withering out a young man's revenue' (1.1.5-6), while Hippolyta predicts that the 'behold[ing]' moon will be 'like to a silver bow', pointing to the classical analogue of Diana behind Lyly's Cynthia (1.1.9). Hippolyta's Cynthia has the potential to rewrite time and interrupt the coming nuptials, while Theseus' 'dowager' slowly plods along towards ritualistic resolution. While the personal temporality of Endymion's ageing and de-ageing was part of the fabric of Lyly's play, and Endymion was recognized by the other characters to be on a separate timeline, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, subjective experiences of time remain subjective and do not interfere with the overall temporal thrust. Though the moon is posed as something which has the potential to speed up or slow down

[52] Clare, pp. 116-17.

time, in accordance with 'straight' generic temporality, the marriage of Theseus and Hippolyta will arrive in the end.

The character that Hippolyta hopes to see in the moon also evokes the moon-character in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Titania. But Titania is less distinct and less directly related to a singular moon than Cynthia was in *Endymion*. The name 'Titania' is one of the names of Diana in Ovid's *Metamorphosis*, but is also used as a name for Circe, Pyrrha and Latona.[53] The choice of name, Titania, translated to 'Daughter of Titan' in Arthur Golding's *Metamorphosis*, identifies the character through her relationship with a man and runs contrary to Diana's status as a figure who abjures men—Shakespeare's Titania does not adopt Diana's chastity. Like Lyly's Endymion, Titania both is and is not a Diana figure and a moon-character. Titania, like Lyly's Pandora towards the end of *The Woman in the Moon* (as I explored in my first chapter), is a moon-character in a male-female relationship that looks like marriage. Unlike Pandora and Stesias, however, Titania's relationship with Oberon is never described as 'marriage'. Titania's relationship with Oberon frames her action in the play, differentiating her from the kind of moon-character like Cynthia and Diana in *Galatea*, who occupies a stance apart from heterosexual relationality. However, Titania adopts the role of the moon-character within her relationship, seeking to re-articulate its terms and move it away from a traditional model of obligatory heterosexual monogamy and 'marriage'. Their relationship is introduced by Oberon asking 'Am I not thy lord?', to which Titania replies 'Then I must be thy lady; but […]' (2.1.63-64). She suggests that the relationship they are in is an obligatory one ('must be') and goes on to attempt to redefine its terms, through insisting on the right to own goods, and have alternative meaningful relationships (such as with the mother of the Indian boy) suggestive of a more expansive polyamorous relationship. Oberon, on the other hand, demands the 'Indian boy' of her, and enforces marriage as it is articulated in early modern law: 'That which the wife hath is the husband's' (3.2.375).[54] In the speech headings of the 1600 and 1619 quartos as well as the 1623 folio, Titania is as frequently referred to as 'Queen' or 'Qu' as she is abbreviations of 'Titania' (unlike Oberon, who is always referred to with abbreviations of 'Oberon').[55] Like 'Daughter of Titan', these

[53] Titania is used for Pyrrha, Diana, Latona, Circe in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. by Charles Martin (New York and London: W.W. Norton & Company, 2004), 1.395, 3.173, 4.185, 4.346, 13.938, 14.14, 14.378, 14.382, 14.438.

[54] 'The Law's Resolutions of Women's Rights' (1632) in *Daughters, Wives, and Widows: Writings by Men about Women and Marriage in England*, 1500-1640, ed. Joan Lasen Klein (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), pp. 27-61 (p. 47).

[55] William Shakespeare, *A Midsommer Nights Dreame* (London: 1600) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 16th March 2019]; Shakespeare, *A Midsommer Nights Dreame* (London: 1600 i.e. 1619) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 16th March 2019]; Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies*

speech-prefixes define Titania relationally to a man—here, specifically to Oberon, who refers to her as 'my sweet queen' (4.1.74). But 'Queen' also connects her to Elizabeth I, and reflects her indeterminate status between moon-character, monarch, occult figure and fairy. These roles are related to one another, as in King James' later *Daemonologie* (1597), in which he discusses 'That fourth kinde of spirites, which by the Gentiles was called Diana, and her wandring court, and amongst us was called the Phairie'.[56] Here, 'Diana and her wandring court' is regarded as the pagan version of English fairies, which are thought to exist 'amongst us', less at a remove from the world.[57] Titania is a hybrid figure connected to both the lunar Cynthia and the earthly fairies. She is both resistant and subject to the restrictions of obligatory heterosexual monogamy in the form of marriage.

Oberon's 'brawls' are what have 'disturbed' their relationship, according to Titania, and created a disorder of nature (2.1.87):

> Therefore the winds, piping to us in vain,
> As in revenge have sucked up from the sea
> Contagious fogs which, falling in the land,
> Hath every pelting river made so proud
> That they hath overborne their continents […]
> Therefore the moon, the governess of floods,
> Pale in her anger, washes all the air,
> That rheumatic diseases do abound;
> And thorough this distemperature we see
> The seasons alter […]
> […] The spring, the summer,
> The chiding autumn, angry winter change
> Their wonted liveries, and the mazèd world
> By their increase now knows not which is which […] (2.1.88-114)

A 'disturbed' nature calls for the reunion of Oberon and Titania. The overborne 'pelting river[s]' recall the 'full stream[s] of the world' of *Galatea* and *As You Like It*, which were emblematically heterosexual and demanded obedience to heterosexual monogamy.[58] Here, the moon, 'the governess of floods', is unable to contain and resist them, and like Titania, the moon-character herself, disperses, 'washes all the air'. Titania has dispersed because she is one of a number of Dianas in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Diana and Phoebe are both evoked by other characters on

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(London: 1623). Text taken from *The Bodleian First Folio: digital facsimile of the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays*, Bodleian Arch. G c.7. <http://firstfolio.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 6th March 2019].

[56] James Stuart, *Daemonologie* (Edinburgh: 1597) <historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 24th July 2017], img. 83, p. 73.

[57] James Stuart, img. 87, p. 76.

[58] As You Like It, 3.3.345-46.

the stage and Robin mentions 'triple-Hecate's team' (1.1.89, 1.1.209-10, 5.1.375). Titania, here and later, talks about the moon as though it is distinct from her ('the moon, methinks, looks with a wat'ry eye' 3.1.188), and yet the Fairy earlier refers to Titania when she states she 'serves the Fairy Queen | To dew her orbs upon the green' (2.1.8-9). It is not clear whether that means Titania is the same 'Phoebe' who 'Deck[s] with liquid pearls the bladed grass', according to Lysander (1.1.209, 1.1.211). The moon in the speech above, 'pale in her anger', as Titania seems to be, is none the less distinct from her. The question of whether Titania owns the 'wat'ry eye' and has control over water (as 'the governess of floods') evokes uncertainty over whether she is able to watch the scene unfolding at a distance with the 'stance apart' of a moon-character like Lyly's Cynthia, or if she herself is implicated in the 'distemperature' of the earth. As 'The seasons alter', Titania describes a state of temporal confusion. Unlike Endymion's miraculous ageing and de-ageing in his voyage to the moon, this temporality is presented as a distortion, something that needs to be corrected. In place of Endymion growing and then losing a beard, Titania points out how 'the green corn | hath rotted ere his youth obtained a beard', implying dearth and famine (2.1.94-95). This is also a state of generic confusion. In one sense, Titania describes the weather of a world that corresponds to the 'trouble' of Heywood's genre categorisation: 'Comedies begin in trouble, and end in peace; Tragedies begin in calmes, and [...]nd in tempest.[59] But she also describes a problem with categorisation at large, as the world 'knows not which is which' out of the seasons. As the immeasurable Cynthia of *Endymion* did not have 'a coat to [fit] her form', here the seasons 'change | Their wonted liveries' (1.1.26). This genre trouble corresponds to the 'disturbed' relational configuration of Oberon and Titania, where it is not clear 'which is which'—who occupies which of the gendered roles required of matrimony, or who is the 'lord' and who is the 'lady'.

As in Lyly's *Endymion*, the 'voyage' to the moon in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* also involves a disruption of gendered and relational roles, but here they are framed as monstrous 'distortion' (Loomba's term). Titania's relationship with Bottom offers a different version of Lyly's relationship between Cynthia and Endymion, in which the spatial and person-like moon accommodates a moon visitor, the man in the moon. Titania promises to Bottom that he will undergo the neoplatonic voyage undertaken by Lyly's and Drayton's Endymion during his sleep: 'And I will purge thy mortal grossness so, | That thou shalt like an airy spirit go' (3.1.151-52). Titania does not deliver on this promise—she is too Endymion-like herself (as this section will go on to explore), and Bottom, as a 'homespun' and 'hard-handed [man]', is too like the medieval man in the moon, the labourer and

[59] Heywood, img. 51.

churl with whom Eumenides accused Endymion of being in love (3.1.72, 5.1.72). Kim Zarins points out an early modern interest in a problematic sexualized relationship between the man in the moon and the classical Cynthia that he inhabits.[60] Quince calls Bottom with his ass's head 'monstrous', the same label which Eumenides applied to Endymion's relationship with the moon, related to Cynthia's changing form, in *Endymion* (3.2.86). Robin also uses Eumenides' term in his explanation of events to Oberon: 'my mistress with a monster is in love' (3.2.6). Through emphasizing the way that Bottom's romantic involvement with Titania undermines her power, Robin implies that the 'love'—the encounter between man and moon—is monstrous too. Oberon corroborates this, pinpointing 'This hateful imperfection of [Titania's] eyes', and regarding the relationship between man and moon as repulsive (4.1.62). For Oberon, this monstrosity is fruitful, and the encounter between Bottom and Titania fell 'out better than [he] could devise' (3.2.35). For him, this monstrosity rests in the sexualized combination of a submissive lower class male and an exalted female. And, while in *Endymion*, Endymion rebuts Eumenides' claim that the man-moon relationship is 'monstrous', the consensus of the characters in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (including Titania) is to treat the pairing with comic disgust (1.1.50). While Lyly brings the encounter between 'the man in the moon' out of ridiculousness and into possibility, Shakespeare puts it back into the frame of ridiculousness and monstrosity.

Titania is a character who is closely associated with her location. Oberon introduces his plan to 'streak her eyes' with the juice of love-in-idleness through a detailed description of her whereabouts, commencing with 'I know a bank where the wild thyme blows' (2.1.249). Oberon does not mention Titania herself until five lines into this floral description (2.1.253). Oberon's description of Titania's bank as 'Quite over-canopied' and Robin's later mention of her 'close and consecrated bower' are evocative of Diana's grove as outlined by Arthur Golding in his translation of Ovid's *Metamorphosis* (2.1.251, 3.2.7):

> […] a sacred place
> To chast Diana and the Nymphes that wayted on hir grace.
> Within the furthest end thereof there was a pleasant Bowre
> So vaulted with the leavie trees, the Sunne had there no powre.[61]

[60] Zarins, 'Caliban's God: The Medieval and Renaissance Man in the Moon', in *Shakespeare and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Performance and Adaptation of the Plays with Medieval Sources or Settings*, ed. Martha W. Driver and Sid Ray (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Company, 2009), pp. 245-262 (pp. 252-53).

[61] Arthur Golding, *Shakespeare's Ovid Being Arthur Golding's Translation of the Metamorphoses*, ed. W. H. D. Rouse (London: Centaur Press, 1961; first pub. 1567), 3.180-83.

As Golding points towards Diana's status as the goddess of the moon through the elimination of the sun, Titania's 'bower' is also specifically moonish, especially in the context of Bottom's visit:

> […] lead him to my bower.
> The moon, methinks, looks with a wat'ry eye;
> And when she weeps, weeps every little flower,
> Lamenting some enforcèd chastity.
> Tie up my lover's tongue; bring him silently (3.1.187-91).

The conditions of Bottom's entrance to Titania's bower are specifically lunar, and recall Diana in Titania's exaltation and simultaneous rejection of chastity in the double-meaning of the word 'enforcèd' (as violated or obligatory). In *Endymion*, an acceptance of a female-centric asexuality was the result of Endymion's neoplatonic journey to the moon. Here Bottom's situation in the bower of the moon results instead in something insufficient, sexual, and comic. Endymion's altered perspective on waking due to the symbolic departure from his physical-self on earth, and his acquisition of un-worldly wisdom is transmuted in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, for Bottom, to an experience of a bottomless dream: 'Man is but an ass if he go about to expound upon this dream' (4.1.212, 4.1.203-4). Recalling Endymion's private dream, Bottom refuses to expound upon the dream within the play. As with the absence of 'better leisure' time within *Endymion* for Gyptes to expound upon Endymion's dream, the ballad of the dream that Bottom promises to sing after or during 'Pyramus and Thisbe' never has a chance to be performed within the play (Endymion, 5.1.103-4; *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 4.1.210-15). However, unlike Endymion's dream which is not entirely presented to the audience but left impenetrable and obtuse, Bottom's 'dream' has been staged, and moreover, Bottom accidentally 'expounds' upon it with his declaration that 'Man is but an ass' (4.1.203). Bottom's soliloquy here is peppered with the word 'methought' which cements the process of Bottom modifying an experience which has been witnessed both by characters on stage and audience into a personalized experience, a dream, which will not be understandable to anyone but himself (4.1.204, 4.1.205, 4.1.206, 4.1.207). Instead of finding a new form of objectivity and selflessness in his moon encounter, Bottom finds himself all the more pushed into subjectivity. Unlike Endymion's voyage, which allowed Endymion to 'step out' of the comedic drive toward ritualistic resolution, Bottom's dream is an experience to be repressed rather than expressed. Returning to Loomba's formulation of the relationship in the early modern era between asserting racial difference and deviant sexualities and gender roles, there is a contrast between Bottom's highly sexualized situation in the bower of the moon and *Endymion*'s asexual resolution. The disgust and condemnatory laughter at the unusual sexual practice of Titania and Bottom (involving a fantasy of male submission to the female outlined by Montrose) highlights the foreignness of Titania's

moon-bower and the 'distortion' of the relationality inside it.[62] Bottom partakes in these relations while he is there, and then usefully confines them to the subconscious when he returns to society as per the comedic mode. Margo Hendricks writes that European travel narrative often involves a space 'where sexual freedom could be simultaneously presented and condemned'.[63] The moon-journey that Bottom has undergone has allowed him to display and then revile deviant forms of sexuality.

At the same time, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the relationship between the moon and the inhabitant of the moon (the man in the moon) is broken down. Titania is as Endymion-like as she is Cynthia-like, startled and embarrassed by being found sleeping like Endymion, 'with these mortals on the ground' (4.1.101). Titania, like Endymion, is lulled into an apparently secure sleep in a seemingly private grove. Rather than protecting her sleeping body, as the fairies do for Endymion (covering Corsites in spots for attempting to move him), the fairies *of A Midsummer Night's Dream* act the part of the witches who enchant Endymion (Dipsas tells Bagoa to 'sing the enchantment for sleep' 2.3.46-47). Dipsas' request for a song is not fulfilled by Bagoa in the 1591 quarto or in Blount's 1632 edition of Lyly's plays.[64] Although Bevington inserts a stage direction indicating that Bagoa sings in his edition, there is no suggestion that she follows the command.[65] Instead, Bagoa's repentance for her involvement in the enchantment of Endymion that follows Dipsas' exit might serve as a replacement to the enchanting song. It is the fairies in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* then who follow through on this witch-like command by Titania and at Titania. The two songs performed next to Endymion's sleeping body in *Endymion*, one by the members of the watch and the other by the fairies, are sung in the context of protecting Endymion.[66] The fairies of *Endymion* send Corsites, the assailant who is trying to move Endymion's body, to sleep. In contrast, Titania's sleeping body, after the fairies give an extensive list of potential dangers it might face in their lullaby, is left vulnerable after the imperious 'Hence, away. Now all is well | One aloof stand sentinel' (2.2.31-32). After this, Oberon immediately enters to drop the juice of love-in-idleness in her eyelids, and the

[62] Louis Adrian Montrose, '"Shaping Fantasies": Figurations of Gender and Power in Elizabethan Culture' in *Representations*, 2 (Spring, 1983) <https://www.jstor.org/stable/2928384> [accessed 25th March 2019], 61-94 (65).
[63] Margo Hendricks, '"Obscured by dreams": Race, Empire, and Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 47.1 (1996) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2871058> [accessed 30th May 2017], 37-60 (46).
[64] John Lyly, *Endimion: the Man in the Moone* (London: 1591) <histroricaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 24th July 2017], img. 27; *Sixe Court Comedies*, imgs. 24-25.
[65] Bevington, *Endymion*, p. 114.
[66] The texts of these songs are not included in the 1591 quarto but the presence of the songs in performance are marked in the stage directions, *Endimion: the Man in the Moone*, img. 47, img. 49.

sentinel's absence or inability to interfere is not explained. Titania orders the fairies to put her to sleep with 'Come, now a roundel and a fairy song, | Then for the third part of a minute hence' (2.2.1-2). This very brief time for which her body is supposed to be left alone contrasts with the length of time that Titania is left asleep in the play (between two acts like Endymion, from 2.2 to 3.1) and the problem of Titania's body on the stage during Robin's mix up with the Athenians and the Mechanicals' rehearsal. Shakespeare again seems to be playing with the 'genreless' temporality in *Endymion* (and recalling the physical presence of Endymion's sleeping body). But here these personal clashing times-schemes cannot exist in combination with one another—they instead result in Titania's vulnerability and the subsequent violation of her sleeping body and consent. Titania attempts to access the queer temporality of the moon-character but is instead pushed into a more linear, earthy time, and by extension, a vulnerability to violation. This violation is more palpable and discordant when viewed in comparison to the emphasis that Lyly placed on Endymion's protection. Peter Holland proffers a 'moss bank' structure, mentioned as a stage property in Henslowe's diary, as a potential prop on which Titania might lie down.[67] If this same prop was used, it would have offered playgoers a visual echo of Endymion's lunary bank. Recalling *Endymion*, Shakespeare's play disregards the consensual asexual male/female love/friendship of the man in the moon and instead provides the herb love-in-idleness as a reverse lunary. Where *Endymion* had offered an evasion of restrictive relational categories through idleness, *Midsummer Night's Dream* offers violation, and a push back into oppressive relational structures.

Titania is also Endymion-like because she has dream-destinations of her own—India and its relative, Fairyland. Like the moon, India for the audience of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* would have been, to use Hendricks' words, 'a map made in the human imagination', although, unlike the moon, it is also, a 'real geographic and cultural space, capable of being partitioned, classified, conquered, and exploited'.[68] Oberon, in condemning Titania (for putting a coronet on Bottom's head) connects the moon (and its dew) with the East:

> And that same dew, which sometime on the buds
> Was wont to swell like round and orient pearls,
> Stood now within the pretty flowerets' eyes
> Like tears that did their own disgrace bewail. (4.1.52-55)

Oberon describes the transformation of the dew as going from something expansive, involved with connection and benefit from the East, to something inward-looking and guilt-ridden. This is a

[67] Holland, p. 169, note 8.1.
[68] Hendricks, 45, 46.

moment of carnivalesque re-inscription of power as Bottom is crowned, and like Lucian's Endymion, becomes the 'king' of the moon, taking ownership over the space.[69] Oberon frames the encounter between man and moon within discourses of colonialism to stress its monstrosity and shame. The moon, also, has an East and a West, explicitly in Gilbert's moon map (composed later, *c*. 1600), which is often thought of as the first moon map. Gilbert names what he perceives as islands on the moon, 'Regio Magna Orientalis' and 'Regio Magna Occidentalis' with 'Britannia' in the far west.[70] Gilbert's map demonstrates how a method of ownership through mapping and naming was shortly to be applied to the planetary-body of the moon. Titania's idleness on the stage ensures that she loses the commodity she has gained in India (the Indian boy), and she loses out on the competition of colonial expansion between herself and Oberon. The 'brawl' between Oberon and Titania over the Indian boy has been considered analogous to the competition between England and France (or England and Spain) to establish colonial control.[71] Titania's loss of the Indian boy to Oberon is the indirect result of her sleeping too much on the stage. Richard Eden in *The History of Traveyle to the West and East Indies* (1577) and Richard Hakluyt in *Principal Navigations* (1589; 1599) both suggest the exportation of idle men to the colonies as a means to improve the health of England and gain profits from the new world at the same time. Loomba writes: 'Hakluyt described idle Englishmen as cannibals, and feared that if they were not rejuvenated by colonialism, the English would become "man-eating savages similar to those who inhabit the Americas"'.[72] Hakluyt's colonizer/colonized binary can be seen in Oberon's relationship with Titania. Titania becomes something colonizable, chartable, and ownable through what happens in the vulnerability of her sleep and the exposure of the 'dream' within. It is not only her idleness, but the fragility and manipulability of her sleeping body on the stage, which make her ripe for Oberon's violation of her consent and subsequent civilizing of her savagery.

The developing argument between Titania and Oberon follows Hakluyt's pattern as Titania is forced into a binary position between colonizer (in possession of the Indian boy) and colonized (subject to Oberon's will):

> Be as thou wast wont to be;
> See as thou wast wont to see;

[69] Lucian, p. 261.
[70] Ewan A. Whitaker, *Mapping and Naming the Moon: A History of Lunar Cartography and Nomenclature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999; repr. 2003), p. 15.
[71] See S. R. Seema, 'Re-reading William Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: An Ecocritical Analysis', *Spring Magazine on English Literature,* 2.2 (2016) <http://www.springmagazine.net/midsummer-nights-dream/> [accessed 20th July 2017], np.
[72] Loomba, p. 13.

Dian's bud o'er Cupid's flower
Hath such force and blessèd power.
Now, my Titania; wake you, my sweet queen. (4.1.70-74)

In contrast to Endymion waking up and entirely forgetting himself, Titania's awakening involves putting her back into her place, reminding her who she is, and turning her back into how she 'wast wont to be', namely '[Oberon's] Titania', '[his] sweet queen'. Instead of gaining new knowledge and seeing clearly at a distance, she 'sees as [she] wast wont to see', and is reinserted back into a narrow scope. Unlike the moon in *Endymion*, which was particularly immune to genre, the comedic investment in the restoration of social order has a direct effect on Titania. Ironically, it is 'Dian's bud', with parallels to Lyly's 'lunary herb', which enforces this regression. The 'chastity' that Dian's bud can offer is no longer an evasion of marriage but a construction of the patriarchy, which is imposed upon her, rather than a means to escape its oppressive structures.

Titania's return to 'herself' and the diminishing of her experience to dream is mirrored in the experience of Bottom (as above) and the Athenians in the forest:

When next they wake, all this derision
Shall seem a dream and fruitless vision,
[…]
I'll to my queen and beg her Indian boy;
And then I will her charmèd eye release
From monster's view, and all things shall be peace. (3.2.370-378)

Oberon's insistence on what 'wast wont' and the coming of 'peace' are evocative of a comedic scheme that demands a return to order, and specifically recalls Heywood's generic classification: 'Comedies begin in trouble, and end in peace'.[73] As Oberon arbitrates this order, Robin makes clear the restrictiveness in the diminishment of these 'visions': 'when thou wak'st with thine own fool's eyes peep' (4.1.82). Oberon's final insistence upon comedic end is in his blessing of the wedding beds and future progeny from the play:

And the blots of nature's hand
Shall not in their issue stand.
Never mole, harelip, nor scar,
Nor mark prodigious such as are
Despisèd in nativity
Shall upon their children be.
With this field-dew consecrate
Every fairy take his gait […] (5.1.400-407)

[73] Heywood, img. 51.

These blots that might affect future children of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* point back to the removable spots, which were imposed by fairies (onto the character Corsites) in *Endymion*. In Lyly's play, Gyptes tells Corsites 'These spots, gentleman, are to be worn out if you rub them over with this lunary', and the herb is used as an agent of renewal, like the moon-character (4.3.137-38). In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, as in *Endymion*, the removal of these potential spots is linked to the moon (specifically its dew), but unlike in *Endymion* this action has irreversible consequences. In situating the play inside its mythic-historical context, the specific spotlessness (or beauty) of the son of Theseus and Hippolyta, Hippolytus, is to have fatal consequences. If there were to be a sequel to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, it would be a tragedy. J.P. Conlan, looking at this myth, argues that the happy ending of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was designed to collapse under Elizabeth's scrutiny as she would be aware of a bleak future according to literary precedent.[74] The play proposes an un-rewritable future not only because of this myth, but also through the recollection and diminishment of the moon offered in *Endymion*, with its power to refresh and provide alternative futures. *Endymion* attempts to dramatize a version of myth that can be rewritten and is not tied to a generic movement of time. According to straight linear temporality, the next step after the comic ritual ending of marriage is the production offspring. But here, with Oberon's charm, the system of reproduction involved with Natural Law appears compulsory and bleak. Time will not go backwards, speed up, or slow down in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* but ploughs relentlessly forwards—even suggestively beyond the ending of the play. Shakespeare exposes the tragedy within the oppressive comic structure, showing how 'straight time' is tied to the 'devastating logic of the world of the here and now'.[75]

[74] J. P. Conlan, 'The Fey Beauty of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: A Shakespearean Comedy in its Courtly Context', *Shakespeare Studies*, 32 (2004), 118-172 (135).
[75] Muñoz, p. 12.

Conclusion. 'Well shone, moon': Starveling as Moonshine

In *Endymion*, the man in the moon is elevated from the position of rustic and from the proverbial indicator of ridiculousness, and given a philosophic vision of a brighter future. In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, instead, the moon-character is devalued, becoming a mirror of the rustic traveller rather than the other way around. The collapsing of the distinction between the moon and the man in the moon in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* reflects the apparently uncertain position between the colonizer and colonized. While the gap between the potentially unstageable and its theatrical representation was not an issue on Lyly's stage, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* attempts to construe a host of too-mappable moon-characters, while simultaneously highlighting the insufficiency of any attempt to stage the moon. Lyly's play begins with the potential for 'genrelessness' to be ridiculous and ends with it being utopian, but Shakespeare's begins with its potential to be utopian and ends with its ridiculousness, evident in Starveling's portrayal of Moonshine at the end of *A Midsummer Night's Dream.*

When the mechanicals discuss how they will represent the moon in their play, they check in an almanac to ascertain that the moon will shine on the night of their performance, but nevertheless use Starveling in the role at the performance in front of the court (3.1.50-1, 5.1.134-7). The moon coming in through the window and Starveling's portrayal of the man in the moon with props are interchangeable for the representation of Moonshine in the mechanicals' performance. The moon's failure to appear and to be a character in its own right results in the bringing together of the figures of the rustic in the moon and the moon-character. With the mechanicals' production of 'Pyramus and Thisbe', *A Midsummer Night's Dream* performs performance at court. 'Pyramus and Thisbe' sets itself up in a precarious position in which the mechanicals' fortunes are tied to the play (if it goes well, Snug comments 'we had all been made men', 4.2.17). This self-aware theatrical style has led critics to see comparisons with Lyly, and Janet Clare writes how the mechanicals conform 'to a Lylian agenda in not wishing to offend the ladies'.[76] For Clare, this Lylian self-awareness results in the failure of the drama: '[t]he actors worry so much about the presentation and reception that their play ceases to be theatre at all'.[77] By failing to see the merit in the mechanicals' production Clare echoes one of the court characters who actively work to disrupt 'Pyramus and Thisbe', to straighten out its ambiguities, and to turn it into a comedy.

[76] Clare, p. 120.
[77] Clare, p. 122.

Egeus/Philostrate describes the play to Theseus as 'A tedious brief scene of young Pyramus | And his love for Thisbe: very tragical mirth' (5.1.56-7). This description of 'Pyramus and Thisbe' gives it the same contradictions identified in the prologue to *Endymion*, particularly temporal ambiguity and 'genrelessness': 'We present neither comedy, nor tragedy, nor story, nor anything, but that whosoever heareth may say this: "Why, here is a tale of the Man in the Moon"' (Prologue.9-12). Theseus regards this description of 'Pyramus and Thisbe' as oxymoronic, 'hot ice', something which cancels itself out and so the result is nothingness (5.1.59). Theseus' question 'How shall we find concord in this discord?' seems to point to Lyly's potentially self-cancelling employment of *concordia discors* in his work (5.1.60). According to Egeus/Philostrate 'Pyramus and Thisbe' is 'tedious brief' because although it is short it still feels 'too long'; and it is 'tragical mirth' because 'Pyramus therein doth kill himself' which 'Made his eyes water, but more merry tears | the passion of loud laughter never shed' (5.1.63, 5.1.67, 5.1.69-70). He regards the generic and temporal ambiguity that marked a freedom from convention in Lyly's play as aesthetic flaws. Lyly's proposal that *Endymion* is 'not anything' is followed to the conclusion in this discussion of 'Pyramus and Thisbe' that it is therefore nothing. Egeus/Philostrate tells Theseus: 'It is not for you. I have heard it over, | And it is nothing, nothing in the world' (5.1.77-78).

If not in the world, perhaps the mechanicals' play is on the moon. But the court characters satirize Lyly's merging of moon-place and moon-person in the character of Moonshine. Moonshine is a particularly self-reflective version of the moon-character:

> STARVELING (*as Moonshine*)
> This lantern doth the hornèd moon present,
> Myself the man i'th' moon do seem to be—
> THESEUS This is the greatest error of all the rest: the man should be put into the lantern.
> How else is it the man i'th' moon? (5.1.239-43)

Theseus' criticism of Moonshine might be broadened to evoke a criticism of the early modern moon-character herself who has dramatic existence both as the moon and independent from it. It recalls 'the man in the moon', Endymion, his static moon-journey and his pretentions to emulate the idealistic moon-character. Here, Shakespeare presents a critique of a dramatic world in which the moon can be both place and character; and also suggests that it might be a failure of Theseus' imagination to not recognize that a 'man in the moon' might be physically distinct from it. Theseus, who regards the lovers' stories as 'more strange than true' and will not believe in 'these fairy toys', fails to recognize how the moon-character (or Titania) might exist outside the moon (5.1.2, 5.1.3).

Theseus had earlier regarded the moon as slow and old—a matriarchal drain on young masculinity ('like to a stepdame or a dowager | Long withering out a young man's revenue', 1.1.5-6). He makes this mistake because he does not have the utopian imagination which can see the man in the moon on earth. Instead he describes (and renounces) the movement of the poet's eye which 'Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven' (5.1.13). This eye uses imagined distance to illuminate the things that are close. Instead, 'The lunatic, the lover, and the poet | Are of imagination all compact' (5.1.7-8). Theseus is like Eumenides in *Endymion*, seeing madness in the encounter between person and moon. The moon-character underlies Theseus' statement that the poet 'gives to airy nothing | A local habitation and a name' (5.1.16-17). The moon-character, for Theseus, is 'airy nothing' with a local habitation and a name—a place/person close enough to encounter others that does not really exist. Theseus cannot understand how the moon can be on stage in drama, or how drama can propose alternative possible futures.

Starveling as Moonshine comes onstage overburdened with props. He has to repeat 'This lantern doth the horned moon present', and is forced to give a prose summary of his role due to the mocking interruptions from the court characters (5.1.235, 5.1.239): 'All that I have to say is to tell you that the lantern is the moon, I the man i'th' moon, this thorn bush my thorn bush, and this dog my dog' (5.1.252-54). Moonshine's over-emphasized costume looks back to Cynthia. Dress in society enforces gender, class, and ethnic and religious boundaries. In *Endymion*, what to Eumenides is a 'monstrous' idea that there is no coat to fit Cynthia's form excludes her from these categorizations. A coat that fits Cynthia would be something that would establish her as not only a human woman but as a functioning member of society, an appropriate recipient of desire, and a character on the stage. Of course, she does appear as a character and the 'monstrousness' that Eumenides sees is diluted for the necessity of theatrical representation. But this version of Cynthia is undramatizable and cannot be tailored for the stage. After all, theatrical representation often rests on the creation of recognisable character through use of costume (or prop) which demands the reduction of a personality into a specific trope or symbolic identity. Starveling as Moonshine has not one prop but three—lantern, thornbush, and dog—and his version of the moon involves a reduction of personality into a set of definitions. Starveling is emblematically overloaded. He is thoroughly marked as the moon-character, the alien with the 'stance apart' who might have a transformative encounter with an earthling, but he is freighted with a significance that is underwhelming. Presenting a list of his props is 'all that [he has] to say'. It is fitting, then, that in contrast to Cynthia, whose role could not be represented by costume, Starveling's profession is a tailor, someone adept at fitting coats.

While Theseus is the key mouth-piece of cynicism towards the moon-character in the court audience, Hippolyta is a potential moon-character herself (an Amazon who worships Diana) watching this representation in a manner that evokes Elizabeth I watching a play such as *Endymion*, 'Played before the Queen's Majesty'.[78] Hippolyta's responses to 'Pyramus and Thisbe' betray more investment in the drama than those proffered by Theseus: 'Beshrew my heart, but I pity the man' (5.1.284). She pinpoints Starveling as Moonshine as a player who deserves praise: 'Well shone, Moon.—Truly, the moon shines with a good grace' (5.1.260-61). For Hippolyta, the moon is conspicuous, and Moonshine stands out clearly amongst the others on the stage. But Hippolyta's praise also makes clear that, like the appendage to Starveling's character's name ('shine'), the moon's effect is immaterial. With this moon-character, Shakespeare points back to the proverb, 'moonshine in the water', that he used earlier in the play: 'appearance without substance, something unsubstantiated or unreal'.[79] Moonshine will not have a transformational encounter with Hippolyta. Hippolyta's potential to be a Lylian moon-character is also repressed in the play by the patriarch Theseus and by their oncoming comedic ending of marriage, forewarned from the beginning. There, Hippolyta saw the moon as a Cynthia-figure with the ability to manipulate straight time; here, she sees the insubstantial Moonshine, an 'airy nothing' to which is affixed 'a local habitation and a name' (5.1.16-17).

The moon-characters of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Titania, Bottom, Starveling as Moonshine, and Hippolyta) all fail to achieve the otherworldliness of Lyly. This culminates in the *reductio at absurdum* in Moonshine and Theseus' dismissal of the moon-character's potentiality. As the Athenians prepare to marry, they encounter a theatrical moon-character who will not rescue them from the bonds of genre nor offer an escape from the ritulistic resolution of the wedding. 'This same play against your nuptial', 'Pyramus and Thisbe' comes in the place of a wedding masque, but the moon-character that it contains does not have a transformational encounter with the other characters who are watching (5.1.75). While Lyly used theatre to 'imagine a life otherwise', Shakespeare shows how this optimism might be regarded as absurd.[80] With his metatheatre, Shakespeare dramatizes the distance between theatrical representation, in which alternative forms of relationships and being are allowed to exist, and the oppressive structures working to enforce 'straight time' that prevent such alternatives being accessed off-stage. The performance and critique

[78] Title page, *Endymion*, p. 73.
[79] 'Moonshine', *n*., *Oxford English Dictionary* <http://www.oed.com> [accessed 4th July 2017]. Lysander mentions 'when Phoebe doth behold | Her silver visage in the wat'ry glass', 1.1.209-10.
[80] Levitas, p. 5.

of ‘Pyramus and Thisbe’ is not merely a stylistic attack on Lyly but an ideological attack which dramatizes the reduction of Lyly’s vision of ‘nothing in the world’ into nothing.

Chapter 4. 'Sacred, shadowy, cold': the Dematerializing Moon-character in Shakespeare's and Wilkins' *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (*c.* 1607) and Shakespeare's and Fletcher's *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (*c*. 1613)

In both *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (*c*. 1607) and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (*c*. 1613) the materiality and absence of the moon-character, Diana, is significant. While in *Pericles*, Diana appears in front of Pericles as a dramatic character to provide reunion and recuperation, she does not appear to the other characters as a material reality. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, she is even more conspicuously absent, and her abandonment of the characters directs the play towards the marriage of its conclusion. Emilia calls Diana 'sacred, shadowy, [and] cold', and this chapter explores the way that the moon-character, which might offer a resistance to the early modern sex/gender system, is 'shadowy' and insubstantial in these plays (5.1.137). Again, I look at these two plays in hypertextual relationship with one another, but also in relationship to the moon-character, as established through Lyly and Shakespeare, as something which has the potential to offer utopian forms of relationality and being.[1] In *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the moon-character dematerializes—going from an encounterable, material character into something imagined and unreal. While, in *Pericles*, the moon-character appears to Pericles but not to others, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the moon-character is only spoken about and never encounterable. In what follows, I focus specifically on the moon as a way of recognising the difference between what is told or narrated, and what is witnessed or performed. This chapter considers these two plays together through the lens of the moon-character and highlights the recuperative and validating possibility of this role—which has the power to make characters 'happy, by [her] silver bow' or to 'discharge' them into uncertainty (*Pericles*, 5.1.240; *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, 5.2.170). Shakespeare, Wilkins, and Fletcher show how this recuperative possibility requires material encounter with the moon. In so doing, the plays also demonstrate the way that certain characters and narratives are prioritized and validated through performance, while others are relegated to narration, and left to dematerialize.

The moon-character in *Pericles* has the potential to validate pain through encounter, as Diana appears to tell Pericles to 'give [his crosses] repetition to the life' (5.1.233). This encounter also has a recuperative effect on Pericles and Diana's instructions orchestrate the reunion of Pericles, Marina,

[1] Gérard Genette, *Palimpsests: Literature in the Second Degree*, trans. by Channa Newman and Claude Doubinsky (Lincoln and London: University of Nebraska Press, 1997; first pub. 1982), p. 5.

and Thaisa, each of whom account themselves indentured to the moon goddess. This is the only Shakespeare play in which Diana, the goddess, in her explicit Ovidian form, appears as a character, and she appears in front of Pericles in a spectacular theophany which self-consciously emphasizes her materiality and stage-presence. Her ability to encounter Pericles brings the utopian possibilities of the theatrical moon-character, which include spacious chastity and female agency, into the corporeal.[2] Bringing with her the Lylian connotations of the moon that offers a space outside patriarchal jurisdiction, she poses an alternative authority to the authorial voice of Gower. In contrast, the other characters in *Pericles* do not witness the material moon-character, and they are denied its possibilities. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Diana is an 'abandoner', and does not appear to Emilia when Emilia prays for her intervention (5.1.138). Instead of encountering the spectacular moon-character, Emilia is faced with a rose, 'the very emblem of a maid', dematerializing before her on the stage (5.2.137). Diana's abandonment of Emilia is reflected throughout the play as Flavina, Hippolyta, and the Jailer's Daughter are all refused entrance into Diana's 'band' (5.1.162). This band, to which Pericles, Marina and Thaisa aspire to be members, offers a collaborative version of female agency and the potential to deviate from accepted heteronormative and patriarchal scripts. While in *Pericles*, Diana materializes and offers a real possibility of refuge and escape, this possibility, as well as the material moon-character, is withheld from the characters who most need her. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Diana is definitively 'shadowy', and the potential lunar narratives are relegated to the margins of the Chaucerian tale and regarded as lunatic.

Both *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* might be categorized as late, romance, or collaborative plays. They were both omitted from the 1623 Folio and fall on the margins of the Shakespeare canon.[3] In general, *Pericles* is more readily accepted into the canon than *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, being the first of seven texts to be added as a supplement to the third Folio of 1663 in 1664, and it has usually been accepted as Shakespearean since 1780.[4] Shakespeare's contribution to *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, in contrast, was regarded with scepticism until the late twentieth century, and the play is often left out of more recent collections of Shakespeare's romances or even late plays, and is

[2] See Leanore Lieblein**,** 'Embodied Intersubjectivity and the Creation of Early Modern Character', in *Shakespeare and Character: Theory, History, Performance, and Theatrical Persons*, ed. Paul Yachnin and Jessica Slights (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), pp. 117-35 (p. 118).
[3] Gary Taylor and Rory Loughnane, 'The Canon and Chronology', in *The New Oxford Shakespeare Authorship Companion*, ed. Taylor and Gabriel Egan (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), pp. 417-602 (p. 570, p. 589).
[4] F. D. Hoeniger, 'Introduction' to *Pericles*, in *The Arden Shakespeare Complete Works*, ed. Richard Proudfoot, Ann Thompson and David Scott Kastan (London: Arden, 1998, repub. 2001), p. 979; Taylor and Loughnane, p. 570.

instead grouped with other Fletcher collaborations.[5] This suggests that the collaborative features of *Pericles* are less of a problem in terms of ascribing Shakespearean authorship than those of *The Two Noble Kinsmen.* It also suggests that *The Two Noble Kinsmen* has more in common with *Henry VIII* and the lost play *Cardenio* than it does with the group of Shakespeare plays considered to be romances.

The Two Noble Kinsmen and *Pericles* have however sometimes been read together in criticism that looks at the relationship between the early modern and medieval period since both are medieval revivals containing parallels between humans and the planets or gods: chivalry, knights and tournaments; episodic events; and sanctuary, cures, and healing.[6] With their medieval narrators, these plays both ostensibly look backwards to an earlier period that bypasses Lyly. Both plays are explicit about their connection to romance narratives in a way that is unique amongst Shakespearean plays (they are also the only examples to acknowledge their sources). Misha Teramura points out that the 'naming of a source [is] generally rare in Renaissance drama', and that (in regards to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* but it applies to both plays): '[w]hat appears at first to be a rehearsal of familiar *topoi* of praise is, in its dramatic context, a highly unusual and idiosyncratic assertion of the play's intertextual relationship with its illustrious predecessor'.[7] Unusually, these authorities both take dominating roles which open and close the action of the plays—Gower speaks the Prologue and Epilogue of *Pericles*, while Chaucer's tale is alluded to in both the Prologue and Epilogue of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* ('Chaucer, of all admired, the story gives', Prologue.13; 'tale we have told', Epilogue.12). Gower and Chaucer are resurrected in these plays to assert the authority of

[5] *Pericles* has 'much in common with the closely-linked group of plays—*Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale*, and *The Tempest*' and connections with earlier comedies, *The Comedy of Errors* and *Twelfth Night* according to Roger Warren (ed.), 'Introduction', Shakespeare and Wilkins, *Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003; repr. 2008), pp. 1-80 (p. 8, p. 12); Alison Thorne groups *Pericles* with *Cymbeline*, *The Winter's Tale* and *The Tempest* to make up 'Shakespeare's romances', and groups *The Two Noble Kinsmen* with the John Fletcher collaborations (*Henry VIII* and *Cardenio*), adding 'quite a few of the general observations made below might also apply (with some reservations) to the three later collaborative plays' in 'Introduction', *Shakespeare's Romances: Contemporary Critical Essays*, ed. Alison Thorne (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan New Casebooks, 2003), pp. 1-26 (p. 2). Kate Augherston regards *The Winter's Tale*, *The Tempest*, *Pericles* and *Cymbeline* as the 'late plays' of Shakespeare which she examines in her study guide with the caveat, 'you could also consider *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* alongside', in *Shakespeare: The Late Plays* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), p. 1.

[6] Helen Cooper, *The English Romance in Time: Transforming Motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the Death of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), pp. 13-14, pp. 64-65, pp. 97-98, pp. 300-301, pp. 374-75; Ann Thompson, *Shakespeare's Chaucer: a Study in Literary Origins* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1978), p. 171; Bart van Es, 'Late Shakespeare and the Middle Ages', in *Medieval Shakespeare: Pasts and Presents*, ed. Ruth Morse, Helen Cooper and Peter Holland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 37-52. Misha Teramura, 'The Anxiety of Auctoritas: Chaucer and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 63.4 (2012), 544-76 (557, 559).

[7] Teramura, p. 557.

the past into the present moment—they come, as Bart van Es writes, regarding Gower, 'from a cultural milieu which is distinct from the present time'.[8] Gower states he will 'sing a song' to commence the play, professing to be the ultimate authorial voice (1.0.1). Later, to begin the dumb show, he also asks 'what need speak I?' suggesting that the dramatic action that follows will directly correlate to his narrative rather than deviate from his script (2.0.16). Although Chaucer does not appear in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, his authorial voice is similarly predominant. He is referred to as the 'noble breeder' who 'gives' *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Prologue.10, Prologue.13). According to the Prologue, he is the play's single originator. This version of Chaucer is elided with the Knight, the narrator of *The Knight's Tale* in *The Canturbury Tales*, and his pretensions towards nobility run as a central thread throughout the play. With both Gower and Chaucer, the plays break down the barriers between source and character. These are quasi-characters who have unique influence over the drama, and the playwrights position themselves in subordinate positions to them. I have used the framework of hypertextuality throughout this thesis in order to examine the relationship between Lyly and Shakespeare without privileging either playwright. Here, however, what is privileged is significant. In this chapter, I examine these plays through the frame of the 'source' because both self-consciously point to their origins and submit to them as authorities. I also regard the source as something which can be used not only to cement the authority of the past in the present, but also to hint at possible futures.

Both plays call attention to the potential for oversights in dramatic adaptation and gaps in these monopolizing authorial voices. Gower, for instance, places a distance between himself as something antiquated and his modern audience in his Prologue:

> If you, born in these latter times,
> When wit's more ripe, accept my rhymes,
> And that to hear an old man sing
> May to your wishes pleasure bring,
> I life would wish, and that I might
> Waste it for you like taper light. (1.0.11-16)

Gower's wish to resurrect (and then waste) himself is predicated on the acceptance of this modern audience. These 'latter times' when 'wit's more ripe', and in which rhyme requires apology, implicitly evoke the rise of fashionable prose in the Elizabethan era and the euphuistic movement

[8] Van Es, p. 40.

involved with Lyly.[9] This assertion of Gower's narrative authority sets itself up to be undermined by a potential privileging of the now and the future rather than the past to which Gower belongs. The plays look back to Lyly as a newer source from the more recent past than these medieval authorities. Lyly is a 'latter' source whose presence in these plays evokes opposition to the staid and archaic authority to which Gower asks the audience to submit. When these plays look backwards to Lyly's moon-character, then, they invoke its associations with futurity and innovation. Understanding the sources of these plays involves thinking about futurity as well as archaism—Lyly is a neglected, forward-looking source for these plays. The Prologue of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* also puts a distance between the play and Chaucer's tale: '[…] It were an endless thing | And too ambitious to aspire to him' (Prologue.22-3). Rather than aspiring to achieve full resurrection through audience appreciation, like Gower, the authors suggest that Chaucer will be resurrected (and made to 'cry from under ground') through the authors' failure to accurately represent 'the nobleness' (a nobleness that often seems ironic) of his tale (Prologue.18, Prologue.15). Both of these plays, as Teramura writes (regarding *The Two Noble Kinsmen*), 'at times [uphold], at times [resist] the pressures of their source's cultural authority'.[10] The Lylian moon-character in these plays is a locus for these moments of resistance. The 'latter times', to which Gower refers, is a newer cultural moment (involving Lyly especially) in which there is a preoccupation with staging the embodied moon. The Lylian moon in *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* hints at possible alternative futures by posing an opposition to the established codes of the past (emblematized by Gower and Chaucer). This moon-character offers an alternative purposefulness to that of the narratives of these 'old [men]' (1.0.13).

While Lyly's *Euphues* texts are often considered in critical discussion of early modern romance, not much has been written about Lyly's drama's influence on Shakespeare's romances, tragicomedies, or late plays, and studies of Lyly and Shakespeare together tend to focus on Shakespeare's earlier work.[11] The implication is often that through developing his craftsmanship over the course of his

[9] Involved with 'wit', Lyly's prose-work, *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578) had a considerable influence on the literary scene. See Andy Kesson, *John Lyly and Early Modern Authorship* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), pp. 67-102.

[10] Teramura, p. 546.

[11] See Mary Ellen Lamb and Valerie Wayne, *Staging Early Modern Romance: Prose Fiction, Dramatic Romance, and Shakespeare* (New York: Routledge, 2009). Russ McDonald acknowledges '[t]he last plays are shot through with characters, episodes, language and themes from the works of Sir Philip Sidney, Robert Greene, Edmund Spenser, John Lyly, Christopher Marlowe and other late Elizabethan writers', '"You speak a language that I understand not": listening to the last plays', *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare's Last Plays*, ed. Catherine M. S. Alexander (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 91-112 (p. 105). R. S. White in his study of romance endings highlights 'the immediate facts which place Elizabethan romance, and romance dramatized by Lyly, as central and inescapable influences upon Shakespeare' but only compares Lyly locally

career Shakespeare graduated to something *beyond* Lyly, as traditionally critics emphasize differences between Lyly's dramatic works and Shakespeare's later plays.[12] Lyly is not regarded specifically as a source for *Pericles* or *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, though Camden Carroll, Jr., in 1933, noted a resemblance between Antiochus's Daughter and Pandora (from Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*, *c.* 1588).[13] Reference to this resemblance is not however mentioned in the latest editions of the play.[14] In broader terms, Pandora has also been examined alongside the Jailer's Daughter in discussions of staged early modern female madness, and the Diana of Lyly's *Galatea* (*c.* 1584) and Cynthia of Lyly's *Endymion* (*c.* 1588) have been included alongside the non-appearing Diana of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* in discussions of Diana and her band in the era.[15]

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with *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* and *Love's Labour's Lost*, in *Let Wonder Seem Familiar: Endings in Shakespeare's Romance Vision* (London: Athlone Press, 1985), p. 175, pp. 27-34, p. 35.

[12] G. Wilson Knight writes that *Pericles* differs from the 'happy-ending romance, or ritual, in the tradition of Lyly', p. 108, 'The Writing of *Pericles*', *Pericles: Critical Essays*, ed. David Skeele (New York: Routledge, 2000), pp. 78-113 (p. 108); Peter Saccio writes that unlike the gods of Lyly's plays, gods appearing in Shakespeare's late plays are 'carefully bracketed in a dream or vision', in *The Court Comedies of John Lyly: A Study in Allegorical Dramaturgy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), p. 107.

[13] Geoffrey Bullough, *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, 8 vols (New York: Columbia University Press, 1966) VI, 349-546; Robert S. Miola, *Shakespeare's Reading* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 128-62; Potter, 'Introduction', in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (London: Arden Shakespeare, 1997), pp. 1-129 (pp. 40-58); Robert Kean Turner and Patricia Tatspaugh, 'Introduction' in John Fletcher and William Shakespeare, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012),pp. 1-51 (pp. 6-7); Eugene M. Waith, 'Introduction' in William Shakespeare and John Fletcher, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989; repr. 2008), pp. 1-66 (pp. 26-29); Susan Gossett, 'Introduction', to William Shakespeare and George Wilkins, *Pericles,* ed. Suzanne Gossett (London: Bloomsbury Arden Shakespeare, 2016; first pub. 2004), pp. 1-163 (pp. 70-76); Warren, pp. 13-19; Doreen DelVecchio and Antony Hammond, 'Introduction' in William Shakespeare, *Pericles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; repr.2012), pp. 1-78 (pp. 1-8). Camden Carroll, Jr. summarizes Lyly's *A Woman in the Moon* and Pandora as a necessary citation for the lines: 'The senate house of planets did all sit | To knit in her their best perfections' (1.1.11-12), 'A Note on Pericles', *Modern Language Notes*, 48.2 (1933) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2912263> [accessed 6th February 2018], 110-11.

[14] Pandora is not mentioned in these editions: Gossett, pp. 177-78, note 11-12; Warren, p. 94, note 53; DelVecchio and Hammond, p. 88, note 11-12.

[15] Maurice Charney and Hannah Charney note the similarity that both Pandora and the Jailer's Daughter have a 'recoverable' madness in 'The Language of Madwomen in Shakespeare and his Fellow Dramatists', *Signs*, 3.2 (1977) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/3173295> [accessed 5th February 2018], 451-60 (457-59, 459); Sandra Clark mentions Pandora briefly as a female character whose madness does not involve lovesickness in an argument that seeks to broaden discussions of early modern female madness out to go beyond Ophelia and the Jailer's Daughter in 'Women, Class, and the Language of Madness in Early Modern English Drama', *SEDERI, Journal of the Spanish Society for English Renaissance Studies*, 24 (2014), 7-26 (12, 7-8). Valerie Traub and Jennifer Drouin separately discuss the Diana of *Galatea* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* amongst other Dianas, Valerie Traub, *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 229-325; Jennifer Drouin, 'Diana's Band: Safe Spaces, Publics, and Early Modern Lesbianism', in *Queer Renaissance Historiography: Backwards Gaze*, ed. Vin Nardizzi, Stephen Guy-Bray, and Will Stockton (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 85-110 (pp. 98-105); Laurie J. Shannon briefly mentions Lyly's Diana in *Galatea* as background for discussing the Diana of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, 'Emilia's Argument: Friendship and "Human Title" in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*', *ELH*, 64.3 (1997) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30030235> [accessed 30th January 2018], 657-82 (660).

While Lyly's Diana from *Galatea* has been considered alongside the Diana of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Lyly's Diana is left out of discussions of the Ephesian Diana of *Pericles* who is thought of as a separate entity, connected to the temple of Diana at Ephesus, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. Caroline Bicks argues that the Ephesian Diana goes beyond the chaste 'often Christian-inflected parameters' of the Greco-Roman Diana and is inflected with a paradoxical 'ancient reproductive function and foundation', reflected in Pericles calling to Lucina, goddess of childbirth, and Thaisa calling to Diana after giving birth.[16] F. Elizabeth Hart further glosses the 'wildness' and 'savagery' of the Ephesian Diana as opposed to 'a chaste woodland goddess' in her discussion of how Diana of Ephesus connects to a triform nature as Luna, Diana, and Hecate or Proserpina.[17] For Bicks and Hart, the Ephesian Diana is a *Magna Mater* figure, a synthesis of Roman and more Eastern cult goddess figures.[18] Jennifer Drouin notes that the Diana of *Pericles* (and *The Comedy of Errors*) does not qualify for exploration in her discussion of the early modern connotations of Diana's band because, according to the precedent of Bicks and Hart, Diana of Ephesus 'exhibits a stable intertextual identity of her own, but she is distinct from the traditional representations of the Roman Diana'.[19] Likewise Suzanne Gossett regards the Diana of Pericles as 'more complicated' than the Diana of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*.[20] I take issue with the distinction between these two Dianas and the insistence upon stable identities of these differently inflected moon-characters. In fact, the Diana of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is imported from *The Knight's Tale* which mentions Lucina and childbirth in the decoration of Diana's temple and in which she is said to have 'thre formes', including the darker Hecate or Proserpina figure: 'Queene of the regne of Pluto derk and lowe'.[21] The separation of the Ephesian Diana as a more complicated and contradictory Diana does not take into account the syncretic connotations of the moon-character and its establishment through Lyly (and others) on the early modern stage. The separate categorizations of the Dianas from *Pericles* and from *The Two Noble Kinsmen* miss that they are both specifically Lylian figures of resistance and change. As I have discussed in previous chapters, this character is concerned with the contradictory facets of sexual inconstancy and chastity. As Drouin herself shows through reference to the involvement of the Diana of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* with lesbian sexuality, Diana does not here evoke a simple and restrictive version of chastity at odds with the more

[16] Caroline Bicks, 'Backsliding at Ephesus: Shakespeare's Diana and the Churching of Women,' in *Pericles: Critical Essays*, pp. 205-27 (p. 205, pp. 207-9).
[17] F. Elizabeth Hart, '"Great Is Diana" of Shakespeare's Ephesus', *Studies in English Literature*, *1500-1900*, 43.2 (Spring, 2003) <http://www.jstor.org/stable/4625072> [accessed 16th October 2017], 347-74 (348, 350, 354).
[18] Bicks, pp. 205-9; Hart, 348-54.
[19] Drouin, p. 85, footnote 1.
[20] Gossett, p. 117.
[21] Geoffrey Chaucer, *The Knight's Tale* in *The Canterbury Tales* in *The Riverside Chaucer*, ed. Larry D. Benson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987, repr. 1991), 2051-2088, 2313, 2299.

expansive Diana in *Pericles*.[22] In addition, Drouin's conception of Diana's 'band' as a separatist lesbian space in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is relevant to discussion of *Pericles* in which characters recurrently pledge allegiance to the goddess and seek to wear her 'silver livery' in order to find respite from the demands of the heteronormative settings they are in (*The Two Noble Kinsmen*, 5.1.162; *Pericles*, 5.3.7). Diana's band in both plays acts as a potential alternative to the wedding band and as a resistance to socially sanctioned and potentially threatening forms of relationality.

Further to this, Antiochus's Daughter and the Jailer's Daughter are left out of these recent critical discussions of Diana rather than considered as variations on the moon-character. They represent another inflection of the moon-character specifically involved with lunacy and suppression which—as we will see—can be traced back to the character of Lyly's Pandora, the woman in the moon, and Shakespeare's own evocation of the 'lunatic' in response to Lyly's moon-character (discussed in chapters two and three). In contrast to the critical consensus, I argue that *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* make use of the moon-character as it has emerged in the previous three chapters of this thesis—in Lyly's *Galatea*, *Endymion*, and *The Woman in the Moon* and Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (*c.* 1600) and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c.* 1595). I mainly focus here, in this final chapter, on how *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* make use of the paradigmatic encounter between man and moon-character in *Endymion* and the utopian lunacy of Pandora in *The Woman in the Moon*. Both *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* assert and dismantle the binary of chastity and lunacy involved with the motif of the moon-character. These positions, as I have previously discussed, are both ways in which women can deviate from accepted early modern gender and sexual scripts and their most violent and traumatic consequences, and are related to Lyly's notion of the moon as a place beyond patriarchal jurisdiction.[23] As Gower points in *Pericles* to the recuperative qualities of his own narrative, instructing the audience to emulate those who have 'read it for restoratives', the narrative brought forward by the moon poses the potential for healing for the characters of the play threatened by sexual violence. The moon-narrative's 'purchase', unlike Gower's, is not 'to make men glorious' (1.0.8, 1.0.9). While in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, lunacy replaces the possibility for chastity, in *Pericles*, a more material chastity is foregrounded as the 'restorative' to the trauma that the characters face.

[22] Drouin, p. 98.
[23] See Chapter 2 for a discussion of chastity as a mode of resistance to heteronormativity.

Part 1. *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*: Diana the 'Appearer'

Diana in *Pericles* is the presiding deity in a play which is pervaded with sexual violence. *Pericles* starts with and recurrently returns to the horror of sexual trauma. The incest-plot is an open secret, an obvious 'riddle', about which the audience is periodically reminded (by Gower, Pericles three times, and Helicanus, 1.0.25-30, 1.1.65-73, 1.1.79-87, 1.1.125-34, 1.2.74-76, 2.4.1-2). Pericles is himself traumatized by his interaction with Antiochus and his daughter, thrust into a state of 'dull-eyed melancholy' (1.2.2). Amidst this undercurrent of silenced trauma, Diana the goddess of chastity is an 'appearer', as Pericles calls Helicanus (5.3.18). Diana is alluded to as a significant deific presence in Pentapolis, Myteline and Ephesus, but she also materially appears in front of Pericles as a character embodied on the stage, akin to spectacular representations of the moon in court masques. Through allusion to Lyly's *Endymion*, a play which explores the recuperative effects of a human encountering the moon, *Pericles* explores the possibility of healing from sexual trauma through this kind of spectacular encounter. The theophany of Diana, in comparison to Posthumus Leonatus's vision of Jupiter in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* (as I will show), is a spectacle which validates and alleviates suffering. But while Diana appears in front of Pericles, she does not appear to Antiochus's Daughter, Thaisa, or Marina. These characters, unlike Pericles, are granted only partial access to Diana's band as Diana's presence is denied to them. For them, rather than appearing as a personable character, Diana is a nebulous concept for which there is no material proof. This section of the chapter looks at the way the moon-character encounters and fails to encounter these four characters in turn, and shows how the Diana of *Pericles* exists both outside the phenomenal world and within it. The selective appearance of the moon-character also privileges certain stories and types of suffering. While Pericles' suffering can be made into a spectacle, the suffering of the other characters (who seek out Diana) is relegated to narrative.

Pericles: the Moon Cure

Diana's appearance in front of Pericles is original to the Shakespeare and Wilkins version of the Pericles story. The character does not appear in either Gower's *Confessio Amantis* (1394, first printed in 1483 and reprinted in 1533 and 1554) or Laurence Twine's *The Patterne of Painefull Adventures* (1576, later editions in *c.* 1594 and 1607), the two generally acknowledged sources for

the play.[24] In the story of Apollonius of Tyre in *Confessio Amantis*, Gower has Apollonius change his course towards Ephesus because 'The hihe god' bids him to do so in a dream.[25] 'Diane' is only mentioned twice and both in the context of her temple which is first introduced as 'som temple of the Cite' of Ephesus.[26] Laurence Twine similarly focuses on the temple of Diana at Ephesus in his use of the goddess in *The Patterne of Painefull Adventures* and Diana is only mentioned in conjunction with her temple.[27] Here, it is an 'Angel in the night' that commands Apollonius to travel to Ephesus.[28] In these texts, Diana resembles a property of the temple, inextricably connected with it and its wider cultural implications. Although Diana is connected to her temple in *Pericles*, she also appears distinct from it, in a ship off the coast of Mytilene (5.1.232). In this instance, rather than being theoretical or archetypal (like the Ephesian Diana which Bicks and Hart focus on), Diana is a material character that requires stage craft and costume.[29] Her appearance is a material event which requires theatrical representation since, for Pericles, Diana is a witnessable character on stage. The moon-character that interacts with Pericles is one that would have been encountered by audiences as a present phenomenon of the theatrical scene, who, through the plays of Lyly and others, had come to life on the stage before.

Shakespeare and Wilkins emphasize Diana's materiality and theatricality through stress on the costume and lunar accoutrements of the character. Lisa Hopkins has noted the way that in *Pericles*, 'personal identity and geographical identity are bound together'; but this is not limited to characters' interactions with the Eastern Mediterranean but to the character of Diana and the geographical site of the moon.[30] The character herself refers to a 'silver bow', which could be a prop that she carries to identify her as both the huntress and the moon, and on her exit, Pericles calls her 'goddess argentine' and alludes to the 'silver livery' of those who join her band, perhaps referring to the colour of her costume (5.1.235, 5.1.237, 5.3.7). Suzanne Gossett suggests that Diana in *Pericles* may have worn green: '[a]s masque costumes were sometimes recycled to the players, the actor may have worn the same costume Diana wore in Daniel's 1604 *Vision of the Twelve Goddesses*, a green

[24] DelVecchio and Hammond (eds), *Pericles, Prince of Tyre*, p. 196, supplementary note 5.1.231 SD.2; Warren, 'Introduction', p. 13.
[25] John Gower, *Confessio Amantis*, in *The Complete Works of John Gower*, ed. G. C. Macaulay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1899-1902) <http://name.umdl.umich.edu/Confessio> [accessed 27th October 2017], 8.1789.
[26] Gower, 8.1269, 8. 1829, 8.1243.
[27] Laurence Twine, *The Patterne of Painefull Adventures* (London: 1594) <http://www.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 27th October 2017], p. 8, p. 43, p. 45, p. 46, p. 75, p. 76, p. 80, p. 91.
[28] Twine, p. 75.
[29] Bicks, pp. 205-9; Hart, 348-54.
[30] Lisa Hopkins, '"The Shores of my Mortality": *Pericles*' Greece of the Mind', in *Pericles: Critical Essays*, pp. 228-37 (p. 229).

mantle embroidered with gold flames, a gold crown, and a bow and quiver'.[31] But the emphasis on silver makes it likely that Diana would be dressed in a colour that points more to the material moon, like the moon-character costume in Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Blackness* (1605):

> At this, the Moone was discovered in the upper part of the house, triumphant in a Silver throne, made in the figure of a Pyramis. Her garments White, and Silver, the dressing of her head antique; & crown'd with a Luminarie, or Sphere of Light: which striking on the clouds and heightned with Silver, reflected as naturall clouds do by the splendor of the Moone.[32]

This costume signifies the recognisable typology of the moon-character who is visibly a member of the 'latter times' which Gower refers to in the Prologue (1.0.11). The luminous and spectacular qualities of this moon-character mark her as part of a more recent and contemporary theatrical scene (including that of Lyly), at odds with the medieval authority of Gower. Diana fits explicitly into the performative conventions of the moon, established over the turn of the seventeenth century, that connect the moon-character to the material moon and emphatically mark its stance apart from ordinary proceedings on earth. In parallel, the moon and sun are juxtaposed in the *dramatis personae*—the goddess Diana, referred to as 'Pure Dian' and 'Immortal Dian', provides more stability than the kings in the play (5.3.69, 5.3.37). Although these kings may have been the 'suns' in their own heliocentric universes, like the description Pericles offers of his father in resemblance to Simonides, who '[h]ad princes sit like stars about his throne | And he the sun for them to reverence', they are not impervious to death and corruption (5.3.64, 5.3.24, 2.3.37-38). The moon, then, has the possibility to offer radical resistance to the way things are.

Diana's connection to the theatrical embodied moon specifically connects to Lyly in that her appearance as a dramatic character mirrors the *Endymion* story, and the encounter between the man and moon that Shakespeare earlier replicated in his *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Like Cynthia's visit to Endymion to awaken him from his sleep, Diana's appearance on stage is presented as something close to a dream, later described as a 'vision' (5.3.65).[33] Pericles, after hearing music that

[31] Gossett, 'Introduction', p. 81.

[32] Ben Jonson, *The Characters of Two Royall Masques.The One of Blacknesse, The Other of Beautie* (London: 1608) <http://www.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 30th January 2018], img. 11. *The Masque of Blacknesse* was performed in 1605. See also: 'Above which, the Moone was seene in a *Silver* Chariot, drawne by Virgins, to ride in the cloudes, and hold them greater light', Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Beauty* (1608), in *The Characters of Two Royall Masques*, img. 31; 'Appeare, no longer thy pale visage shrowde, | But strike thy silver hornes quite through a cloud,' (Night to Cinthia) in John Fletcher and Francis Beaumont, *The Maides Tragedy* (London: 1619) <www.historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 30th January 2018], 1.Maske.5-6, img. 11. *The Maid's Tragedy* was first performed *c.* 1611.

[33] See John Lyly, *Endymion*, ed. David Bevington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1996; repr. 2014), 5.1.9-102.

no other character can hear, is left alone to lie down upon the stage as a 'thick slumber | Hangs upon [his] eyes' (5.1.221-22). As with *Endymion*, Pericles' moon-visit involves the gleaning of knowledge and the promise of renewal in the form of the reunion at Ephesus. Unusually for a male character, Pericles, like Endymion, makes his own vow of chastity as part of his servitude to the moon: 'Madam, by bright Diana whom we honour, | all unsistered shall this heir of mine remain' (3.3.29-30). George Steevens emends this line to 'all unscissored shall this hair of mine remain', and this is often adopted by modern editors, according to DelVecchio and Hammond, on account of Gower's later report that Pericles 'swears | Never to wash his face nor cut his hairs' (4.4.27-28).[34] This emendation however reveals more affinity with the character of Endymion, whose visibly aging body on stage (probably shown through the use of a grey wig and beard according to Bevington), is made 'young again' by Cynthia in the final act.[35] The dual implications in Pericles' vow recall Endymion's servitude to the moon and chastity which leads him to be induced into a dream until he is rescued by Cynthia. It is a physical encounter—the moon's kiss—that awakens Endymion from his dream.[36] Pericles' emotional and mental recovery parallels Endymion's renewal of youth in that they both involve hair-cuts—a change in physical appearance which marks a recovery of self:

> And now this ornament
> Makes me look dismal will I clip to form,
> And what this fourteen years no razor touched
> To grace thy marriage day I'll beautify. (5.3.74-77)

Like Endymion, Pericles is renewed through his encounter with the moon, through following Diana's instructions and meeting Thaisa again at Diana's temple. As with the unscissored/unsistered line, Pericles' unkempt hair and his chastity are interwoven as his daughter's marriage and his reunion with his wife causes him to 'clip to form'. By clipping himself to form, Pericles announces an attempt to erase the past fourteen years of suffering and return himself to the way he was at his and Thaisa's marriage. In recalling *Endymion*, *Pericles* therefore invokes its paradigmatic theatrical encounter between man and moon with the recuperative effect of turning back time.

Rather than Lyly's *Endymion*, the Jupiter theophany in Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* has been used as a benchmark by which to glean the staging of Diana's entrance in *Pericles*, as the 1623 folio edition contains the stage-direction, 'Jupiter descends in Thunder and Lightning, sitting uppon an Eagle: hee

[34] DelVecchio and Hammond, p. 145, note 28.
[35] Bevington, 'Introduction', pp. 1-72 (p. 55). *Endymion*, 5.4.193.
[36] *Endymion*, 5.1.24-29.

throwes a Thunderbolt. The Ghostes fall on their knees'.[37] This gives an idea of the type of distinguishing accoutrements that might have accompanied Diana's arrival on stage, evoking the material moon in particular. Diana's entrance in *Pericles* remains ambiguous, however, as she is introduced like any other character in the 1609 quarto, which provides only the word 'Diana'.[38] Jupiter's descent in *Cymbeline* is also set up as a cross between dream and vision, but when Posthumus Leonatus awakens he cannot make sense of the instructions that Jupiter gave to him, looking back on the vision with ''Tis still a dream, or else such stuff as madmen | Tongue'.[39] Diana's instructions in *Pericles*, on the other hand, work to orchestrate the reunion of the fractured family, Pericles, Marina, and Thaisa:

> My temple stands in Ephesus. Hie thee thither,
> And do upon mine alter sacrifice:
> There when my maiden priests are met together,
> [
>] before the people all,
> Reveal how thou at sea didst lose thy wife.
> To mourn thy crosses with thy daughter's, call
> And give them repetition to the life.
> Perform my bidding, or thou liv'st in woe;
> Do it and happy, by my silver bow.
> Awake, and tell thy dream.[40] (5.1.226-36)

Diana speaks in iambic pentameter and cross-rhyme, endowing a similar but more modern narrative authority to that of Gower's couplets primarily in iambic tetrameter and imported from *Confessio Amantis*. Through only ten (or eleven) lines of dialogue, Diana's voice here is a rival to that of Gower's in that it provides narrative information and in that she has access to the story behind the play. She has access not just to knowledge, but to specific textual knowledge and dramatic narrative. Instead of looking backwards, like Gower, Diana looks forwards, imparting instruction to Pericles to recount his (and Marina's) suffering at the temple at Ephesus. Diana stresses the importance of Pericles' own narration with the instruction that he 'give [crosses] repetition to the life' (5.1.238). As Gower's wish for 'life' in the Prologue turns him into a theatrical character, this is a theatrical instruction, imploring dramatization of Pericles' narrative as a curative measure (1.0.15). The collective witness of 'maiden priests', women who are able to adopt the male roles of priests through their chastity, is required to validate and ease Pericles' suffering (5.1.234). Kenneth J.

[37] William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespeare's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies* (London: 1623). Text taken from *The Bodleian First Folio: digital facsimile of the First Folio of Shakespeare's plays*, Bodleian Arch. G c.7. <http://firstfolio.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/> [accessed 6th March 2019].
[38] William Shakespeare [and George Wilkins], *The Late, and Much Admired Play, called Pericles, Prince of Tyre* (London: 1609) <http://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 16th March 2019], img. 67.
[39] Shakespeare, *Cymbeline*, 5.5.238-39.
[40] The square brackets indicate lines that appear to have been lost according to the rhyme scheme.

Semen regards this as the moment in which Pericles realizes he needs not just to endure suffering but 'embrace the will of the gods', Diana's in particular, but what is striking about Diana's instruction here is that, paralleling modern ideas of talk-therapy, it requires that Pericles and Marina relate their suffering as a means to recover.[41] Diana's edict is that through telling their suffering, Pericles and Marina take part in a quasi-resurrection, adopting the position of those who bring Thaisa back to life, and so, rather than submitting to Diana's godliness, they adopt it for themselves. Diana tells Pericles (and Marina), to create their own dramatic narrative, and to give life to that story through performance. This is a starkly different outcome from the incest event early on in the play in which, as we will see, Antiochus's Daughter has no voice or way out of sexual trauma. In contrast to *Cymbeline*, in which Posthumus Leonatus is too human, and subject to madness, to understand the imposing entrance of Jupiter, Pericles has access to the powers of the moon.

But in *Pericles* a passive madness is never too far away from active chastity since both characterize the theatrical embodied moon. As in *Endymion*, in which Eumenides regards Endymion's love of the moon as 'mad', *Pericles* dramatizes the potential for Pericles' moon-love to collapse into a lunacy.[42] Before Pericles falls asleep he hears a 'most heavenly music' that only he can hear, and Lysimachus, although he does not hear it, submits to Pericles' version of events: 'It is not good to cross him' (5.1.223). There is a linguistic relation between the trials that Pericles has suffered (his 'crosses') that he must repeat according to Diana, and this pandering to Pericles' subjective experience through suffering that has made him melancholy ('cross him'). For Lysimachus, Pericles' brush with the moon deity is symptomatic of lunacy, not a recuperative honouring of chastity.

This moon-character brings with her the qualities of the unmatchable immeasurable moon-character developed by Lyly. Ultimately though, Diana promotes a version of chastity which is not 'deviant', as Theodora A. Jankowski puts it, in her discussion of virginity in early modern England, but instead 'required to ensure the legitimacy of heirs to a male bloodline essential for the reproduction of patriarchal society'.[43] Diana's involvement in *Pericles* has material effects in favour of compulsory heterosexual monogamy. When Diana does appear it is to solidify marriage in a setting where the alternatives are isolation and trauma. The optimism of the Lylian moon-character that might pose an

[41] Kenneth J. Semen, 'Fantasy and Wonder in Shakespeare's Last Plays', *Shakespeare Quarterly*, 25.1 (1974), 89-102 (93).
[42] *Endymion*, 1.1.20.
[43] Theodora A. Jankowski, *Elizabeth I, the Subversion of Flattery, and John Lyly's Court Plays and Entertainments* (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Medieval Institute Publications, 2018) p. 13.

oppositional force is shut out. Unlike in *Endymion*, the moon-character does not appear to exonerate Pericles from established modes of relationality on earth, but to direct Pericles back into marriage. While Endymion was granted access to the moon-character's genrelessness (without 'a coat to [fit] her form'), Pericles' renewal of youth through encounter with the moon-character serves marriage (1.1.26). The material Diana is one who advocates for married chastity, more akin to Bonnie Lander Johnson's definition of chastity as 'a state, both spiritual and psychological of sexual integrity that could be observed through all stages of a person's adult life', than the queer chastity theorised by Jankowski, Valerie Traub, and Jennifer Drouin.[44] This moon-character rescues and recuperates Pericles. Shakespeare and Wilkins present married chastity as a necessary compromise in a world pervaded with sexual trauma. The oppositional moon-character, however, will not rescue the characters that most need rescuing, and who are most vulnerable to the violence of a heteronormative world.

Antiochus's Daughter: the Absent Moon

The absence of Diana, as a healer in a world of sexual violence, is at its most striking in the case of Antiochus's Daughter. At the beginning of the play, Gower almost immediately relays the existence of the incest, glossing it with 'Bad child, worse father', offering a hierarchy of guilt that casually assigns it to Antiochus's Daughter alongside Antiochus himself (1.0.27). Gower returns to the incident again at the end of the play, beginning the Epilogue with: 'Of Antiochus and his Daughter have you heard | Of monstrous lust the due and just reward', referring to their deaths that he has already related (Epilogue.1-2, 3.0.25). Again, Antiochus's Daughter, though without name or agency, is implicated in the monstrosity of this incest. She becomes a musical instrument in Pericles' reading of the riddle:

> You are a fair viol, and your sense the strings,
> Who, finger'd to make man his lawful music,
> Would draw heaven down and all the gods, to hearken;
> But, being played upon before your time,
> Hell only danceth at so harsh a chime.
> Good sooth, I care not for you. (1.1.82-87)

The emphasis on her youth, 'play'd upon before your time', the sexual metaphors, and his regard of her as an object by which men might make music all serve to make these lines particularly

[44] Jankowski calls chastity a 'queer space', in *Pure Resistance: Queer Virginity in Early Modern English Drama* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), p. 6; Traub connects 'chaste femme love' with 'erotic license', p. 231; Drouin connects 'Diana's band' to 'lesbian separatists', p. 97.

excruciating and morally abhorrent. What reads as child sexual abuse is distorted into a formula that unquestioningly regards Antiochus's Daughter as a repository of sin and regards her as unworthy of care. In being a witness to this, Pericles undergoes a traumatic experience himself, and his response is to echo the narrative of Gower while Antiochus's Daughter herself is silent, with only two lines in the whole play (1.1.60-61). She is a character who is utterly betrayed by Gower's dominant narrative and her own story is untold.

Antiochus's description of his daughter is strongly suggestive of Pandora from Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*, created by Nature and made up of a composite of the features of the seven planets:

> Bring in our daughter, clothed like a bride
> For the embracements even of Jove himself,
> At whose conception, till Lucina reigned,
> Nature this dowry gave: to glad her presence,
> The senate house of planets all did sit
> To knit in her their best perfections (*Pericles*, 1.1.7-12)

This introduction, focusing on the conception of Antiochus's Daughter, recalls Lyly's creation myth of an ideal woman: 'Now art thou Nature's glory and delight, | Compact of every heavenly excellence'.[45] Antiochus's order to 'bring in our daughter, clothed […]' echoes the stage direction in the 1597 quarto of *The Woman in the Moon* to Nature's handmaidens to '*bring forth the clothed image*' from Nature's shop.[46] This image will become Pandora. Both cases emphasize the helplessness and passivity of that which is brought in. Like Pandora who is pursued by Jupiter in *The Woman in the Moon*, Antiochus's Daughter is said to be fit for 'embracements even of Jove himself'.[47] Here, as in *The Woman in the Moon*, Shakespeare and Wilkins emphasize the vulnerability of the woman created by Nature and the planets. Antiochus' introduction and Gower's insistence on 'the beauty of this sinful dame' paint Antiochus's daughter as betrayed and culpable through her own beauty (1.0.31). Pandora, at the whim of the planetary forces and finally at behest to the moon, finds herself vulnerable and dismissed by the shepherds by the end of *The Woman in the Moon*.[48] Pandora was also created by Nature to be 'a solace unto men'.[49] Pandora eventually evades this purpose by choosing Luna, the moon, as the planet with which she wishes to remain and make it

[45] John Lyly, *The Woman in the Moon*, ed. Leah Scragg (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006), 1.1.93-94. This resemblance has been pointed out by Camden Carroll, Jr. See footnote 13.
[46] *The Woman in the Moon*, 1.1.56 S.D.3.
[47] *The Woman in the Moon*, 2.1.13-81.
[48] See chapter 1.
[49] *The Woman in the Moon*, 1.1.91.

'inconstant like [herself]'.[50] Recalling Lyly's exploration of the female creation myth, *Pericles* speeds up the process of a society deeming that the woman, created by Nature, for the purpose of 'embracements', is at fault for the suffering she has undergone and is therefore dispensable. Without Pandora's agency, or her ability to choose the moon, Antiochus's Daughter does not have access to the oppositional possibilities of Lyly's moon-character in *Pericles*. Instead, in *Pericles*, the echoes of a lunatic Pandora underscore the absence of the utopian moon-character who might rescue Antiochus's Daughter at this pre-marital moment. But, even if Diana was to appear here, the moon-character would be too late. What stops the wedding is not the moon-character's interference, but the discovery of past non-complicit forms of relationality. These nuptials are cancelled not because Antiochus's Daughter can evade compulsory heterosexual monogamy, but because her extreme vulnerability as a transactional woman has already been made apparent. Antiochus's Daughter becomes a pale version of Pandora, pushed into the 'lunatic' side of the moon, without access to the chastity of Diana. At the same time, for Antiochus's Daughter, unlike Pandora, the description of her origin by Nature is a constructed rhetoric rather than something performed on stage. Chloe Porter emphasizes the strangeness of this moment of creation in *The Woman in the Moon*: 'Lyly diverges significantly from his biblical source in order to present Pandora's creation as the product of a combination of organic, elemental processes and acts of artificial construction'.[51] Antiochus's Daughter's relationship with Nature is even more contrived. Antiochus's Daughter is given a nebulous and counterfeit identification with a moon-character. The allusion to Lucina in *Pericles*, a relation of the moon-goddess, is further suggestive of a moon-character who is not there. The absence of Diana and chastity, as Antiochus brings out his daughter to market her for marriage 'clothed like a bride' with the undercurrent of his own knowledge of these 'embracements', is palpable. For Antiochus's Daughter, unlike for Pericles, the spectre of the moon is present but immaterial.

The crosses that the other potential members of Diana's band suffer are also not materialized to the same extent as those of Pericles. Before Pericles is visited by Diana, Marina tells him:

> […] She speaks,
> My lord, that may have endured a grief
> Might equal yours, if both were justly weighed. (5.1.77-79)

[50] *The Woman in the Moon*, 5.1.327.
[51] Chloe Porter, 'Prosthesis and the Performance Beginnings in *The Woman in the Moon*', *Textual Practice*, 30.7 (2016), 1327-44. References taken from pdf <sro.sussex.ac.uk.id/eprint/63554/1/PORTER_prosthesis.pdf> [accessed 4th April 2019], pp. 1-27 (p. 5).

Marina points to an unjust imbalance in the way that griefs are performed in the play. Diana asks Pericles to relate the suffering of both himself and Marina at the temple at Ephesus, but here Marina exposes the question of whether her own crosses, unlike Pericles', have been given 'repetition to the life', or have been validated by spectacle (5.1.238). Pericles returns to Marina's suggestion: 'And that [thou] thought'st thy griefs might equal mine | If both were opened' (5.1.122-23). Like giving 'repetition to the life', the word 'opened' implies something different from linear narrative and description (5.1.238). 'Opening' Marina's griefs would require making their contents visible and granting the viewer unobstructed access to them. Yet Marina, Thaisa, and Antiochus's Daughter, rather than being able to perform their griefs, are all overly-described, subject to constant discussion of their qualities and origins by patriarchal figures. Simonides offers a rationale for this in the case of Thaisa: 'jewels lose their glory if neglected | So princes their reknowns if not respected' (2.2.12-13). 'So' here is both similetic and a causal conjunction. These descriptions of daughters, he suggests, are a way of securing patriarchal authority. Simonides calls attention to the constructed nature of these origin stories. The described griefs as well as the glories of these characters become instruments that serve the performed emotional arc of Pericles himself. At the same time, these characters' relationships with Diana are either absent or narrated rather than performed. For them, Diana fails to appear and to offer ritual performance as a mode of healing from their crosses. The characters themselves become quasi-Dianas, there to serve the purpose of being witnessed by Pericles and thus to heal him.

Thaisa: the Moon Refuge

Gower, the monopolising patriarchal describer of the play, often draws attention to his decisions about who and what should be performed and what related: 'What's dumb in show I'll plain with speech', 'Like motes and shadows see them move awhile; | Your ears unto your eyes I'll reconcile', '[…] learn of me, who stands i'th gaps to teach you | The stages of our story' (3.0.14, 4.4.21-2, 4.4.8-9). He makes the decision, for instance, not to display the pain of the pregnant Thaisa's leave-taking of Pentapolis with the offhand 'Omit we all their dole and woe', while showing the storm at sea (3.0.42):

> And what ensues in this fell storm
> Shall for itself itself perform.
> I nill relate, action may
> Conveniently the rest convey,
> Which might not what by me is told.

> […] The sea tossed Pericles appears to speak. (3.0.53-60)

Gower relinquishes his control and agency by giving over to a performance that supersedes his narration. It 'shall for itself itself perform' and specifically it is Pericles who emerges as having ownership over his own performance. Pericles' emotional state ('sea tossed') correlates to his theatrical surroundings. Thaisa's action on the ship (giving birth to Marina) is not part of the theatrical action. It may seem obvious why Thaisa giving birth to Marina is not performed, but the question of Marina's quasi-mythic origins is a recurring subject in the play. *Pericles*' hyperfocus on these characters' origins through description means this off-stage birth is more conspicuous. As with Gower's dismissal of Thaisa's pains, the play draws attention to the tales that will not be performed but only passively and potentially inaccurately described.

Antiochus's introduction of his Daughter is reflected in Simonides' introduction of Thaisa:

> Return them we are ready, and our daughter,
> In honour of whose birth these triumphs are,
> Sits here like beauty's child, whom Nature gat
> For men to see, and, seeing, wonder at. (2.2.4-7)

A distilled suggestion of Pandora, made by Nature for the shepherds in *The Woman in the Moon*, underlies Simonides' description. As with Antiochus's daughter, the focus is on Simonides' daughter's moments of origin. Again, it is the father who insists on the woman's creation by Nature, and connects this to her usefulness to men. Like Antiochus's Daughter, Thaisa is displayed to a set of competing knights, and is to some extent their prize. Simonides' actions mirror Antiochus's again through his need to 'dissemble', to fool the knights who pursue his daughter and to orchestrate the marriage of Thaisa and Pericles (2.5.22). Simonides invents Thaisa's vow of chastity:

> […] for this twelvemonth she'll not undertake
> A married life.
> Her reason to herself is only known,
> Which from her by no means can I get. (2.5.2-6)

As Antiochus's discussion of his daughter looked back to Pandora and explicitly refered to Lucina, Simonides creates Thaisa's correspondence with Diana. Rather than this being something verified through performance, Simonides fabricates this correspondence and further positions it as unreachable and internal to Thasia. He invents Thaisa's 'vow', making her a member of Diana's band:

> One twelvemoons more she'll wear Diana's livery.
> This by the eye of Cynthia hath she vowed
> And on her virgin honour will not break it. (2.5.10-13)

Simonides puts Thaisa's honour at stake, using 'twelvemoons' to stress how the planetary moon works as a measurement but also refers to the 'eye of Cynthia', the moon as a seeing person. Simonides' vow for Thaisa is something that requires visual verification and involves a meeting of person and moon.

Here, Thaisa's 'twelvemoons' wearing Diana's livery, her period of lunar exile and break from the regulations of the earth, is imposed by Simonides (2.5.10). Elsewhere in the play, the use of the moon as a means to organize time, evocative of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Endymion*, is related to a period of exile, as Gower reports that Helicanus will take the crown if Pericles 'Come not home in twice six moons' (3.0.31). The year in both cases is measured by moons rather than rotation of the earth or the sun. As well as providing an overt metrical regularity, these moons implicitly evoke metaphoric departures from ordinary proceedings, and in the case of Pericles' delegation of the crown to Helicanus, an alternative organizational system in the face of absence. As I have traced through my thesis, this moon is Lylian in that it provides a model of deviation from the ordinary. It is importantly at a remove from 'the world', as a short-hand for compulsory and regulated sexual and gendered relations. But Thaisa's lunar exile is controlled by her father. As with Pericles' staged meeting with Diana, this moon serves the king Simonides rather than the more conventional member of Diana's band (the virgin woman). As the scene goes on, Simonides' statement that he 'must dissemble' becomes particularly perplexing as his own will lies adjacent to that of Thaisa (2.5.22). He speaks for his daughter despite her own professed desires for Pericles. As with Antiochus and his daughter, an equivalency is drawn between patriarchal authority and Thaisa's individual agency. Simonides' need to dissemble seems odd when it is not necessary, as he threatens Pericles: 'To mine, and you, sir, hear you, either be | Ruled by me, or I'll make you – man and wife' (2.4.80-81). Simonides' dissembling suggests that in this instance, patriarchy and female agency is not an 'either/or' equation. Thaisa's desires, like Antiochus's Daughter's, are subsumed within her father's. Thaisa's needs only become relevant in as much as they comply with his own.

At sea, when Thaisa is in labour off-stage, there is another suggestion of a moon-character that does not appear on the ship as Diana does for Pericles. Pericles calls for Lucina and asks that she:

> […] convey thy deity
> Aboard our dancing boat; make swift the pangs
> Of my queen's travails! (3.1.12-15)

While Pericles provokes the possibility of Lucina's theophany, not only does Lucina not materialize on stage but Thaisa 'dies' in labour, seemingly abandoned by the potential moon-character. When Thaisa awakes in Ephesus, her first words are: 'O, dear Diana, where am I? Where's my lord? | What world is this?' (3.2.101-2). On arrival at this alien place, something separate from the earth that she knows, Thaisa's first recourse is to Diana and to stress the absence of her lord, implying an entrance into another place which is outside of patriarchal jurisdiction. Ephesus, containing the temple to Diana, is itself an ambiguous lunar location, providing a sanctuary that is 'not distant far', in a medial position between the close and faraway (3.4.12). Thaisa, as a resident of this earthly moon, is partially dead (assumed so by the other characters of the play) between the mortal and the transitory, akin to the dead souls that go to the moon according to the classical tradition.[52] But her potential lunar journey is co-opted by another patriarchal figure, Cerimon, who insists that she abides in Diana's temple until her 'date expire' (3.4.13). Cerimon is a second father to Thaisa, and on awakening her from 'death', once more describes her origin as a result of Nature: 'Nature awakes; | A warmth breathes out of her!' (3.2.91-92). Simonides, her other father also prefigured Thaisa's vow to Diana in his 'dissembling' (2.5.9-10, 2.5.22). In a similar manner to the way Simonides' control and Thaisa's desires were compatible, Thaisa's bid to Diana at Ephesus is partially enforced and coerced. Again Thaisa's wishes are coincident with those of her patriarch and her attempts at agency secure patriarchal authority. And there is no staged meeting of Diana and Thaisa at the temple. For Thaisa, like the non-appearing Diana, chastity is a nebulous agent of control. It is less a sacred virtue and more an instrument of patriarchy.

The temple is a place in which, with her vow of chastity, Thaisa states she will 'never more have joy' (3.4.11). Here, the play's focus returns to Pericles, and Thaisa's lack of joy is not performed—there are no scenes of Thaisa in the temple in the interim period before Pericles finds her. Unlike Pericles' crosses, alleviated by his encounter with Diana, Thaisa is in Diana's temple and yet apparently joyless and unseen. This joy is connected to the sexual and to the earth, and Pericles mentions 'earthly joys' immediately prior to his traumatic incident with Antiochus' Daughter (1.1.50). Set in relation to the isolationist sanctuary of the moon, it is not wholly positive. The 'sea of joys' which Pericles is worried might overcome him on finding Marina involves a self-shattering form of relationality that is traumatic: 'lest this great sea of joys rushing upon me | O'erbear the shores of my mortality' (5.1.182-83). Rebecca Lemon writes about the 'sea of love' in *Twelfth Night*, which

[52] See Scott L. Montgomery, *The Moon and the Western Imagination* (Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 1999), p. 14.

'overpowers the object […] redefining them entirely'.[53] Here, the 'sea of joys' similarly works to drown out characters' idiosyncrasies and render them ordinary. Thaisa's joys and lack of joys are all deemed acceptable by authority figures. 'Joy' for Thaisa is designated—it serves social and political ends. She is shoved into the temple and sent to the moon, which here signifies both refuge and prison.

During the storm in which Thaisa is thrown overboard, the second sailor declares 'But sea-room, and the brine and cloudy billow | Kiss the moon, I care not' (3.1.46-47). In a play obsessed with chastity centred on the goddess Diana, the personified relationship between ocean and moon that the sailor imagines at this moment of crisis cannot be dismissed as an offhand flourish of nautical terminology. The sailor ironically regards the moon as something which is kissable and tangible as in *Endymion*.[54] Here though, the moon is distant and separate. Recalling the kiss between Endymion and Cynthia, the sailer also invokes the moon's control over water. Though the moon's influence over the tides is never explicitly acknowledged, Diana is positioned as a preventative measure against the unruly ocean and the emotional trauma that it emblematizes, as the 'sea-tossed Pericles' finds the sea-tossed Thaisa ('supposèd dead and drowned') in Diana's temple in the last scene of the play (3.0.60, 5.3.33). As Pericles witnesses the tangible moon, it provides recuperation, but for Thaisa, the moon is not properly staged or witnessable, and the only sanctuary it can offer is a prescribed one.

Marina: the Mental Sanctuary of the Moon

While Thaisa's moon-visit is firmly situated within the temple and Ephesus, Diana seems to follow Marina around, providing a mental sanctuary from the emotional chaos of the ocean and traumatic forms of sexuality sanctioned by the world. Above all, it is significant that Diana is not witnessed at the part of the play in which Marina's chastity comes under scrutiny. In a similar way to Antiochus's Daughter and Thaisa, Marina is introduced at the brothel at Mitelline, a place in which Marina is also sold through an itemization of her body:

> Bolt, take you the marks of her, the colour of her hair, complexion, height, age, with warrant of her virginity; and cry 'He that will give most shall have her first'. Such a maidenhead were no cheap thing, if men were as they have been. (Bawd, 4.2.51-55)

[53] Rebecca Lemon, *Addiction and Devotion in Early Modern England* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), p. 59.
[54] *Endymion*, 5.1.24-29.

This scene closely parallels the earlier competition for marriage to Antiochus's Daughter and recalls Thaisa's introduction to the knights by Simonides, 'For men to see' (2.2.7). It is a grossly exaggerated version of those instances of commodification, where the woman becomes a horse ('take you the marks of her'), and the trial of love imported from the romance genre becomes a straightforward monetary transaction. Here in the brothel, Marina is advertised to a 'French knight' and later her description is given out to the '*cavelleria*', foreignized versions of the suitors of Antiochus's Daughter and Thaisa (4.2.97, 4.5.20). Bolt takes on the role of Antiochus and Simonides when he claims that Marina's suitors 'listened to [him] as they would have hearkened to their father's testament' (4.2.90-91). Again, there is a focus on Marina's creation, mirroring that of the other two characters and Pandora, as the Bawd states 'When nature framed this piece, she meant thee a good turn' (4.2.130-31). In this instance, the woman's objectification (into a 'piece') and resulting value as an item of traffic is explicit. This scene parallels the preparations leading up to the almost-marriage of Pericles and Antiochus's Daughter, and the marriage of Pericles and Thaisa. The brothel looks like an extreme consequence of a society which privileges structures of relationality that see women as objects. Here in the brothel, Marina also looks to encounter the moon-character as a way out of these structures, stating 'Diana aid my purpose' (4.2.121).

While Antiochus's Daughter's 'virginity' was assumed by Pericles and the knights that died for her hand in marriage, Marina's is here 'warranted' and the juxtaposition of the scenes recalls Cleon's proverbial 'who makes the fairest show means most deceit' (1.4.74). But the 'warrant' on Marina's virginity comes shortly after Leonine's suggestion about the pirates in the previous scene: 'Perhaps they will but please themselves upon her, | Not carry her aboard' (4.1.96-97). As with Thaisa, chastity is more nebulous than the material Diana that Pericles witnesses. In the brothel, Diana's absence is explicitly remarked upon—the Bawd responds to Marina's application to Diana, with 'What have we to do with Diana?' (4.2.122). But the members of the brothel do have to do with Diana as it is in their interests to commodify Marina's chastity. Like Simonides' contrived introduction of Thaisa which secured 'princes their reknowns', the Bawd's 'warrant' on Marina is economically advantageous (2.2.13). But through Marina, the recuperative chastity of the moon permeates into the brothel providing mental sanctuary from the emotional chaos of the ocean and the traumatic forms of sexuality sanctioned by the world. Simon Palfrey writes of the potential for Marina's rape in the brothel:

> Does the missing action – or perhaps rather Marina "inside" this action – fit into either category [of virgin or not virgin]? Is it "an object of a non-sensible intuition" – that is, we

> intuit the experience even though we cannot see it or hear it? Or do we simply posit no realm at all beyond the phenomenal; our epistemology cannot reach to any kind of knowledge of this event.[55]

For Palfrey, readers of *Pericles* who assert Marina's 'chastity' succumb to a paving over of the horrific reality of sexual violence by the romance teleology.[56] But in *Pericles*, while Marina's chastity may be unbelievable, it is nevertheless what we are presented with on the stage. Diana both is and is not a reality for Marina, both phenomenological and not phenomenological. The incident of Marina in the brothel exposes the constructedness of chastity as a concept. Diana's absence is not glossed over, but it is a feature, so that chastity becomes unbelievable and unreal—something which is deliberately elusive rather than made materially and overtly present on the stage.

Marina then goes on to use the nebulousness of Diana and chastity to her own advantage, as a strategy of protection. Lysimachus tells her: 'O, you have heard something of my power and so stand aloof for more serious wooing, but I protest to thee, pretty one, my authority shall not see thee, or else look friendly upon thee' (4.5.91-95). Lysimachus's highly manipulative reference to his own 'authority' uses the same mechanism which Gower and Pericles used to account Antiochus's Daughter the root of shame within coerced sexual interaction. Marina's reply, 'If you were born to honour, show it now' displaces this shame onto the aggressor (4.5.96). Marina applies the construct of chastity to her potential clients. Her formula is that if they believe in the materiality of chastity, they should not be in the brothel. Her numerous 'redemptions' demonstrate how committed these men are to the ideal of chastity, and to working to establish it as a concept (solidifying sexual shame concurrently). While Diana does not appear materially to Marina as she does for Pericles, she, as Lysimachus suggests of Pericles' moon-visit, exists as an event in Marina's mind. Gower compares Marina favourably with Philoten, describing '[…] when | she would with rich and constant pen | Vail to her mistress Dian still' (4.0.28-9). This writing, although not provided underneath Gower's narrative, implies that Marina is a creator of an alternative story involved with a correspondence with Diana. We do not see Marina's communication with Diana. This conversation is not dramatic or even read but posited as a possibility. In this unseen and apparently one-way dialogue, Marina can be seen to construct her own Diana. For Marina, this constructed 'Diana' is not just a healer in the wake of sexual trauma but a present and vital protection against it.

[55] Simon Palfrey, *Shakespeare's Possible Worlds* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 306.
[56] Palfrey, p. 306.

Ultimately, with the agreement of Pericles, Marina is silenced and promised to Lysimachus, and given no words to indicate her acceptance of this marriage (5.1.245-48). Once the forces of the brothel are ratified by the patriarch, they can no longer be resisted. As with Thaisa, Marina's Diana becomes subsumed within the larger picture of the recuperation of Pericles. Marina is the character who is the most Diana-like, almost occupying the role of the moon goddess herself (wearing her 'silver livery', 'silver-voiced', 'goddess-like', 'godlike perfect', 5.3.6, 5.1.105, 5.0.4, 5.1.201). She herself becomes a validator through spectacle, a Diana figure who appears to Pericles on the boat immediately before Diana does, and whose own materiality comes under question:

> But are you flesh and blood?
> Have you a working pulse and are no fairy?
> Motion as well? (5.1.143-45)

Prefiguring his meeting with the material Diana, Pericles calls his meeting with Marina 'the rarest dream that e'er dull sleep | Did mock' (5.1.152-3). Through the construction of Diana as protection, Marina herself becomes an appearer, a surrogate Diana, a remedial instrument in Pericles' journey.

The obsession with Marina's quasi-mythic origins through the play reflects the introductions of Antiochus's Daughter and Thaisa. Pericles, like the other patriarchs, immediately describes the elemental configuration of her birth: 'Thou hast as chiding a nativity | As fire, air, water, earth and heaven can make' (3.1.32-33). But Marina is the only would-be member of Diana's band whose creation myth is not manufactured and who takes ownership of these origins: she repeats 'When I was born […]' in conversation with Leonine as a means of self-protection (4.1.49, 4.1.57). She uses the incident of her birth as a validating factor to confirm the relationship of Pericles with herself:

> No, nor of any shores,
> Yet I was mortally brought forth and am
> No other than I appear (5.1.94-96)

She refutes the mythology with which Thaisa and Antiochus's Daughter were encumbered by their fathers, but she nevertheless cements herself into the role of 'appearer', made like Thaisa and Antiochus's Daughter, according to the patriarch, 'For men to see, and seeing wonder at' (2.2.7). According to this narrative, Nature is a creator who demands something more than the woman's role in marriage. The 'wonder' of Shakespeare's late plays involves, for T.G. Bishop, 'a therapeutic magic against the freezing of the world'.[57] As with the 'magical' transformation in *As You Like It* (that I looked at in chapter two), the 'wonder' that the moon-character can perform is made ordinary in

[57] T. G. Bishop, *Shakespeare and the Theatre of Wonder* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 16.

Pericles. These pale imitations of moon-characters are called upon to perform the role of 'therapeutic magic' for men, according to a version of Nature that demands women appear for men in order to revive them. In the instances of these female characters, the potential for Diana to offer refuge from sexual trauma and a place outside patriarchal jurisdiction exists but is closed down—with Antiochus's Daughter, immediately; with Thaisa, prescriptively; with Marina, ultimately. In the storm after Marina's birth, Pericles calls her a 'fresh new seafarer', providing a more human interpretation of her unusual nativity, making her a member of the ship's crew, and a traveller in a world of relational and sexual trauma emblematized by the ocean (3.1.41). Like the sailor during her birth, who tells the ocean to 'kiss the moon', Marina/Mariner is charged with the task of attempting to regulate the relationship between ocean and moon, between trauma and the refuge of chastity, and her efforts work to redeem Pericles (3.1.47).

Antiochus's Daughter, Thaisa, Marina, and Pericles all encounter the moon along a spectrum of materiality as shadowy and absent, prescribed, or actively constructed. While dramatic spectacle validates Pericles' vision of Diana, the moon remains partially or completely out of the realm of the material for the others. Pericles is the only complete member of the Diana's band while the others look for membership. By witnessing Diana, Pericles can believe in chastity and female agency even if these are not ultimate realities for the other characters. In *Pericles*, the moon-character does not merely dematerialize, but is co-opted by patriarchal forces. In her absence, the female characters take on her role of validating suffering through spectacle and encounter, and become makeshift moon-characters in her place. Shakespeare and Wilkins portray violence against women along a continuum from sexual slavery to marriage. There is a conspicuous absence of the moon-character at the points in the play at which she might help the characters evade obligatory and non-complicit forms of relationality. At the wedding of Antiochus's Daughter with Pericles, the moon-character is too late. At the wedding of Thaisa and Pericles, the moon-character is co-opted by the patriarchy as a way of asserting control. At the brothel, Diana as commodity emerges. Diana's absence is a feature that makes chastity, or escape from sexual violence in general, unbelievable and unreal. When Diana does appear it is to reunite a family, and to solidify the necessity of marriage, when the alternative is extreme objectification and trauma. Marriage appears as a necessary compromise in a world pervaded with sexual violence, a way of relating to others more consensually than the alternatives. The oppositional potential of the Lylian moon-character, with its queer chastity and inconstancy, is sublimated into a married chastity that serves patriarchal forces. At the same time, in *Pericles*, Shakespeare and Wilkins draw a parallel between natural and authorial origins and in so doing expose how 'nature' is crafted through its writers. The mythic origin stories of the female characters,

created by Nature (according to patriarchs), mark them for abuse and commodification in the play. Shakespeare and Wilkins invoke the Lylian moon-character, with its potential to re-write Nature through encounter, but dramatize its sublimation into the monopolizing voice of Gower, who insists upon the continuation of the old ways. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, performed about seven years later than *Pericles*, Diana has dematerialized and completely abandons those who call for her.

Part 2. *The Two Noble Kinsmen*: Diana the 'Abandoner'

In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Diana does not appear or offer an interruption to the narrative. For the characters of the play, the encounter with the moon-character is significantly withheld. Shakespeare and Fletcher gesture towards the lunar encounter as something that would have the potential to radically upset the drama that is unfolding from Chaucer's tale. However, while Pericles dramatized the process of the dematerialization of the moon-character, here its dematerialization is confined to the past. While Shakespeare and Wilkins put Diana materially into *Pericles* as part of their adaptation of the sources, Shakespeare and Fletcher remove her from *The Knight's Tale* in their creation of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. This serves both to make her message more oblique and deny her materiality in the play. The refuge of the moon is firmly in a position outside of the action of the play and the potential moon-characters become subject to the moon's changeability and separatism rather than having access to female agency as fully paid up members of Diana's band. Not only is the moon-character beyond the straightforwardly phenomenological, as for Antiochus' Daughter, Marina, and Thaisa, but her abandonment of the characters in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is explicit. Allusions to the dematerialized moon nevertheless evoke the absent spectacle of the moon-character, which, as developed by Lyly from the wedding masque tradition, has the potential to rescue characters from obligatory forms of heterosexual monogamy and offer utopian forms of relationship. Also, carrying on from the character's development in *Endymion* and *Pericles*, this absent moon-character might have offered protection and recuperation from sexual trauma and non-complicit relationality.

Shakespeare and Fletcher make the absence of the moon-character conspicuous through reference to Lyly's *Galatea* and *The Woman in the Moon* and Shakespeare's earlier Lylian moon plays, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *As You Like It*. Where *As You Like It* ended with the dominion of Hymen to officiate the marriages of the play, the action of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* begins with

Hymen fronting a wedding procession and marching inexorably towards marriage (1.1.01). The play is set in a post-lunar environment, in which only the remnants of the moon-character exists within disrupted lunar narratives, which are spoken about but not performed. Instead, these lunar narratives are assimilated into the performance of the dominant 'noble' tale, signalled by a version of Chaucer underwriting the play. The Prologue worries about what will happen if the play 'let[s] fall the nobleness' of Chaucer's 'constant' primary narrative. As above, Shakespeare's and Fletcher's version of Chaucer is elided with Chaucer's frame of the 'veray, parfit gentil knight' in *The Canterbury Tales* as the single, punishingly perfect, originator of the tale.[58] The play invokes and denies a rewriting of this 'nobleness' of this version of the Chaucerian narrative into a female 'Knight's Tale' (Prologue 18). It does this through the aborted efforts of the would-be moon-characters, Emilia and the Jailer's Daughter, who have been denied material access to the moon-goddess, Diana, referred to as the 'abandoner of revels'—someone who has given up on the drama (5.1.138). While the spectacular masque-like appearance of Diana in *Pericles* serves to give voice to Pericles' suffering, without an appearing moon-character, the characters of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, like Thaisa, Marina, and Antiochus's Daughter, are pushed into a monolithic vision of enjoyment which is not their own.

While in *Pericles* the appearance of Diana was an addition to the source-text (of Gower), in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, she is removed from the Chaucerian narrative and the Jailer's Daughter is added. The Jailer's Daughter's and Emilia's shared involvement with the moon illustrates the difficult and blurred boundaries between inconstancy and chastity. In a way, the abandonment of the Jailer's Daughter is a different problem from that of Emilia as her relational transgression is involved with social class and perceived hypersexuality rather than chastity and lesbian sexuality. But these both involve Lylian aberrations from the 'noble' narrative. *The Knight's Tale* describes Diana with the Marian image of standing on the moon: 'And undernethe hir feet she hadde a moone—| Wexynge it was and sholde wanye soone'.[59] The Diana of *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is likewise established in terms of the material moon, with its 'stance apart', as 'general of ebbs and flows', with particular control over the ocean (5.1.163). In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, as in *Pericles*, the moon offers the possibility of release from the self-shattering forms of relationality that the ocean emblematizes. Like Pandora in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*, the Jailer's Daughter posits lunacy as another alternative to this relationality—one that is crucially supressed through the doctor's 'cure', an enforced sexual encounter. The possibility of escape that the moon-character can offer from obligatory and non-

[58] *General Prologue*, 72.
[59] *The Knight's Tale*, 2077-78.

consensual forms of relationship is withheld even more explicitly than in *Pericles*, with traumatic results. This section first looks at how, in the action of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the moon-character has already vanished for Emilia, Flavina, and Hippolyta. It then examines the three queens who manage to delay the wedding of Hippolyta and Theseus by acting as quasi-/anti-moon-characters who assimilate the moon-character's oppositional stance to enforced relationality. It goes on to look at how, isolated in the subplot, the Jailer's Daughter becomes a lunatic moon-character who is stripped of the agency and utopian imagination of Lyly's Pandora in *The Woman in the Moon*.

Emilia, Flavina, Hippolyta, and the Three Queens: the Vanished Moon

In the masque-like scene of the three altars, in which Arcite, Palamon and Emilia each implore individual gods to come to their aid, Emilia resembles Thaisa, votaress at the Temple of Diana. Like Pericles at the Temple of Ephesus, or Marina in Gower's narration, Emilia 'vail[s]' to the moon-goddess (*Pericles*, 4.0.29):

> O sacred, shadowy, cold and constant queen,
> Abandoner of revels, mute contemplative,
> Sweet, solitary, white as chaste, and pure
> As wind-fanned snow, who to thy female knights
> Allow'st no more blood than will make a blush,
> Which is their order's robe: I here, thy priest,
> Am humbled 'fore thine altar. (5.1.137-43)

Unlike the Diana of *Pericles* who offers instruction and revelation, Diana's answer here is not clearly understood by Emilia. The spectacle of the disintegrating rose with which Emilia's speech is met might invoke that she has been 'discharg'st' and will 'be gathered'; but to her, Diana's purpose remains a 'mystery' (5.1.170, 5.1.172). Here there is a problem with the 'court hieroglyphics' and there is no mappable allegory via costume or prop to the moon-character. Gossett suggests that the above depiction of Diana paints a picture of a less complicated goddess than that in *Pericles*, one who is more unambiguously concerned with chastity rather than the wider contradictory associations of the Ephesian goddess. But the Diana that Emilia reports in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is contradictory, 'shadowy', and indistinct—within Emilia's invocation to her she changes colour from 'white as chaste' to 'blush' with a 'rare green eye' to 'sacred silver mistress' (5.1.139, 5.1.141, 5.1.145, 5.1.146). Unlike in *Pericles*, her theatrical signifiers are not established. With the words 'sacred' and 'cold', Shakespeare and Fletcher also suggest that she is at a remove, unfeeling, and unable to encounter human characters—this is not a moon-character who can come to earth or be visited. Emilia refers to Diana's band as 'female knights' invoking her involvement with the Amazons

of the play and connecting her with the source-text of *The Knight's Tale* (5.1.140). At this point, in *The Knight's Tale*, Diana makes an appearance and speaks for ten lines to explicitly let Emelye know that she is being abandoned—that it is 'by eterne word writen and confermed, | Thou shalt ben wedded'.[60] In response to the supplications of Palamon and Arcite, the statues of the other gods, (Venus and Mars) shake. Venus makes 'a sign' and Mars shouts 'victory' but it is Diana who has the most presence and voice in this part of Chaucer's tale even if it is to assert the unimpeachable predominance of an overarching narrative ('eterne word') that she does not control.[61] This 'eterne word' insists upon Emelye's marriage shutting down other possibilities. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, Diana does not even appear in order to disappear, or '[make] a vanysshynge' as she does in *The Knight's Tale*. Instead, Shakespeare and Fletcher emphasize her absence—she has already vanished. The phantom of the dematerialized moon-character pervades the play with her influence marginalized beyond its action. Hippolyta states that she and Emilia 'have been soldiers', outlining a past in which they were violent aggressors before their subjugation at the hands of Theseus (1.1.18). As the play's events take place in the wake of a battle which subdued the Amazons and stripped them of their power, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* hints at the possibility of a 'female knights'' tale, opposing the marital structures of the play, which will not be fully told. This tale, like that of Marina's, Thaisa's, and Antiochus's Daughter is gestured towards in the play, but it is never completely articulated, and, as the material moon-character is absent, this tale is not the one that is performed.

The First Queen describes how Hippolyta's wedding night, with its background implications of Theseus' conquest over her, will take place 'by warranting moonlight', as apparently the moon is no longer invested in her Amazonian status (1.1.177). Emilia recalls how the early death of Flavina, her play-fellow who she 'Loved […] like the elements', meant that Flavina 'took leave o'th' moon | (Which then looked pale at parting)' (1.3.61, 1.3.52-53). These stresses on the moon are both additions to *The Knight's Tale*, with the wedding of Hippolyta and Theseus taking place over the course of the play rather than before the beginning of the tale. In both cases, past female-female relationships are relegated as characters have separated forcibly from the moon-character. Recalling Phoebe in *As You Like It* (and her roots through *Galatea*), Emilia is denied both her relationship with Flavina and the potential to remain single at the end of the play.[62] Emilia's sexual agency is denied as Diana does not appear to her in the temple and she is forced into marrying one of the kinsmen.

[60] *The Knight's Tale*, 2350-51.
[61] *The Knight's Tale*, 2263-64, 2431, 2433.
[62] See chapter 2.

Emilia, like Antiochus' Daughter, who is 'clothed like a bride' appears 'bride habited, | but maiden hearted' (*Pericles*, 1.1.7, *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, 5.1.150). She, like Antiochus's Daughter, is a bride in desperate need of intervention from the moon-character. The way in which she appears or is made to appear is at odds with her own view of herself, unable to advocate for her own preferences. Antiochus's Daughter's preference goes unstated while Emilia undergoes a process of being regarded as 'bride […] hearted', willing to marry Palamon, as her lunar narrative is sublimated into the dominant 'noble' one.

Emilia calls her relation of her past exalted female-female relationship with play-fellow Flavina a 'rehearsal', a relegated form of dramatic narrative:

> [...] This rehearsal
> Which, fury-innocent wots well, comes in
> Like old importment's bastard, has this end:
> That the true love 'tween maid and maid may be
> More than in sex dividual. (1.3.78-82)

Even as she makes this radical statement prioritising female-female relationships, she compares it to 'old importment's bastard', something illegitimate, and suggests that it comes from the prior, the 'innocent', scrapped pre-theatre performance. Hippolyta does not give Emilia's statement credence or validate Emilia's point of view:

> I must no more believe thee in this point,
> Though in't I know thou dost believe thy self,
> Than I will trust a sickly appetite
> That loathes even as it longs.
> If I were ripe for your persuasion, you
> Have said enough to shake me from the arm
> Of the all-noble Theseus. (1.3.87-93)

Emilia's radical alternative story is pathologized by Hippolyta into 'sickly appetite' as she speaks of a process of turning loathing into longing to fit with the dominant narrative, the pervasive 'nobility' to which they must succumb. Emilia's memory, with its marginal status, is made uncertain and perverse. Hippolyta, giving her own literal and figurative capture by Theseus into heterosexual relationship as example, draws Emilia's disruptive lunar story back into the 'main' narrative, to the prioritized subject.

Hippolyta brings Emilia and herself under comparison here, and the consensual nature of her relationship with Theseus becomes retroactively suspect. As Emilia later appears 'bride habited',

with the emphasis on semblance, Hippolyta was also clothed like a bride in the wedding procession which begins the play. The Second Queen tells how Hippolyta:

> […] wast near to make the male
> To thy sex captive, but that this thy lord,
> Born to uphold creation in that honour
> First nature styled it in, shrunk thee into
> The bound thou wast o'erflowing […] (1.1.80-84)

The queens describe how Theseus puts Hippolyta back into place according to 'nature' (and how 'the warranting moon', above, will not protest). Prior to the action of the play, the moon-character did not save Hippolyta from Theseus' correctional use of 'nature'. The events leading up to this wedding procession involved Theseus 'at once subduing | Thy force and thy affection', unsettlingly equating physical and emotional dominance (1.1.84-5). The question of how much Hippolyta's acceptance of the delay of the marriage was about 'breed[ing] a deeper longing' and how much she is willing to delay the event because she does not want it recalls the discussion of Theseus and Hippolyta at the beginning of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* centred on the speed of the moon.[63] Here, breeding a deeper longing, or, more extremely in Hippolyta's advice to Emilia, turning loathing into longing, could also indicate manufacturing a false desire to fit in with the required narrative. Hippolyta refers to 'th'abstaining of my joy', and the word 'joy' is destabilized into something that is not necessarily and clearly joyful for all involved, but enforced or regulated (1.1.189). As with Thaisa, the distinction between socially regulated and personal experiences of joy and suffering become blurred. The disruptive lunar narrative, exposing different desires, is assimilated into a hegemonic collective experience of emotions.

The 'sacred, shadowy, cold' moon is set up as separate from the earth's joy, and what is assumed to be 'natural' according to the predominant story. The 'earthly' joy is like that self-shattering form of relationality (Pericles' 'sea of joys') which threatens to overrun the individual will, as Hippolyta pathologizes Emilia's 'sickly appetite' and tells her not to believe herself (*Pericles*, 5.1.182; *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, 1.3.89). Emilia's alternative lunar narrative is invalidated through making it internal and subjective. Dramatic spectacle is key to validating Pericles' vision of Diana, and in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the three queens who petition Theseus to rescue the bodies of their husbands explicitly point out the significance of appearing:

> Nor dreams we stand before your puissance
> Rinsing our holy begging in our eyes

[63] *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, 1.1.1-11.

To make petition clear. (1 Queen, 1.1.155-57)

The queen's explanation of clarity is that it involves the witnessing of something communal and objective rather than subjective private experience, 'Nor dreams' (or 'not dreams' in the quarto, which is equally suggestive).[64] These queens, like Diana in *Pericles*, and the quasi-moon-characters of Thaisa and Marina who emerged in her wake, 'stand before' Theseus. They are materially situated in front of him, taking precedence and insisting upon their witnessability. In the first queen's formula, encounter is important. Because they 'stand before' Theseus, he cannot deny the validity of their suffering, which, the queens insist, will incite him to act on their behalf. Curiously, the queen finds it necessary to mention that they are not dreams. This part of her persuasive rhetoric also seems practically informative on a stage where the queens might well be dreams. In Shakespeare's previous retelling of *The Knight's Tale, A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the staged status of the dream is placed under serious scrutiny. But this is also relevant in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* in which some 'crosses' are taken as highly subjective personal experiences and not objective realities. Their legitimizing materiality is tied up with their ritualistic behaviour and the spectacle of state power. The queen demonstrates how appearing, as a material dramatic spectacle, is a method of legitimising narrative significance. In prioritizing their own narrative through their materiality, these queens successfully use the spectacle of suffering to wield political power. By appealing to Emilia and Hippolyta to extend the wedding date, they demonstrate the cumulative power of the female band, as Emilia notes: 'What woman I may stead that is distressed | Does bind me to her' (1.1.36-7). Diana's band specifically is implied in their petition, which disrupts the wedding band of Theseus and Hippolyta, 'for the sake | Of clear virginity' (3 Queen, 1.1.30-31). But although the material appearance of these queens foregrounds the moonish female knights' tale, it only extends the eventuality of their marriage and the return to prioritized noble narrative.

The Jailer's Daughter: the Lunatic Moon

The subplot of the Jailer's Daughter is especially low down in the hierarchy of narratives as it deals with that which is 'lighter | than Robin Hood', Morris dancing and may games (1.1.20-21). Not only is the Jailer's Daughter not a character in *The Knight's Tale* but she does not fit in with or interact with the characters that are. There is no scene of her speaking to Palamon or releasing him from prison; onstage, she merely points at him and Arcite from an outside audience-like point of view. The Jailer's Daughter objectifies the kinsmen, projects onto them, and creates a fantasy about Palamon and then destroys it without any dramatic dialogic interaction. The interactions

[64] Potter, p. 152.

between the Jailer's Daughter and Palamon are all reported by the Jailer's Daughter—while she describes a prolonged period of seeing one another, once 'ten days after' the last, Arcite and Palamon never discuss her, or include her in their philosophical musings on their 'holy sanctuary' which consists of them alone (2.4.26, 2.2.71). There is no face-to-face interaction on the stage nor the material significance of 'stand[ing] before', like with the three queens, which they insist validates their presence and makes them 'not dreams'. Through reference to Lyly's Pandora, the Jailer's Daughter emerges as another counterfeit moon-character, only she is not witnessed and is pushed back into the normative sex/gender system. The Jailer's Daughter herself is not encountered and comes to evoke a lunacy that requires curative measures.

The Jailer's Daughter calls Palamon and Arcite 'noble sufferers' and insists that they 'with such a constant nobility enforce a freedom out of bondage', explicitly echoing the Prologue, the 'constant' words of Chaucer, the 'noble breeder' of the tale (2.1.32-33, 2.1.34-35, Prologue.14, Prologue.10). The two kinsmen become objects in the Jailer's Daughter's discourse on them—after the Jailer's Daughter indicates which is which, her father tells her: 'Go to; leave your pointing. They would not make us their object' (2.1.54-55). In differentiating them, the Jailer's Daughter provides exegesis on this 'noble' primary narrative and she goes on to isolate this narrative and stress the enjoyment of passively consuming it visually: 'It is a holiday to look on them. Lord, the difference of men!' (2.1.56-57). Unlike Emilia, who later cannot distinguish between the two, the Jailer's Daughter exercises choice in picking out her favourite kinsman, Palamon. In emphasizing their visual impressiveness, she also asserts their status as part of the 'noble' narrative.

But again, this narrative involves objectification and 'enjoyment'—it demands a relationality which subsumes the alternative stories of the individuals within it. Later, the Jailer's Daughter echoes the language of Palamon and Arcite towards Emilia in discussion of Palamon. As Arcite argues that Emilia is rightfully his because Palamon sees her as goddess, not woman, with 'I love her as a woman, to enjoy her', the Jailer's Daughter states 'I would fain enjoy him' (2.2.165, 2.4.30). As Palamon asserts confidently that after making Emilia like a god, 'I am sure she would love me', the Jailer's Daughter makes a similar prediction, disregarding Palamon's individual choice, 'And this night, or tomorrow, he shall love me' (2.2.246, 2.5.33). As lunacy was posed as a possibility for Pericles, Arcite accuses Palamon of madness in his acts of objectification: 'You are mad' (2.2.203). This suggestion later occurs visually in the figure of Palamon as the wildman of the wood hiding in a bush (3.1.30.SD). For Palamon, the possibility of lunacy is posed but Palamon's desire for

Emilia is ratified in Emilia's acquiescence over the course of the play and their eventual marriage. For the Jailer's Daughter, however, attempts to objectify, choose and own are punished. While the objectification of Emilia by Palamon and Arcite is transcribed into the play's prioritized narrative, forcing Emilia to doubt and rewrite her individualistic statement privileging female-female relationships, the objectification of Palamon by the Jailer's Daughter is completely at remove from the 'noble' tale. As the Jailer's Daughter creates the narrative that she will have Palamon, she also deconstructs it: ''Tis odds | he never will affect me: I am base' (2.4.1-2). The Jailer's Daughter's 'by [Palamon], like a shadow, | I'll ever dwell' explicitly points out the 'shadowy' nature of this narrative, akin to the 'shadowy' moon goddess (2.6.35, 5.1.139). The Jailer's Daughter, like Diana, is 'shadowy', unseen by the other characters—she is not something witnessable and is therefore invalid.

The isolation of the Jailer's Daughter is stressed through the structural pattern of her transition into lunacy. The Jailer's Daughter 'enter[s] [...] alone' in 2.4, planning Palamon's rescue; followed by a scene with Theseus and the court meeting Arcite; followed again by the Jailer's Daughter alone in 2.6, awaiting Palamon; followed by Arcite and Palamon meeting in the wood in 3.1; followed by the Jailer's Daughter alone, worrying about Palamon being eaten by wolves; followed by Arcite and Palamon bonding in 3.3; and then the Jailer's Daughter alone once more, imagining herself on a ship in 3.4. These scenes that switch between the Jailer's Daughter and the 'primary' peopled narrative all take part on the same night and mostly in 'Dian's wood' (2.5.51). Instead of the temple of Diana in *Pericles* which exhalted chastity, this moonish space has the especial potential to induce lunacy; as Lois Potter points out, the action here draws on 'a pun that is never made in the play itself: the double meaning of *wood* as "insane"'.[65] Diana's dominion in this play is a place of separation and lunacy. Taking Potter's pun a step further, the possessive could be seen as a contracted verb instead: 'Dian is wood'. The moon-character, in this instance, is mad. Bracketed by the Jailer's Daughter's monologues, Arcite and Palamon, in an exercise of bonding, discuss 'the wenches, | We have known in our days', women with whom they have had sexual relations with and then abandoned (Palamon, 3.3.27-28). They do not explicitly mention the Jailer's Daughter, and only the shadow of her narrative emerges in Arcite's:

> [...] There was a time
> When young men went a-hunting, and a wood,
> And a broad beech; and thereby hangs a tale—
> Hey ho. (3.3.39-42)

[65] Potter, 'Introduction', p. 4.

The 'tale' interrupted by 'hey ho', what Palamon interprets as a 'sigh [...] breathed for Emily', points to the hypothetical romantic love between the Jailer's Daughter and Palamon, and their meeting place in the wood (3.3.44). At the moment at which the Jailer's Daughter's story might have been related, she is eclipsed by the performance of the 'sigh'. As the kinsmen begin to argue again, the Jailer's Daughter's 'tale' is left hanging—her lunar story falls outside the parameters of the noble narrative which demands that the kinsmen fight over Emilia.

During one of the Jailer's Daugher's erratic monologues in the wood, she points out that 'the moon is down' (3.2.34). For her, the moon remains materially inaccessible, and she does not encounter the moon-character in 'Dian's wood'. The Jailer's Daughter's obsession with wolves and howling 'Hark, 'tis a wolf!' and 'I have heard | Strange howls this livelong night' also carry implications of the moon-character whose wishes go unsatisfied, like Phoebe's 'howling [...] against the moon' in Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (3.2.4, 3.2.11-12).[66] *As You Like It*—as I have shown in chapter two—is another Shakespearean play in which the Lylian moon is present but unavailable and in which moonish desires are closed down.[67] But not only is the moon materially inacessible to the Jailer's Daughter, but she herself evokes an insubstantial version of the moon-character. The Jailer's Daughter is often compared to Ophelia but rarely to Pandora under the influence of Luna.[68] Like the Jailer's Daughter in her madness, Pandora under Luna has a similar coining imagination and focus on imagery concerned with water, fishing, and the ocean.[69] The Jailer's Daughter's madness is also involved with heightened or inverse characteristics of Diana's chastity which reflect the lunatic implications of the moon.[70] Like Pandora, the Jailer's Daughter's lunacy involves an opposition to 'Nature': 'Oh, state of nature, fail together in me, | Since thy best props are warped! – So, which way now?' (3.2.31-32). Unlike Pandora, however, the Jailer's Daughter's demand that nature fail prefigures a call for her own destruction and suicide: 'The best way is the next way to a grave' (3.2.33). The Jailer's Daughter's final words in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* are a muted plea for her physical safety, as she is taken off by the Wooer so they might sleep together for her cure: 'But you shall not hurt me', and 'If you do, love, I'll cry' (5.2.111, 5.2.112). These reflect Nature's final words in *The Woman in the Moon* in which Stesias for punishment is sent to the moon alongside Pandora,

[66] William Shakespeare, *As You Like It*, ed. Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000; updated 2009; repr. 2016), 5.2.92-93.
[67] See chapter 2.
[68] See Carol Thomas Neely, *Distracted Subjects: Madness and Gender in Shakespeare and Early Modern Culture* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2004), p. 85.
[69] *The Woman in the Moon*, 5.1.26, 5,1,29, 5.1.197-98.
[70] *The Woman in the Moon*, 5.1.51-52.

carrying a thorn-bush with which to prick Pandora: 'I charge thee, follow her, but hurt her not'.[71] The stress on vulnerability at these final moments demonstrates how these characters are uniquely placed for harm. While, in *The Woman in the Moon*, the transformed Nature asks Stesias not to harm Pandora because of her opposition to obligitory relationality, the Jailer's Daughter asks not to be 'hurt' as she is subject to it (5.2.111). As in *Pericles*, in which Antiochus' Daughter emerged as a Pandora figure stripped of her agency, here the Jailer's Daughter is a Pandora-figure who cannot choose the moon. Instead, her lunatic imagination must be cured. Rather than a material recuperative moon-character, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* presents a shadowy and lunatic one. Imagining herself on a ship, the Jailer's Daughter sings a song to Cynthia, vailing to the moon-character like Emilia or the characters in *Pericles* (4.1.153). Directing her father after asking whether he is 'the master of a ship', the Jailer's Daughter mirrors Diana, the 'general of ebbs and flows', who Emilia approaches shortly after (4.1.142, 5.1.163). While Pericles encounters Diana on a ship, here, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the other characters humour the Jailer's Daughter's belief that she is on one. Recalling Lysimachus' desire not to cross Pericles during his moon-visit, the other characters in the scene pretend they are on a ship with her (4.1.146-49). Unlike Pericles, the Jailer's Daughter's interaction with the moon-character is interpreted as madness, as something internalized rather than witnessable.

Paralleling Lysimachus in *Pericles*, the Jailer's Daughter's Brother implores those looking after her: 'By no means cross her, she is then distempered | Far worse than she now shows' (4.1.119-20). Not crossing the Jailer's Daughter involves not giving her suffering due weight and attention as well as pandering to her 'imaginary' state, calling attention to how the Jailer's Daughter's shipwreck is a play-act and not part of the play's reality. The playwrights suggest that if suffering is staged it becomes more substantial than if left within the imagination. The metaphor of 'crosses' in *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen* has an obvious religiosity. Pericles could announce and enact his Christ-like suffering, and through that make his crosses substantial. As we have seen, *Pericles* raises the question of why some characters' woes are given more weight and are accounted for in the dramatic action. As the Jailer and his team act as mariners for the Jailer's Daughter, her emotional and mental state is relegated to meta-drama. Pericles' inward state on the other hand is projected and visible in the setting in which he exists in the turmoil of the ocean. For him, melancholy is an appropriate response to witnessed and personal relational trauma rather than a distorted view of the world. While Pericles' vision of Diana and the crosses he faces are validated by dramatic spectacle, the

[71] *The Woman in the Moon*, 5.1.338.

Jailer's Daughter's is delegitimized as pretend, a counterfeit ship. The Jailer's Daughter's crosses are not given repetition to the life and are not prioritized through resurrecting theatrical performance.

In her next scene, following early modern medical protocol, the Doctor asks if the Jailer's Daughter's 'distraction is more at some time of the moon, then at some other' (4.3.1-2). The Jailer replies that she is 'continually in a harmless distemper', once more drawing attention to the abandonment of the moon in her narrative (4.3.3). The Jailer's Daughter once again vails to the moon-character: 'We maids that have our livers perished, cracked to pieces with love, we shall come there and do nothing all day long but pick flowers with Proserpine' (4.3.22-25). Her appeal to the darker side of Diana (Proserpine) comes as a response to relational trauma (the liver, seat of desires, 'cracked to pieces' with love) which mirrors the larger arc of her journey over the play. As Lesel Dawson notes, the Jailer's Daughter displays 'lovesick behaviour', suggestive of the 'diseased, pathological form of virginity'.[72] In her lovesickness, she is mentally and emotionally a prey to relationality, as against the moon which has control over it. The Jailer's Daughter's sexual cure (being forced to marry the 'Wooer') involves bringing her back into socially sanctioned forms of relationships, rather than celebrating lunacy like Lyly's Pandora. At odds with Pandora's transformation of Nature, this cure involves an enforced restoring of nature through bringing her back to order. But in her 'lunatic' state, the Jailer's Daughter makes a series of shadowy lunar utterances, eruptive introductions of other tales through the stage convention for madwomen of quotation. Her songs do not just demonstrate inauthentic expressions of self mediated through other works but are also imperative disruptions to the singular hierarchized narrative of the play. Unlike the three queens, the Jailer's Daughter's eloquence does not come from a position of political power but it works to interrupt the dominance of nobility.

When the Doctor asks the Jailer about the relevance of the moon to the Jailer's Daughter's 'distraction', the Jailer also responds that she is 'dreaming of another world and a better' (4.3.1, 4.3.5). With this, the Jailer looks back towards the relationship between lunacy and utopian thinking in Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*, as I explored in my first chapter. While the Jailer nods towards the utopian imagination of the moon-character, the Jailer's daughter's 'dreaming of another world, and a better' is only 'dreaming'. This is not the transformation of nature that the moon-character could provide for Pandora, Endymion, and Galatea and Phillida, for instance. In *The Two Noble Kinsmen*,

[72] Lesel Dawson, *Lovesickness and Gender in Early Modern English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), p. 79, p. 83.

the moon-character also will not materialize and recognise the suffering of the Jailer's Daughter, as Diana does for Pericles. The Jailer's Daughter's sexual cure here in *The Two Noble Kinsmen* is completely at odds with the curative measures provided by Diana in *Pericles*. Following in the wake of the moon-character, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* concentrates on the pathologizing of the lunar imagination—a process that was only begun in Shakepeare's earlier moon-character plays, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *As You Like It*, and *Pericles*.

With all its aborted and fake endings, *The Two Noble Kinsmen* throws into confusion what the primary narrative of the play is and will be. It contains many para-narratives which pose possibilities and alternatives, such as the Robin Hood's tale of the prologue, the female knights' tale of Emilia and Hippolyta, the *Midsummer Night's Dream*-esque comedy and the *Hamlet*-esque tragedy to which the Jailer's daughter almost belongs. At the same time, the self-referential repetition of 'noble' and 'nobility' throughout the play brings it back to its source-text and to the suggestion that it has a singular dominant narrative—that of Chaucer, nobility, and constancy. The Epilogue reasserts the singleness and linearity of this narrative: 'the tale we have told | (For 'tis no other)'. This refers to *The Knight's Tale*, emphasising the play's narrative source, and purposefully denying the possibility of the 'other' tales (Epilogue.12-13). In the Prologue, the revived Chaucer, brought out from the grave, asks for a romance narrative, an accurate repetition of *The Knight's Tale* and the values of staid orthodoxy that it comes to stand for in the play. This pervasive sense of nobility is excessive—the play becomes 'the too noble kinsmen' and the relegation of the other narratives serve to emphasize the problems with the main one, and of giving certain perspectives more credibility than others. The hierarchy of narratives is questioned and may be subverted, as 'nobility' becomes more and more ironic (and also variegated, un-singular, inconstant), and the Jailer's Daughter's tale becomes tragic and then absurdist and then looks towards an uncertain future beyond the confines of the play. When Theseus tries to persuade Emilia to watch the competition between Arcite and Palamon to decide which of them will marry her, he tells her:

> […] Nature now
> Shall make and act the story, the belief
> Both sealed with eye and ear. [to Emilia] You must be present (5.3.13-15)

These words reflect how the play puts forward the act of witnessing as legitimizing. Theseus points to how the act of performance prioritizes Chaucer's 'tale', 'the story'. Here, 'Nature', the creator and actor of this noble narrative, takes over from the alternative lunar tales gestured towards in the play. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* can be read as a curtain call of the earlier moon plays—both in its numerous allusions to earlier moon characters and in its bringing to a close the optimism expressed in the

earlier plays for the potential to escape the rigid early modern marital system. The play confines the moon-characters who disrupt this system, both through chastity and hypersexuality, into the realm of lunacy.

Conclusion. The 'sea of joys'

By the time of the performances of these plays in the 1610s, the absence of the moon-character is foregrounded. The moon-character and what it has come to represent—evasion of obligatory forms of relationships and evasion of sexual trauma—underlies both *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*. There is a distinction drawn in these two plays between the dramatization of the moon as costumed and spectacular, a recuperative moon-encounter drawn from Lyly's *Endymion*, and the hidden, inarticulate, unspeakable moon, with reference to Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon*. As Diana asks Pericles to 'give [his crosses] repetition to the life', these plays suggest that there is validation and recuperation through the acting of suffering (5.1.238). In the plays, what is remedial occurs in what is witnessable rather than in the non-phenomenological world. The phenomenal poses a different kind of knowledge, a validated knowledge, through theatrical encounter. That which is staged offers a kind of solace and the witnessable asserts agency on stage. These plays are invested in the question of how characters and their suffering are given priority in the theatre. In both, we see a process where joy comes to be regulated by the demands of society. In *Pericles*, Diana appears on a ship, while the Jailer's Daughter imagines Cynthia on a counterfeit ship. These moments gesture towards how the moon-character might offer a way of navigating the ocean, the 'sea of joys' that threatens to engulf the characters and delegitimize their suffering. In *Pericles*, one of the ways in which suffering might be prioritized is through the witnessable moon. The moon's material and spectacular appearance serves to validate suffering. The moon-character has the potential to offer an interruption of the dominant narratives drawn out by the authorial voices of Gower and Chaucer. She stands for the new as opposed to the old and is suggestive of the radical possibilities of Lyly's moon-character. But these possibilities dematerialize. They are co-opted by the patriarchy in *Pericles* and, in *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, their absence is conspicuous.

In *Pericles*, these radical possibilities are partially available. Diana's band is revealed to be vitally useful and remedial in the face of sexual and relational trauma. Through encountering the moon, Pericles' trauma itself becomes spectacularly visible. However, Diana's band as a separatist space is

withheld in important ways from Antiochus's Daughter, Thaisa, and Marina. For them, the solace of the moon is ultimately unreachable. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* makes the problem of a withheld moon more explicit by dramatizing what happens in the wake of Diana's abandonment. The prioritized narrative of Chaucer's 'noble' tale, through being witnessed, dictates the natural and demands moments of lunar resistance are closed-down. The possibility of the moon-character is confined to the realm of lunacy, to subjective, intangible experience, which must be brought into conformity. In both plays, the boundaries between chastity and lunacy are predicated on the witnessability of the moon, on whether Diana is a vision or a material reality. The question of whether Diana is an appearer or an abandoner is also the question of whether chastity and female agency is knowable. It asks whether there is a defence or a solace against the oceanic force of regulated sexual encounters tied up in enforced monogamy and the kinship bond system. Through the Lylian moon-character, aberrations, alternative stories, and possibilities of different agencies disrupt the overarching authorial scripts which demand that suffering is minimalized and internalized, and that characters submit to a regulated version of joy. The performed narratives of Chaucer and Gower not only dictate what is 'natural' but dictate what is joyful. Both the conclusions to these plays push the characters in them into acquiescing with a collective 'joy'. The lunar becomes a kind of narrative resistant to the dominant script—as it goes unperformed, it is not recognized as a legitimate way out of the hegemonic social structures which prevail in the dramas.

Shakespeare and his collaborators refer to Gower and Chaucer explicitly but they only implicitly refer to the moon as a theatrical character (as established by Lyly and Shakespeare over the turn of the seventeenth century). The encounters between Shakespeare, Wilkins, and Fletcher with Lyly are also 'shadowy' and withheld, while the medieval encounters predominate. The playwrights' self-conscious use of sources highlights the way that control over the narrative dictates what is important and validated through dramatic performance. In the prioritizing of Gower and Chaucer and the withholding of the moon-character, we can see the process of naturalizing hegemonic patterns of relationality and being. By drawing a parallel between natural and authorial origins, these plays expose how 'nature' is crafted through its writers. Here, while Chaucer and Gower, stand-ins for the old and hegemonic, are involved with what is 'natural' and earthly, Lyly is treated as a lunar source involved with futurity and opposition to the way things are or were. In these plays—in the contexts of unremitting violence and sexual trauma—the utopian moon-character appears to be something irreconcilable with the state of the world and its power structures, something irresponsibly naïve.

Conclusion: The New Moon

Figure 5: Design of moon masquer and volatee, Inigo Jones, for Ben Jonson, *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (published 1640-41), from Orgel and Strong, p. 312, img. 108; p. 312, img. 107

In this thesis, I have charted how the moon-character, with its radical potential to disrupt normative relational structures, appears and vanishes over the course of the late sixteenth to the early seventeenth century. A distinctive moon-character, familiar to early modern audiences, appears onstage bringing certain expectations and shared knowledge. Focusing on Lyly and Shakespeare, I have traced the moon-character over a broadly chronological trajectory, from George Buchanan's masque, *Pompae Deorum in Nuptiis Mariae* (1565), in my introduction, to *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (*c.* 1613) by Fletcher and Shakespeare in my final chapter. This moon-character, as a model for relational and sexual alterity, flourished in the plays of Lyly and was recalled and foreclosed in the plays of Shakespeare, and Shakespeare in collaboration. By 1620, the moon-character that had the potential to disrupt relational norms and offer new forms of personhood was invisible. In his masque, *News From the New World Discovered in the Moon* (performed in 1620), discussed briefly in my

introduction, Ben Jonson describes lunar costume and props as 'the stale ensigns of the stages'.[1] The moon as a dramatic character, for Jonson, now looks tired rather than novel, forward-looking or utopian. This masque begins with the line 'News, news, news!' and is particularly concerned with newness, and with the logistics of disseminating news. At the temporal limit to my examination of the moon as a dramatic character, it is useful to return to Jonson's masque in order to uncover what the 'new moon' looks like in 1620. In Jonson's masque, following the precedent in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the alterity posed by the moon-character clearly becomes code for cultural and racial difference, as the moon brings with it a newness that is untrustworthy and ridiculous in comparison to the established James I (the Sun King). The word 'stale' was also in currency to evoke a prostitute, and Jonson's masque, like the other dramatizations of moon-characters that I have examined, engages with the moon's chastity or inconstancy, and the possibility of its disturbance of established relational practices. In the new moon phase of the lunar cycle, the lunar disk is not visible to the unaided eye. Likewise, in this masque, the moon-character who posed viable alternatives to the restrictive parameters of the early modern sex/gender system has thoroughly vanished. Instead, Jonson denounces the sexual and relational differences that had come to be associated with the moon through the framework of ridiculousness and moral depravity. In this conclusion, I look back on the trajectory of the moon-character that I have traced through my thesis, and then at Jonson's masque, in which the moon-character's radical opposition and transformational potential is significantly absent. Returning to the historical criticism that pejoratively viewed Lyly as the moon to Shakespeare's sun, I then seek to answer the question: why have all these critics looked back on Lyly's hopefulness so cynically?

In my introduction, I looked at Buchanan's masque, *Pompae Deorum in Nuptiis Mariae* (1565), and the Diana of wedding masques who challenged heterosexual monogamy but was closed down by nature and the world. I showed how Elizabeth I's resistance to marriage within the strict confines of the monarchy opened up questions about the structures of relationality in early modern Britain at large. The first chapter looked at how Lyly crafted the oppositional force involved with Diana and the moon in mid-sixteenth-century masques into a much more psychologically complex, transitional figure, and considered the challenging connection between the lunatic and utopian self in *The Woman in the Moon* (*c*. 1588). Here, I showed that Pandora's choice of the moon puts pressure on the historicist notion, gleaned from early modern medical texts, of the early modern woman as a

[1] Ben Jonson, *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* (1620) in *Ben Jonson: The Complete Masques*, ed. Stephen Orgel (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1969; repr. 1975). All references to this edition are given in the text.

transactional 'leaky vessel'. By inverting the Galenic model, the play destabilizes early modern ideas of the 'natural'. The chapter also explored how Pandora's lunatic language rejects a patriarchal and heteronormative view of the natural. At the end of the play, Nature's redefinition of the female as moonish gives femininity an existence 'beyond' its category, disrupting patriarchal structures and destabilizing the marriage bond. Lyly's *The Woman in the Moon* puts forward the notion that any claim toward a stable state of nature is also a claim to a monolithic mode of perception. The play links the 'natural', as a static set of hegemonic societal ideas, to being tethered to observable phenomena on earth. The moon-character, however, is distinctly untethered from the earth, and therefore can have a transformative effect on 'nature'. *The Woman in the Moon* puts forward a utopian resistance to a static version of nature. Through proffering lunacy as a choice, Lyly suggests that there is something hopeful and useful in its contrariness and unintelligibility. This is linked to Miranda Fricker's idea of 'hermeneutical injustice', 'where a person has no way to describe their experience because the conceptual frame doesn't exist yet due to their stigmatised or disempowered identity'.[2] While Lyly frames lunacy and its language as 'felicity', something joyful and resourceful, I showed in my next three chapters that the playwrights who respond to Lyly's moon-character often regard its lunacy pejoratively and push its gendered and relational diversity further into an unintelligibility that will not be cherished or deciphered.

In chapter two, by looking at Lyly's *Galatea* (*c*. 1584) as a hypotext for Shakespeare's *As You Like It* (*c*. 1600), I showed the beginning of the process of deeming Lyly's moon-character's oppositional stance to obligatory modes of relationship a 'lunacy […] so ordinary' (3.3.333). In Lyly's *Galatea*, as in *The Woman in the Moon*, encounter with the moon-character has a transformative effect on what is considered natural. *Galatea* is involved with dismantling the link between the intuitive and the 'natural', a body of ideas that are apparently experiential or evidential. This has also long been a project of queer theory, as J. Stewart explains: '[q]ueer theory and politics necessarily celebrate transgression in the form of visible difference from norms. These "Norms" are then exposed to be norms, not natures or inevitabilities'.[3] In this chapter, I showed that *As You Like It*, however, goes on to show the process of cementing a societal version of 'nature' as objective truth and in so doing smothers the diversity of individual experience. The chapter looked at how Lyly's 'unmatchable'

[2] S. Bear Bergman on Fricker in S. Bear Bergman and Meg-John Barker, 'Non-Binary Activism', in *Genderqueer and Non-Binary Genders*, ed. Christina Richards, Walter Pierre Bouman, and Meg-John Barker (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), pp. 31-51 (p. 41). From Miranda Fricker, 'hermeneutical injustice occurs [...] when a gap in collective interpretative resources puts someone at an unfair disadvantage when it comes to making sense of their social experiences', *Epistemic Injustice: Power and the Ethics of Knowing* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), p. 1.

[3] J. Stewart, 'Academic Theory', in *Genderqueer and Non-Binary Genders*, pp. 53-72 (p. 62).

Diana manifests itself in Shakespeare's Phoebe. Phoebe's moonishness is first regarded as disdain and then a lunacy which must be cured.

While Galatea/Tityrus' epilogue suggested moonishness could go on continuing beyond the drama, Rosalind/Ganymede's epilogue in *As You Like It* deconstructed moonishness within the framework of theatrical experience, as I explored in the conclusion to chapter two. I returned to Shakespeare's emphasis on metatheatre in the conclusion to the next chapter, when I looked at Moonshine in Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c*. 1595). These two instances of the self-consciously theatrical moon revealed a distance, in Shakespeare's drama, between the play-world, in which diverse forms of relationality and being are allowed to exist, and the oppressive structures of lived-life which prevent their accessibility of the stage. Chapter three, which looked at Lyly's *Endymion: The Man in the Moon* (*c.* 1588) in hypertextual relationship with Shakespeare's *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (*c.* 1595), also exposed Shakespeare's cynical response to the hopeful Lylian moon-character. Here, I traced a relationship between what is regarded as 'natural' and the comedic genre, especially its use of the ritualistic ending of marriage. In Lyly's *Endymion*, the moon-character poses an opposition to the linearity of straight time and the ritualistic ending of comedy. In *Endymion*, Cynthia's immeasurability is a challenge to theatrical representation, to the comedic genre, and to 'straight time', the idea of marriage as obligatory. As in *The Woman in the Moon*, choosing the moon is felicitous for Endymion, as the other earth-bound characters are pushed into crudely enforced and non-consensual marriages which look like punishment and confinement.

The chapter compared the transformational encounter between man and moon of Endymion and Cynthia with the much more mundane and monstrous encounter between Titania and Bottom. While Lyly's encounter is a transformational one, a neoplatonic elevation which breaks down the distinction between man and moon, Shakespeare's involves degradation and an inscribing of monstrous otherness to the moon-character. Titania's moon-bower is presented as 'foreign'—as a sexualized space to be colonized. Titania becomes no longer an obstructive force against a rigid version of compulsory heterosexual monogamy but instead finds herself subject to the comedic investment in the restoration of social order. This comedic investment is implicitly not just a dramatic form, but is a part of living in a non-fantastical world. The characters wake up from their dreams into marriage, and as Theseus takes charge of the marital proceedings, he regards the moon-character, and its evasion of compulsory relationality and queer temporality, as an 'airy nothing'

(5.1.16). In *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the ritualistic structural conclusion of comedy relates to pragmatism within lived life. In 'Pyramus and Thisbe', Shakespeare again emphasizes the overly-theatrical qualities of Lyly's moon-character, the 'moonish youth' that Rosalind/Ganymede, in *As You Like It*, called 'change-able, longing and liking, proud, fantastical, apish, shallow, inconstant, full of tears, full of smiles […] as boys and women are, for the most part, cattle of this colour' (3.3.338-42). In my final chapter, I brought these ideas about the materiality and spectacular qualities of the moon as dramatic character to the forefront. In *Pericles* (*c*. 1607), by Shakespeare and Wilkins, the moon-character, with its stance apart, only appears to the male hero, and is co-opted within a system which sees marriage as compuslory. *The Two Noble Kinsmen* (*c.* 1613), by Shakespeare and Fletcher, emphasizes the 'devastating logic' of a world without the escape that the moon-character might provide.[4] These collaborative works approach the borders of the canon at the other end to Lyly's plays. Here, references to Lyly's drama become shadowy, and the medieval authorities predominate, but the moon-character's absence is a loss which is palpable. Living in a world without the moon emerges as a dreadful compromise. Submitting to a hegemonic view of nature requires self-deceit, as Theseus observes at the end of *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, 'Let us look sadly […] and smile' (5.4.125-28).

In the Shakespearean drama that I have looked at, acquiescing with 'nature' aligns with a notion of 'joy', or a structural component of comedy and what we think of as a 'happy ending'. But I have shown that Lyly posed the moon-character's opposition to 'nature' as felicitous and hopeful in *The Woman in the Moon*, *Galatea*, and *Endymion*. In these plays, the moon-character promoted an alternative felicity to the collective joy associated with the comic ending. In Shakespeare's comedies, *As You Like It* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the hopefulness of the Lylian moon-character is undermined by the cynical settings of the plays and the structural demands of the genre. In Shakespeare's collaborative romance or tragicomic plays, *Pericles* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, the absence of the moon-character evokes despair. Tracing Lyly's investment of the moon-character through Shakespeare (both as sole author and in collaboration with Wilkins and Fletcher), I have shown that the moon-character—as someone who proposes serious alternative possibilities to traditional early modern marriage—undergoes a trajectory of rise and fall. Throughout this thesis, I have looked at the way in which Shakespeare has closed down the potential of Lyly's moon-character but I want to stress that Shakespeare also begrudgingly seems to be an admirer of Lyly and while—in the plays that I have examined—he superficially attacks Lyly's idealism, there is also a

[4] José Esteban Muñoz, *Cruising Utopia: The Then and There of Queer Futurity* (New York and London: New York University Press, 2009), p. 12.

sense of Shakespeare craving for the potential of Lyly's moon-character to come back. However, the absence of the moon-character is no longer a loss in Jonson's masque, *News from the New World Discovered on the Moon* (1620).

While, in *News from the New World Discovered on the Moon*, the moon-character's viable potential for alterity has vanished, Jonson's masque nevertheless draws on the cultural memory of this dramatic character. Jonson describes a transformative moon encounter in line with that of Lyly and Shakespeare, as a servant is described going to the moon, 'by the neat and clean power of poetry' (1st Herald) who is 'The mistress of all discovery' (2nd Herald, 94, 95):

> *1st Herald.* Who after a world of these curious uncertainties hath employed thither a servant of hers in search of truth, who has been there—
> *2nd Herald.* In the moon—
> *1st Herald.* In person—
> *2nd Herald.* And is this night returned. (96-101)

This is an emphatically material encounter which involves both personhood and location (the servant is 'In the moon –' 'In person'). With another potential allusion to Lyly, Jonson describes one of the ways of going to (or encountering) the moon: 'Endymion's way, by rapture in sleep or a dream' (l. 168). The language that is spoken by those who populate the moon is 'A fine lunatic language, i'faith', which perhaps refers obliquely to Lyly, three years before Drayton calls Lyly's prose 'lunatique' in his 'Elegy' to Henry Reynolds (1627), which was to mark the beginning of a long interconnected history of lunacy and Lylian writing, as I explored in my introduction (179).[5] Most significantly, Jonson's moon-characters also engage in non-normative gender and sexual activity on the moon, as the herald reports: 'There under one article both kinds are signified; for they are fashioned alike, male and female the same, not-heads and broad hats, short doublets and long points; neither do they ever untruss for distinction, but laugh and lie down in moonshine, and stab with their poniards; you do not know the delight of the Epicoenes in moonshine' (250-66). These people on the moon go on to be depicted as animals: 'the shes only lay certain eggs […] and of those eggs are disclosed a race of creatures like men, but are indeed a sort of fowl, in part covered with feathers (they call 'em Volatees), that hop from island to island' (257-61). This leads to the antimasque of 'Volatees', wearing appropriated Native American costume. The moon-character, as expanded upon by Lyly to pose alternatives to enforced heterosexual monogamy in the form of

[5] Michael Drayton, 'To My Most Dearely Loved Friend, Henery Reynolds Esquire, of Poets and Poesie', in *The Battaile of Agincourt* (London: 1627) <http://historicaltexts.jisc.ac.uk> [accessed 16th March 2019], pp. 204-8, img. 109-11 (p. 206; img. 110).

marriage, is here thoroughly dehumanized and tied to the geographical other as an object of colonialism. The moon-character here cannot enact transformative measures on the earth. As in Buchanan's earlier masque, in which the oppositional Diana emerged (in an antimasque-like fashion) and was subdued with recourse to 'nature', the Volatees, products of this different mode of relationality on the moon, are overturned by the masque proper, with Prince Charles playing the character of Truth and James I acting as 'Nature', 'rapt above the moon', unaffected by its disruptive influence (275-6).[6] Truth and Nature assume authority over the moon and its associated ridiculousness, novelty, and lunacy. The discourses of masculinity, rationality, and heterosexism feed into this presentation of James and Charles arriving to overcome moonishness, which can offer radical relational and gendered configurations. This offering, however, is presented as foreignized lunacy from the outset. James I as Nature is above the moon—'nature' is now out of the moon's purview, no longer available to be rewritten through its encounter with the earth. Here, in Jonson's masque, the diminished and subdued moon is clearly a political instrument. In a sharp change from Elizabeth's reign, the monarchy asserts its power through mastery over the moon-character and the pathologization of what it has come to represent.

After *News From the New World Discovered on the Moon*, when the moon-character appears in her traditional guise as moon-goddess in a lunar costume, she tends to be stripped of her oppositional potential. Charles was to perform again alongside a moon-character in *Salmacida Spolia*, after he became king (performed 1639, the last masque before the civil war). In this masque, Queen Henrietta Maria performed as Diana while Charles appeared as Philogenes, lover of the people. In 1639, Diana, played conspicuously by the wife of the King, was marked as married and no longer in opposition to the structure of marriage. Here we see the moon firmly pushed into the denominator of Hélène Cixous' fraction, under the sun. The moon-character is unable to exist except in conjunction with the authoritative male, the husband. In 'The Law's Resolutions of Women's Rights' (1632) it was maintained, 'The very goods which a man giveth to his wife are still his own: her chain, her bracelets, her apparel, are all the good-man's goods […] A wife how gallant soever she be, glistereth but in the riches of her husband, as the moon hath no light but it is the sun's'.[7] The performance of King/Queen as sun/moon marriage reflects broader societal configurations of gender roles within marriage and their associated rights.

[6] Stephen Orgel and Roy Strong, *Inigo Jones: The Theatre of the Stuart Court*, 2 vols (London: Sotheby Parle Bernet, 1973) I, 306, 312.
[7] 'The Law's Resolutions of Women's Rights' (1632) in *Daughters, Wives, and Widows: Writings by Men about Women and Marriage in England*, 1500-1640, ed. Joan Lasen Klein (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1992), pp. 27-61 (p. 47).

As I have shown over the course of my thesis, the moon-character that Lyly developed was involved with newness, with imagining a future that might hold alternative possibilities for the self in relationship with others. The focus in this thesis on sexual and relational politics has broader implications within the production of theatrical memory and the process of deeming literature worthy of study. As Jonson brands the moon-character 'stale'—outdated and prostituted—he also suggests that Lyly's sexual and relational utopia is a dead-end that has run its course and is unusable. I have explored throughout this thesis that what is deemed appropriate for theatre is intertwined with what modes of relationality are deemed appropriate by society. Jonson pathologizes and hypersexualizes the narrative of the moon-character and its alterity, and his masque moves on towards a 'newness' that rejects this character's possibilities. This discussion of the moon-character is therefore also a discussion about canonization. The discourses in Jonson's masque of masculine rationality are the same forces which denigrated the Lylian utopian moon-character in favour of Shakespeare's cynical answer to it in the years after the playwrights were writing, and regarded Lyly as the 'lunatique' moon to Shakespeare's sun. In the Elizabethan reign, Lyly was able to reverse Cixous' fraction, which places 'sun' over 'moon' in the same way as 'man' over 'woman'. After Elizabeth, however, lunar modes of being are oppressed and subdued. The critical response to Lyly's hopeful moon-character, both in his immediate wake and more recently, is therefore because of a continued resistance to denaturalize the relational and gendered structures encoded into 'nature', and a continued reluctance to look beyond the parameters of what we perceive to be earthly. Although this thesis is titled 'The Woman in the Moon', I have been looking at the *people* in the moon, and at the shifting relationships between them, as much as the moon-characters themselves. Underlying this thesis has been the question: how can we make meaningful connections with one another that are not restricted by society's fixed parameters, or by categorisation into inflexible roles within relationships? The moon-character is one way in which dramatists have looked at this question. Through its development by Lyly, the moon-character emerged as something with the potential to be exempt from the categories encoded onto the earth. Through encountering the moon-character, this exemption comes to bear on the mindsets and structures that currently exist. Such structures become malleable, and can be denaturalized through the perspective that stands apart from them. Instead of regarding this hopeful perspective as 'lunatic' and naive, this thesis has recognised its forward-looking resistance to oppressive ways of being in relationship with others.

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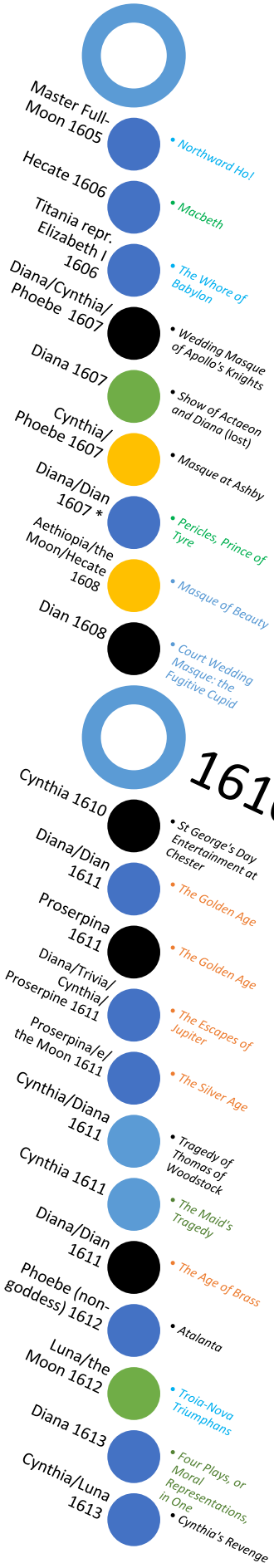
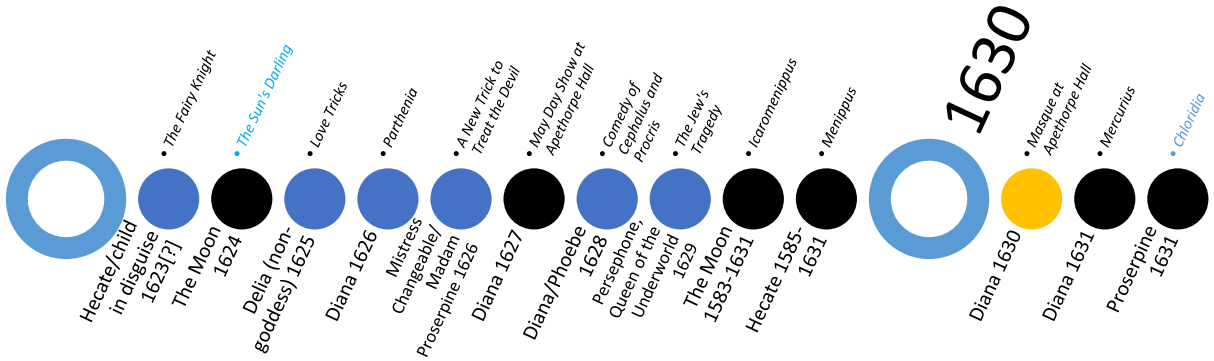
Appendix: Timeline for the Dramatic Moon-Character


Diana 1613 *
• The Two Noble Kinsmen
Lucina (non-goddess) 1610-14
• Valentinian
Mooncalf 1614
• Bartholomew Fair
Cynthia 1615
• Masque of Ulysses and Circe
Diana/Cynthia 1615
• Melanthe
Diana 1616
• Work for Jupiter
Hecate/Goody Hag 1616
• The Witch
Pandora 1617
• Homo
The Moon 1617
• The Vision of Delight
Diana/Cynthia /Phoebe/Lady Chastity 1617
• Cupid's Banishment
13 Moons 1619
• Masque of the Twelve Months
Diana 1619
• Amurath (The Courageous Turk)
Phoebe (non-goddess) 1619
• Demetrius and Enanthe
Phoebe (non-goddess) 1619
• The Humorous Lieutenant
1620
Volatees, lunar fowls 1621
• News from the New World Discovered on the Moon
Man in the Moon 1621
• The Man in the Moon Drinks Claret (lost)
Lunatics 1621
• The Pilgrim
Diana 1621
• Masque of Goddesses
Lucina, Queen of Night/Hecate/Proserpine 1622
• The Child Hath Found His Father
Diana/Dian/Hecate 1623
• Time Vindicated to Himself and His Honours
Endymion 1623
• Time Vindicated to Himself and His Honours


Master Full-Moon 1605
• Northward Ho!
Hecate 1606
• Macbeth
Titania repr. Elizabeth I 1606
• The Whore of Babylon
Diana/Cynthia/Phoebe 1607
• Wedding Masque of Apollo's Knights
Diana 1607
• Show of Actaeon and Diana (lost)
Cynthia/Phoebe 1607
• Masque at Ashby
Diana/Dian 1607 *
• Pericles, Prince of Tyre
Aethiopia/the Moon/Hecate 1608
• Masque of Beauty
Dian 1608
• Court Wedding Masque: the Fugitive Cupid
1610
Cynthia 1610
• St George's Day Entertainment at Chester
Diana/Dian 1611
• The Golden Age
Proserpina 1611
• The Golden Age
Diana/Trivia/Cynthia/Proserpine 1611
• The Escapes of Jupiter
Proserpina/e/the Moon 1611
• The Silver Age
Cynthia/Diana 1611
• Tragedy of Thomas of Woodstock
Cynthia 1611
• The Maid's Tragedy
Diana/Dian 1611
• The Age of Brass
Phoebe (non-goddess) 1612
• Atalanta
Luna/the Moon 1612
• Troia-Nova Triumphans
Diana 1613
• Four Plays, or Moral Representations, in One
Cynthia/Luna 1613
• Cynthia's Revenge



Play written by (or in collaboration with):

John Lyly
William Shakespeare
George Peele
Ben Jonson
Thomas Heywood
John Fletcher
Thomas Dekker

Moon-characters that I look at in detail are marked with an asterisk

Masques

Public plays

Masques in plays

Character not in stage directions or speech prefixes

Pageant/entertainment

Dialogue/uncertain status