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Politics, Parody and Patriarchy: Adapting Utopia in John Dryden and William Davenant's *The Tempest or, The Enchanted Island* (1667)

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> *Sebastian*: I think he will carry this island home in his pocket and give it his son for an apple.
>
> *Antonio*: And sowing the kernels of it in the sea, bring forth more islands. (*Tem*, 2.1.91–94)[1]

In Act 2, scene 1 of *The Tempest* (1611), Antonio and Sebastian mock Gonzalo for his optimistic, utopian view of the island where they have been shipwrecked as a place that offers "everything advantageous to life" (2.1.42). Their mocking of Gonzalo's fantastical hopes for the space was prescient as William Shakespeare's play did, indeed, "bring forth more islands" in that it inspired a number of adaptations.[2] This essay focuses on one such adaptation – John Dryden and William Davenant's *The Tempest or, The Enchanted Island* – and the ways in which this text transforms the utopian themes found in *The Tempest*.[3] The lines cited above are omitted from *The Enchanted Island*, as are Gonzalo's most overt references to the utopian tradition, but

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[1] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, ed. by Virginia Mason Vaughan and Alden T. Vaughan. The Arden Shakespeare, Third Series (London: Bloomsbury, 2011).

[2] Most directly, William Davenant and John Dryden, *The Tempest, or, The Enchanted Island* (London: Henry Herringman, 1670), which was then turned into an opera by Thomas Shadwell, *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (London: Henry Herringman, 1674). Dryden, Davenant and Shadwell's adaptations were burlesqued in Thomas Duffett's *The Mock-Tempest; or, The Enchanted Castle* (London: William Cademan, 1675).

[3] I hereafter use the abbreviated title *The Enchanted Island*; all references are from John Dryden and William Davenant, *The Tempest or the Enchanted Island*, ed. by Maximillian E. Novak and George R. Guffey. The Works of John Dryden. Vol. 10: *Plays; The Tempest; Tyrannic Love; An Evening's Love* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970), 1–103.

the play's utopianism is by no means effaced. It is instead redacted, relocated and updated for the political context in and for which Dryden and Davenant's play was produced. As I intend to demonstrate, utopianism took on increased political valence in the wake of the English Civil Wars, regicide and Interregnum, and Dryden and Davenant's play arguably presents different utopian visions in ways that mirror the diverging political views that persisted in London after the monarchy was restored in 1660.

The Tempest and Utopianism

It has long been acknowledged that Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is indebted to the utopian tradition.[4] The play is set in an archetypal utopian location – an unnamed, uncharted island, which is largely unexplored and at which almost all of the characters have arrived by accident.[5] As Crystal Bartolovich has pointed out, *The Tempest* is singular amongst Shakespeare's plays in its "insistent spatial ambiguity": it is markedly unmarked, pointedly unplottable.[6] In this way, Shakespeare situates his text in the "Nowhere(s)" of utopian worlds.[7] Caliban's description of the island's fertility (*Tem*, 2.2.157–161) and its natural music (3.2.135–143), like Prospero's

[4] See David Norbrook, "'What Cares These Roarers for the Name of King?': Language and Utopia in *The Tempest*", in Gordon McMullan and Jonathan Hope (eds), *The Politics of Tragicomedy: Shakespeare and After* (London: Routledge, 1992), 21–46; Judith E. Boss, "The Golden Age, Cockaigne, and Utopia in *The Fairie Queene* and *The Tempest*", *The Georgia Review* 26:2 (1972), 145–155; Jeffrey Knapp, *An Empire Nowhere: England, America, and Literature from* Utopia *to* The Tempest (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Stephen Greenblatt, "*The Tempest*: Martial Law in the Land of Cockaigne", in Kiernan Ryan (ed.), *Shakespeare: The Last Plays* (London: Longman, 1999), 206–244; Frank W. Brevik, *The Tempest and New World-Utopian Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016).

[5] All the courtiers are shipwrecked on stage, we learn retrospectively of Prospero and Miranda's shipwreck there as well as Sycorax's banishment and birthing of Caliban. Ariel and the Spirits are the notable exception.

[6] Crystal Bartolovich, "'Baseless Fabric': London as a 'World City'", in Peter Hulme and William H. Sherman (eds), *'The Tempest' and Its Travels* (London: Reaktion Books, 2006), 18.

[7] Knapp (1994), 7.

Arcadian masque – which prompts Ferdinand to proclaim "this place paradise" (4.1.124) – help to situate the play within the utopian tradition. For Stephen Greenblatt this masque is an "aristocrat's equivalent of the Land of Cockaigne", which was a type of utopian vision depicting a distant country or world where all men are idle, food and drink appears spontaneously, and the inhabitants can have "free sex with ever-willing partners".[8] As Judith E. Boss and others have noted, moments such as Gonzalo's speech (2.1.144–169) are indebted to texts in the utopian tradition, from accounts of the Cockaigne to Ovid and Hesiod's representations of the Golden Age.[9] Gonzalo's speech also echoes Michel de Montaigne's "Of the Cannibals", which responds to the utopian tradition by comparing the reports of a Brazilian tribe's lifestyle to "the golden age, and al hir quaint inventions to faine a happie condition of man" and by placing his essay in dialogue with Plato's republic to show that Plato's "imaginarie common-wealth" is not as ideal as "this perfection".[10] The ways in which Shakespeare's play interacts with the utopian tradition are thus myriad.

Shakespeare does not present these utopian visions in a straightforward manner, but instead stages contemporary debates about the dual nature of utopia, about its positive and negative sides. The play seems attuned to the patterns of irony and contradiction that characterized some of the key texts in the utopian genre such as Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516). Indeed, Alonso's response to Gonzalo's speech – "No more. Thou dost talk nothing to me" (*Tem*, 2.1.172) – has been convincingly read as a pun on More's name and his *Utopia*, drawing our attention to the double meaning of *Utopia* as both good place and no place.[11] More's name has of course famously been used for puns that reflect this appreciation of irony and contradiction by both

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[8] Greenblatt (1999), 221; Herman Pleij, *Dreaming of Cockaigne: Medieval Fantasies of the Perfect Life*, trans. by Diane Webb (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 3.

[9] For connections with Cockaigne see Greenblatt (1999), 221; for Cockaigne and the Golden Age see Boss (1972), 152; for Ovid see Daniel Carey, "Travel, Utopia, and Conflict: Patterns of Irony in Early Modern Utopian Narratives", in Gábor Gelléri and Rachel Willie (eds), *Travel and Conflict in the Early Modern World* (London and New York: Routledge, 2021), 226–247.

[10] Michel de Montaigne, "Of the Caniballes", in *The Essayes or Morall, Politike and Millitarie Discourses*, trans. by John Florio (London: Val. Sims for Edward Blount and William Barret, 1603), 102; For the relationship between this speech and Montaigne see Margaret T. Hodgen, "Montaigne and Shakespeare Again" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 16.1 (1952), 23–42 as well as most scholarly editions of the text.

[11] John X. Evans, "Utopia on Prospero's Island", *Moreana* 18 (1981), 81–83.

his close friends and by himself.[12] In addition to Alonso's dismissal of Gonzalo's speech as "nothing", the speech itself seems to recognize its own irony. Sebastian and Antonio accuse Gonzalo of unintentional hypocrisy in the construction of his imaginary island which would have "No sovereignty" (2.1.157), and yet be ruled by him as "King" (46). Antonio jokes that "The latter end of his commonwealth forgets the beginning" (158–159), but it is Antonio and Sebastian whose memories are at fault because Gonzalo begins his speech with the disclaimer that "I' th' commonwealth I would by contraries / Execute all things" (148–149). The word "contraries" can be read as a reference to the inherent contradictions contained within the utopian tradition.[13]

Similarly, Miranda's exclamation at the end of the play, "O brave new world / that has such people in't" (5.1.183–184), ironically inverts the utopian tradition in which travellers met inhabitants of far-off lands: instead, Miranda, an inhabitant of the island 'discovers' and is taken aback by the sights of courtiers from her own birthplace. Prospero playfully remarks "tis new to thee" (184), and this scene is so notably ironic in relation to utopia that it inspired the title of Aldous Huxley's dystopian novel *Brave New World* (1932). Likewise, Caliban's discussions of the beauty and natural abundance of the island are belied by the fact that it is also the site of his torture and imprisonment. Finally, the Arcadian wedding masque for Ferdinand and Miranda may celebrate its own ability to avoid the intrusion of the unwanted and disruptive Venus and Cupid, but it is instead (ironically) interrupted by the intrusive rebellion of Caliban, Trinculo and Stephano. In Shakespeare, then, these utopian imaginings are neither condemned nor necessarily praised, but they do not seem intended for practical application; instead, the play invites us to reflect critically on the visions presented through a recognition of the underlying irony of utopian writing. Thus, this text engages us in the side of utopian thought which tended towards playful experimentation, fantastical wish-fulfilment and philosophical debate – but by the time of Dryden and Davenant's adaptation utopian concepts had become far less illusory.

[12] For a recent discussion of puns in *Utopia* see Stephanie Elsky, *Custom, Common Law, and the Constitution of English Renaissance Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), ch. 2.

[13] For a general introduction to contradiction and irony in *Utopia* see J. C. Davis, "Goodbye to Utopia: Thomas More's *Utopia* Conclusion", in J. C. Davis and Miguel Ángel Ramiro Avilés (eds), *Utopian Moments: Reading Utopian Texts* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), 15–20; for linguistic contradictions see Alan F. Nagel, "Lies and the Limitable Inane: Contradiction in More's *Utopia*", *Renaissance Quarterly* 26:2 (1973), 173–180.

The Enchanted Island and the Politics of Late Seventeenth-Century Utopias

The Enchanted Island omits most of the aforementioned examples of utopianism,[14] but Dryden and Davenant can nonetheless be seen to build upon *The Tempest*'s impulse towards utopianism, transforming it in ways that both reflect and deflect the politics of the 1660s. For example, Gonzalo's insistence on assuming a king-like role in a sovereign-free state likely took on new significance in the years following Oliver Cromwell's governance as Lord Protector (1653–1658), as it may not have been politic to invite links between Cromwell and the play's most honest and morally appealing character.[15] Utopia could no longer be represented as merely a philosophical thought project or a thing of (purely) fantastical creation as people living in the Three Kingdoms already had first-hand experience of living through what was for some perceived as a new 'model' or utopian state. On the eve of the English Civil Wars, Charles I labelled Parliament's "Nineteen Propositions" "a new Utopia of religion and government into which they endeavour to transform this Kingdom".[16] His tone may be dismissive, but it nonetheless highlights how the Parliamentarian revolutionaries became associated with utopian thinking. In the wake of the English Civil Wars and regicide, utopian thought was thus often read as a direct threat to monarchical and patriarchal order.

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[14] The exception is Caliban's descriptions of "every fertile inch i'th' Isle" to Trincalo which is retained in *The Enchanted Island* at 2.3.185.

[15] Royalists such as John Evelyn thought Cromwell was "affecting King-ship", see *The Diary of John Evelyn*, ed. by John Bowle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 171; David Norbrook described how Cromwell's storming of Parliament in 1653 resulted in disillusionment for the republicans of a more utopian spirit because it was "a flagrant assertion of arbitrary power and personal ambition" (*Writing the English Republic: Poetry, Rhetoric, and Politics, 1627–1660* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999], 299).

[16] John Rushworth, "Historical Collections: June 1642", in *Historical Collections of Private Passages of State.* Vol. 4 *1640–42* (London, 1721), 722–751.

Utopian writing may have been more politically charged than ever before, but it was also a very popular genre of writing. Utopian writing flourished in England from around 1640.[17] As Amy Boesky notes, "the so-called classical utopia in England belongs more to the seventeenth century than to the sixteenth", adding that "as English self-consciousness intensified prior to and during the Civil War, the utopia as a discursive form offered a particularly potent space for representing historical rupture".[18] Gabrielle Plattes's *A Description of the Famous Kingdome of Macaria* (1641), Gerrard Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom in a Platform* (1652) and James Harrington's *Oceana* (1656) all used the utopian mode of literature to propose genuine options for social change: they were intended to be taken very seriously, with all three addressed directly to government.[19] Winstanley had led a group of Diggers to establish a utopian society on St George's Hill in Surrey and had written to Parliament to defend their rights to establish such communes;[20] sects such as the Fifth Monarchists were outwardly anticipating the millennium;[21] and even on the eve of Restoration, Harrington and the Rota-Club (established

[17] Data from Lyman Tower Sargent, *Utopian Literature in English: An Annotated Bibliography from 1516 to the Present* (University Park, PA: Penn State Libraries Open Publishing, 2016) shows that between the publication of Thomas More's *Utopia* in 1516 and 1639 only 28 utopian titles were produced, with sporadic publication and a maximum of two titles per year. In contrast, in the much shorter time frame of 1640 to 1682, 65 utopian titles were published, with as many as six titles published in a year.

[18] Amy Boesky, *Founding Fictions: Utopias in Early Modern England* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1996), 11.

[19] Gabriel Plattes, *A Description of the famous kingdome of Macaria* (London: Francis Constable, 1641); Gerrard Winstanley, *The law of freedom in a platform: or, true magistracy restored* (London: Gerrard Winstanley, 1652); James Harrington, *The common-wealth of Oceana* (London: Livewell Chapman, 1656).

[20] One example of Winstanley's many petitions is *An Appeale to All Englishmen, to Judge between Bondage and Freedome, Sent from Those That Began to Digge upon George Hill in Surrey* (London, 1650).

[21] For a comprehensive overview of the activities of the Fifth Monarchists, see Bernard Capp, *The Fifth Monarchy Men: A Study in Seventeenth-Century English Millenarianism* (London: Faber and Faber, 1972).

in 1659) were busy planning alternative social structures in association with utopian literature.[22] Harrington and others continued to meet even after the Restoration,[23] and the threat – outlined in utopian terms by Charles I – persisted in the reign of his son and heir, Charles II. Thus, by choosing to adapt and stage Shakespeare's *The Tempest* in 1667, Dryden and Davenant were engaging with utopian material that was liable to attract both audiences and controversy.

The Enchanted Island and Failed Utopias

The text of *The Enchanted Island* is clearly politicised, and the majority of this politicisation is located in the rewriting of the comic subplot focusing on the sailors.[24] In Dryden and Davenant's adaptation Stephano and Trincalo are joined by Ventoso and Mustacho and, instead of banding together with Caliban to usurp Prospero, they attempt to set up their own governments and fight amongst themselves – ignoring Prospero's existence entirely. Stephano claims rule through absence of alternate authority figures, and Trincalo – rejecting this –

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[22] For a recent discussion of the Rota-Club see Rachel Hammersley, *James Harrington: An Intellectual Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), ch. 14.

[23] Mary Anne Everett Green (ed.), *Calendar of State Papers Domestic: Charles II, 1661–2* (London: Longman, 1861), vol. 41, 86 (9 September 1661).

[24] John Shanahan, "The Dryden-Davenant *Tempest*, Wonder Production, and the State of Natural Philosophy in 1667", *The Eighteenth Century* 54:1 (2013), 91–118; Candy B. Schille, "'Man Hungry': Reconsidering Threats to Colonial and Patriarchal Order in Dryden and Davenant's *The Tempest*", *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 48:4 (2006), 273–290; Gavin Foster, "Ignoring *The Tempest*: Pepys, Dryden, and the Politics of Spectating in 1667", *Huntington Library Quarterly* 63:1/2 (2000), 5–22; Michael Dobson, "'Remember / First to Possess his Books': The Appropriation of *The Tempest*, 1700–1800", *Shakespeare Survey* 43 (1991), 99–107; Eckhard Auberlen, "*The Tempest* and the Concerns of the Restoration Court: A Study of *The Enchanted Island* and the Operatic *Tempest*", *Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 15:2 (1991), 71–88; George R. Guffey, "Politics, Weather, and the Contemporary Reception of the Dryden-Davenant *Tempest*", *Restoration: Studies in English Literary Culture, 1660–1700* 8:1 (1984), 1–9; Katharine Eisaman Maus, "Arcadia Lost: Politics and Revision in the Restoration *Tempest*", *Renaissance Drama* 13 (1982), 189–209.

attempts to claim rule through marriage to Sycorax. Their plots dissolve into factions, infighting and internal warfare, offering clear and satiric parodies of the Civil Wars and the Interregnum years.[25] As Michael Dobson has pointed out, "harmlessly replayed versions of the Interregnum" were common in the Restoration;[26] thus, the isolation of this comic subplot from the main plot of *The Enchanted Island* might be seen as an example of one such harmless way to depict and parody the 1640s and 50s. Similarly, Eckhard Auberlen has astutely noted how Stephano, Mustacho and Ventoso's discussions of elections and parliamentary representation closely resemble Leveller tracts demanding that Parliament recognized its responsibility to the whole body of citizens.[27] He concludes that Dryden and Davenant do so in order to represent these notions as "absurd" and to "confirm […] the rightness of the new regime".[28] In contrast, Katharine Eisaman Maus has suggested that the sailor's ignorance of Prospero's patriarchal authority portrays a "more dangerous" version of the "threat of usurpation in the Shakespeare play" in which Prospero's ideology of control "is subverted by the possibility that the patriarchal conception of monarchy is bankrupt".[29] I would suggest that contrary to this, it is less their ignorance of Prospero's regime and more their inability to depart from this bankrupted ideology which results in the failure of their utopian vision and government. What Dobson, Auberlen, Maus and others have overlooked are the direct links between the utopian tradition and the discussion of elections found in the play's subplot.

The government which the sailors establish is closely related to republican utopian writings and it further reflects the warnings of utopian texts against more traditional monarchical power relations. Elections and their organisation were central topics treated in republican utopias such as Harrington's *Oceana* and Winstanley's *The Law of Freedom*. These utopian literary texts suggested fixed terms for parliaments, argued for broader suffrage and levied criticism at any reliance on outdated conceptions of authority. For example, Winstanley suggests that by following his proposed format of government, in which elections are held each year, England will become "*Jerusalem* […] in the Earth";[30] a New Jerusalem or millenarian paradise. He

[25] See Auberlen (1991), 71–88; Maus (1982), 189–209.

[26] Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation and Authorship* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 20–21.

[27] Auberlen (1991), 77.

[28] Ibid., 78, 84.

[29] Maus (1982), 204.

[30] Winstanley (1652), E1v for yearly elections; quote D3r.

further claims that a commonwealth which did not follow these governmental formats would "establish the Kings old Laws, though they give it a new name".[31] Similarly, Harrington argued for rotational government, secret ballots and free elections in great detail throughout the whole of *Oceana*, and the text itself has been seen as advice against accepting king-like authority in government due to its vision of "Cromwell as Lord Archon willingly giving up power".[32] The sailors bring up these notions of elections by suggesting they have had an election in a "full Assembly", proposing rotational government by suggesting that Trincalo succeed them once they are "weary of Governing", and by arguing over who is best placed to speak for the people.[33] At heart, however, they all aim to control rather than to establish a society based on these utopian ideals. The sailors, as Auberlen has noted, are not "true republican[s]", and they continually and hypocritically rely on conceptions of monarchy, thus linking them to Cromwell who, as mentioned above, was criticized for adopting a quasi-monarchical position.[34] Stephano imagines himself violently wielding a sceptre, Trincalo refers to himself as "King", and Ventoso insists that Trincalo has to kiss Stephano's hand as his subject.[35] It is hard not to see the sailors as representatives of those few who Winstanley thought should be excluded from running for office – "drunkards, quarrelers, [and] fearful ignorant men" – as well as "those who are interessed in the Monarchical Power and Government" and who should not even be allowed to vote.[36]

This is not to say that Dryden and Davenant would have been supporters of the societies described in republican authored utopias, but rather that the satire was more pointed and more directly related to the utopian literary tradition than has previously been recognized. Dryden and Davenant's move in the subplot from the ironic contradictions and playfulness in Shakespeare's play and the utopian tradition more generally towards specific satire is reflective of the contextual political shift and, indeed, a shift in the utopian genre. As Jean Weisgerber puts it, "satire require[s] a social background" and targets a specific element or person in society whereas with irony the "target fades out of sight" and blame is laid on something more

[31] Ibid., D1r.

[32] Laura Lunger Knoppers, *Constructing Cromwell: Ceremony, Portrait and Print, 1645–1661* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 107.

[33] Dryden and Davenant (1970), 2.3.110, 3.2.116–117, 2.3.60–78.

[34] Auberlen (1991), 78.

[35] Dryden and Davenant (1970), 3.2.55–56, 2.3.101, 109.

[36] Winstanley (1652), E3r.

"elusive".[37] Accordingly, Dryden and Davenant's satirical parody of the Interregnum parliament is clear, and it relies on an understanding of the social background and the genre of utopian writing from which they draw. The Interregnum years had provided a chance for a concretisation of utopian ideals and a real opportunity for social reform, which of course coincided with the production of more earnest utopian writing. Shakespeare and More engage with utopia in its more abstract, playful form and irony is employed to reflect upon society and its structures. *The Enchanted Island* focuses in on the recent events of the Interregnum and satirizes their failures. Dryden and Davenant are keen to make a distinction, however, and their satire rests not upon the utopian ideals themselves but upon the sailors' inability to establish a truly utopian government in line with republican literary utopias. In this sense, the sailors are mocked not for having a utopian vision of what the island could be, but rather because their utopian vision is dependent less upon the principles of republican utopianism, and more upon outdated models of kingship.

Gender, Utopia and the Patriarchal Marriage Plot

Outdated patriarchal authority is not only the cause of failure in the comic subplot but is also under threat from more successful and subversive utopian visions. In Shakespeare's play the reassertion of patriarchal order is achieved through marriage: Prospero insists that his daughter, Miranda, marries the King of Naples' son, Ferdinand, in order to safeguard his power once back in Milan. Shakespeare's use of marriage also sees him transform one of his utopian source texts. As Stephen Greenblatt notes, in William Strachey's "A True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates", a recognized source for Shakespeare's play, the sailors were stranded on an island which seemed to fulfil the dream of the Land of Cockaigne in its abundance of resources.[38] This experience of utopia and potential for freedom led to conflict with the established authority of the Governor.[39] The sailors of Strachey's report, enamoured

[37] Jean Weisgerber, "Satire and Irony as Means of Communication", *Comparative Literature Studies* 10:2 (1973), 157–172, quotes 160 and 165.

[38] William Strachey, "A True Reportory of the Wracke and Redemption of Sir Thomas Gates", in Samuel Purchas (ed.), *Purchas His Pilgrimes* (London, 1625), vol. 4, 1734–1758.

[39] Greenblatt (1999), 227–228.

with the island, did not want to carry on with their journey: they wanted instead to continue with their enjoyment of "liberty, and fulness of sensuality" and this resulted in multiple rebellions, which are marginally represented in Shakespeare's play by Trinculo and Stephano's usurpation plot.[40] The reassertion of the authority of the Governor and the Virginia Company, as Greenblatt interprets it, is transformed in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* into an authority of patriarchal control which is emblematized by marriage.[41] I propose that the same urge and the same threat which utopia poses to established order is clearly visible in Dryden and Davenant's adaptation. I would further argue that it is this emblem of authority – patriarchal marriage – which the contesting utopian visions of the female bodies / characters of *The Enchanted Island* rail against. Whilst both *The Tempest* and *The Enchanted Island* are concerned with the reassertion of patriarchal power against rebellious utopian desires, the Restoration play uses utopia to expose new anxieties concerning female agency and rebellion.

Dryden and Davenant's adaptation multiplies the number of marriages in Prospero's plot to gain dynastic power so that not only does Prospero intend to marry Miranda to Ferdinand but also Dorinda to Hippolito, and this is parodied by the marriage of Trincalo and Sycorax. Dryden and Davenant's Prospero is also more repressive, tyrannical and dogmatic than Shakespeare's in his pursuit of power and control over his subjects, but he simultaneously lacks the power to control those subjects, leading Maus to align him with "the neurotic and domineering father of farce".[42] Throughout the play Prospero's own daughters, Miranda and Dorinda, disobey him, lie to him, and display a sexual curiosity which undermines his authority, but it is Hippolito – the young Duke of Mantua who was usurped alongside Prospero – whose transgression takes the form of an opposing utopian vision.

In *The Enchanted Island* Hippolito's desires for utopia work to counteract the emblematic authority of Prospero's patriarchal marriage plot. Although Hippolito is a male character, a female actor played him, and the fact of her female body on the stage is, as Jocelyn Powell notes, intrinsic to the character.[43] As Laura J. Rosenthal has pointed out, this gender-blending

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[40] Strachey (1625), 1743.

[41] Greenblatt (1999), 230.

[42] Maus (1982), 196.

[43] William Van Lennep, Emmet Langdon Avery and Arthur H. Scouten, *The London Stage, 1660–1800*. Part 1 *1660–1700* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1965), 123, list Mrs Long as playing Hippolito; Jocelyn Powell, *Restoration Theatre Production*. Theatre Production Studies (London and Boston: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1984), 76.

"calls the greatest attention to the new play's fascination with the dangers of female sexual subjectivity".[44] Prospero has brought Hippolito up in a cave, separate from his daughters, and he has never met a woman because Prospero has predicted that meeting one before a certain age will be fatal for him. When Prospero's daughters disobey him and approach the cave, Hippolito meets Dorinda and finds he is unharmed, deciding that he in fact loves women. Shortly after, Prospero imprisons the more experienced Ferdinand in Hippolito's cave, and Ferdinand reveals to Hippolito that more than one woman exists. Hippolito's defining characteristic throughout the rest of the text is his urgent searching for more women he can love. Although Auberlen has suggested that this is merely typical libertine sexual humour, Hippolito's envisioning of his possession of many women goes beyond simple sexual fantasy and strays into the envisioning of travel to other worlds in order to fulfil this fantasy – much like Cockaigne.[45] After finding out that there are only two women on the enchanted island, he states: "This is a base poor world, I'le go to th' other; / I've heard men have abundance of 'em there".[46] In order to succeed in the attainment of his Cockaigne style vision of more women, Hippolito battles with Ferdinand for the possession of the women, and in doing so subverts Prospero's plans. Having been fatally wounded by Ferdinand, Prospero goes on to order Ferdinand's death, and dissolves all of his scheming for marital resolution. It is only when Ariel, another female body on the stage, decides of his own accord to cure Hippolito that the happy conclusion is brought about.[47]

Some read the conclusion of the play – Hippolito's near death by stabbing and subsequent revival by Ariel – as a punishment which results in this uncontrolled desire being brought into the patriarchal order and the establishment of marriage:[48] I would like to disrupt the tidiness of this reading. Hippolito does, at first, appear cowed after being stabbed and restates his dedication to Dorinda:

Hippolito: I repent it, the fault

[44] Laura J. Rosenthal, "Reading Masks: The Actress and the Spectatrix in Restoration Shakespeare", in Katherine M. Quinsey (ed.) *Broken Boundaries: Women & Feminism in Restoration Drama* (Lexington, KY: The University Press of Kentucky, 1996), 208.

[45] Auberlen (1991), 75–76.

[46] Dryden and Davenant (1970), 4.1.189–190.

[47] Van Lennep et al. ([1965], 123) list Mary (Moll) Davis as playing Ariel.

[48] Rosenthal (1996); Matthew H. Wikander, "'The Duke My Father's Wrack': The Innocence of the Restoration *Tempest*", *Shakespeare Survey* 43 (1991), 91–98.

Was only in my blood, for now ’tis gone, I find
I do not love so many.[49]

However, only thirteen lines later, Hippolito meets Miranda, and laments his loss of blood stating “For if I had that blood, I then / Should find a great delight in loving you”. After being rebuked by Miranda, he continues to pursue her: “Yet I find that if you please I can love still a little”.[50] Even in his weakened state, Hippolito’s Cockaigne style vision of the world and his will to pursue it remains intact.

I would also suggest that Hippolito and Dorinda’s relationship does not appear to be convincingly settled by the marital plots at the conclusion of the play. Despite the fact that Prospero promises at the end to, at some point, make Dorinda and Hippolito one, it is difficult to believe that this coupling will take place. Both Dorinda and Hippolito seem alarmed by the idea of marriage:

Hippolito: How can he make us one, shall I grow to her?
Prospero: By saying holy words you shall be joy’nd in marriage
To each other.
Dorinda: I warrant you those holy words are charms.
My father means to conjure us together.[51]

Dryden and Davenant thus allow Hippolito’s Cockaigne vision and utopian hopes to remain a potential threat to Prospero’s patriarchal plan in the long term. The transgressive nature of Hippolito’s (and to a lesser extent Miranda’s and Dorinda’s) sexual curiosity is bound up with the female body, utopian visions and the rejection of patriarchal authority.

“Queen Blouze” and the Politics of Divorce

In a parody of Prospero’s central marriage plots, Trincalo intends to make Sycorax his “Queen Blouze” and gain power through marriage to the “lawful inheritrix” of the island.[52] This marriage is the only one which does seem to be confirmed on stage as Trincalo calls her

[49] Dryden and Davenant (1970), 5.2.45–47.

[50] Ibid., 5.2.60–61, 64.

[51] Ibid., 5.2.167–171.

[52] Ibid., 3.2.119–120.

"Spouse" and they leave the stage to consummate the marriage.[53] Sycorax, however, will not be easily subsumed into this narrative, and instead becomes another female body / character to resist the patriarchal plot.[54] Despite being married she remains what Candy Schille has called "man hungry" – noting that she offers to couple with all of the sailors and does, reportedly, have sex with her own brother.[55] Sycorax further demonstrates her power in divorcing Trincalo; after discovering that he has slighted her physical appearance, Sycorax states "Be gone! Thou shalt not be my Lord, thou say'st I'm ugly" and then physically attacks him.[56] In this action she highlights her conception of her status in the marriage as equal. Crucially, during the debates of the Civil Wars royalists used marriage – a hierarchical and irrevocable relationship between husband and wife – as a metaphor for a hierarchical and irrevocable relationship between a king and his subjects. As a result, Parliamentarians were often forced to argue that there were inherent restrictions on a husband's authority and that a wife could oppose her husband if he broke those restrictions. They often, thereby, found themselves arguing for divorce: with varying degrees of willingness and consistency.[57] In her action of divorce, Sycorax claims her political power as a woman, a subject and an "inheritrix" of the island. She recognizes that it is she who creates the ruling government, and, pivotally, that she can unmake them in the same way rebellious subjects can unmake kings. Of course, these divorce references can and should be read as a parody of Parliamentarians failing to control their subjects and a reflection of the hypocrisy in their own divorce rhetoric. However, the staging of a rebellious female body / character divorcing and physically attacking her husband, who is, simultaneously, a proclaimed ruler on the island, would certainly be reminiscent of the recent rebellions and regicide. In this

[53] Ibid., 3.3.98.

[54] Dobson ([1995], 101–102) and Susan B. Iwanisziw have suggested that Sycorax may have been played by a male actor (cf. Iwanisziw, "The Shameful Allure of Sycorax and Wowski: Dramatic Precursors of Sartje, the Hottentot Venus", *Restoration and Eighteenth-Century Theatre Research* 16:2 [2001], 3). However, I can find no evidence for this casting assumption in *The London Stage* or *Roscius Anglicanus.* This may be because male characters playing female ones was an established feature of the stage at this time whereas female characters playing male ones was novel.

[55] Schille (2006).

[56] Dryden and Davenant (1970), 4.2.141–142.

[57] Mary Lyndon Shanley, "Marriage Contract and Social Contract in Seventeenth Century English Political Thought", *Political Research Quarterly* 32:1 (1979), 79–91.

way, and by contrasting this with the other characters' rationalizations of their governance, the play underscores the ambiguity and equivalency between various claims for the right to rule. In the wake of the Restoration and the declining belief in both primogeniture and the divine right of kings, the question of who has the right to rule and the right to rebel had become far more open ended.

Sycorax's resistance to the sublimation of power is linked both to her gender and to her ability to control the utopian space of the island. Although Trincalo convinces himself that he is in charge, and Sycorax and Caliban do not necessarily disabuse him of this assumption at first, it is in fact Caliban and Sycorax who control the larger number of subjects – "a hundred spirits to attend us" – who are able to produce music and entertainment for them at will.[58] Presumably, they are also able to provide food, much like the spirits Ariel directs to produce a Cockaigne style banquet for the courtiers.[59] It is worth noting that these fantasy-fulfilling spirits were left to the pair by their mother, emphasizing the female line and the Hobbesian notion that in a state of nature "dominion is in the mother".[60] At the end of the play, Sycorax is not subsumed by patriarchal power, nor is she punished, instead she is, as Schille argues, "abandoned" by it.[61] The western courtiers and sailors all flee the island, but she and the other inhabitants remain, unpunished and unacknowledged, to continue to govern themselves in the matriarchal state of nature. Sycorax, Caliban, Ariel and the other spirits are left in the Arcadian utopian space which Prospero's closing lines emphasize:

> The Promises of blooming Spring live here,
> And all the Blessings of the rip'ning year;
> On my retreat let Heaven and Nature smile
> And ever flourish the *Enchanted Isle*.[62]

Thus, Sycorax as an unruly female subject, along with other unruly subjects who act of their own accord, is associated with utopian visions which imply direct threat to monarchical and patriarchal order.

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[58] Dryden and Davenant (1970), 4.3.40–50.

[59] Ibid., 3.2.26–30.

[60] Thomas Hobbes, *Leviathan, or, The Matter, Form, and Power of a Common-Wealth Ecclesiastical and Civil* (London: Andrew Crooke, 1651), 140.

[61] Schille (2006), 278.

[62] Dryden and Davenant (1970), 5.2.261–266.

Although Prospero's authority over the island's utopian space and his ability to conjure up Arcadia in Shakespeare's *The Tempest* is lost, along with Gonzalo's commonwealth utopia, new utopian visions are brought to the fore by Dryden and Davenant's *The Enchanted Island*. The comic subplot, which has most frequently been read as a parliamentary parody, when viewed in relation to its utopian references can be seen to satirize Parliamentarians not for their utopian ideals but for their failure to truly enact these principles due to a reliance on outdated monarchical regimes. To further illustrate the outdated concepts of patriarchal monarchy, Dryden and Davenant disempower Prospero as the ruling patriarch and destabilize his dynastic marriage plots. They cast the threats to these plots as subversive utopian visions which are associated with female bodies / characters on stage. These female bodies represent rebellious subjects refusing to be subsumed and, in the case of Sycorax, taking action to remove themselves from imposed patriarchal control. Dryden and Davenant do not satisfactorily eliminate these contesting utopian visions at the play's end: Hippolito's desires live to fight another day, and the enchanted island remains a utopia for subjects who have rejected patriarchal rule. *The Enchanted Island*, when placed within this nexus of utopian references, thus reflects anxieties about the stability of the new regime and uncertainties about the future of patriarchal control in the 1660s.

Zusammenfassung

In *The Tempest* finden sich zahlreiche Hinweise auf utopische Literatur, aber als Dryden und Davenant 1667 in *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* Shakespeares Stück adaptierten, taten sie dies unter dem Eindruck der 1640er und 1650er Jahre, in denen utopische Literatur in England mit Republikanismus in Verbindung gebracht worden war. Vor diesem Hintergrund konnten Verweise auf Utopien nicht mehr als harmlose philosophische Konzepte präsentiert werden, sondern wurden stattdessen mit einer Bedrohung der Monarchie und der etablierten Ordnung assoziiert. Dryden und Davenant gehen darauf ein, indem sie Verweise auf die utopische Tradition anpassen, umschreiben und verschieben. Die entsprechenden Passagen werden dadurch politisch relevanter und sind eng mit rebellischen weiblichen Figuren verknüpft. Die umstrittenen utopischen Visionen in Drydens und Davenants Stück stellen eine Bedrohung für die patriarchalische Ordnung dar und verweisen auf die Ängste hinsichtlich der Stabilität der wiederhergestellten Monarchie in den 1660er Jahren.