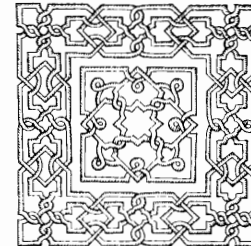# METAMORPHOSING SHAKESPEARE

MUTUAL ILLUMINATIONS OF THE ARTS

edited by

PATRICIA KENNAN
MARIANGELA TEMPERA

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THE RENAISSANCE REVISITED
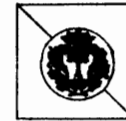
THE RENAISSANCE REVISITED

General Editors

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1391-1991

METAMORPHOSING SHAKESPEARE

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CONTENTS

FIGURING THE OTHER-WORLDLY: LATE VICTORIAN VISIONS OF SHAKESPEARE'S FAIRY LORE

PAOLA SPINOZZI

1. *Puck among the Victorians*

> Poor Puck's occupation, alas, is gone! [...] Times, indeed, are sadly changed – even fairy-rings are sacrilegiously subjected to the hypotheses of science – and if Shakespeare had lived some two centuries later, he must have had recourse to the sister island for a fairy creed that has long departed from his native shores. [...] The whole of the popular fairy mythology of the time, on which the *Midsummer Night's Dream* may be said to be found, has now become a subject for literary research.[1]

In his presentation of an outstanding collection of mythological and popular sources of fairy lore related to *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, James Halliwell expresses a deep concern about the destiny of fairies, whose existence had been feared and revered by the Elizabethans and whose relationships with humans had so intrigued Shakespeare. Their existence was rationally explained by Victorian scientism as the hybrid expression of mythology and ancient, deeply rooted popular beliefs which became the object of folklorists' investigation. The Victorian search for the sources of fairy mythology inspiring Shakespeare must thus be connected to a wider cultural enterprise which counteracted scientism and technological progress by retrieving, systematising and re-evaluating folklore sources as outstanding expressions of Great Britain's cultural heritage.

Figuring the otherworldly, recognised as a mode of representation extraordinarily suited to Shakespeare's imagination but also pertaining to Britishness, played an important role in the construction of the British cultural identity. In the 19th century the fairy cult, sustained by research, produced fairylands in literature and the other arts. The prominent status attributed to Shakespeare's fairies in the Victorian fairy-world leads us to revalue this autochthonous cultural

manifestation through its most outstanding exponent. Verbal and visual figurations of Shakespeare's fairy lore in the Victorian age and up to the early 20th century have a fundamental role in consolidating specific traits of Great Britain's cultural identity.

Paintings and illustrations that visualise the fantastic and the supernatural in Shakespeare's plays[2] also raise issues about the aesthetic status of visual transmutations of verbal works of art which are ontologically derivative. The autonomy of illustration as a work of art is jeopardised by its dependence on words; nonetheless, illustration aims at asserting its own identity by superimposing a visual interpretation of the text. Illustrators and painters devised expressive modes which bore relevance to radical changes in the concept of vision and visual representation during the Victorian age.[3]

The complex cultural and aesthetic negotiations engendered by Victorian visualisations of otherworldly beings featuring in Shakespeare's fairy plays – *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest* – would remain largely unintelligible if no account were taken of philological studies on the fairies' mythological and folkloric origins or late 19th-century experiments with non figurative painting.

2. *Fairy lore and the fairy way of writing*

The Victorian age marked the completion of a cultural process dating back to the 18th century and revolving around the central role attributed to Shakespeare's supernatural and fantastic in the development of a genre based on a 'national' imaginative mode. Shakespeare's original handling of English fancifulness had been most eloquently advocated for by Addison in his conceptualisation of 'the fairy way of writing'.

> There is a kind of writing wherein the poet quite loses sight of Nature, and entertains his reader's imagination with the characters and actions of such persons as have many of them no existence but what he bestows on them; such are fairies, witches, magicians, demons, and departed spirits. This Mr. *Dryden* calls *the Fairy Way of Writing* [...].
> [...] it is impossible for a poet to succeed in it, who has not a particular cast of fancy, and an imagination naturally fruitful and superstitious. Besides this, he ought to be very well versed in legends

> and fables, antiquated romances, and the traditions of nurses and old women, that he may fall in with our natural prejudices [...]. For, otherwise, he will be apt to make his fairies talk like people of his own species, and not like other sets of beings [...].
> These descriptions raise a pleasing kind of horror in the mind of the reader, and amuse his imagination [...]. They bring up into our memory the stories we have heard in our childhood. [...] there are many intellectual beings in the world besides ourselves, and several species of spirits, who are subject to different laws and economies from those of mankind [...].
> There was not a village in England that had not a ghost in it, the churchyards were all haunted, every large common had a circle of fairies belonging to it, and there was scarce a shepherd to be met with who had not seen a spirit.
> Among all the poets of this kind our English are much the best [...]. For the English are naturally fanciful, and very often disposed by [...] gloominess and melancholy of temper [...] to many wild notions and visions [...].
> Among the English, Shakespeare has incomparably excelled all others. [...] noble extravagance of fancy [...] thoroughly qualified him to touch this weak superstitious part of his reader's imagination [...]. There is something so wild and yet so solemn in the speeches of his ghosts, fairies, witches [...] that we cannot forbear thinking them natural [...] and must confess, if there are such beings in the world, it looks highly probable they should talk and act as he has represented them.[4]

Superstition which prevailed in past epochs, when nature, witchcraft, prodigies, charms and enchantments aroused reverence and horror, is opposed to learning and philosophy in Addison's enlightened age. The nature and representation of the supernatural as well as its presence in reality were fundamental issues of 18th-century aesthetics. Figuring the supernatural with the faculty of reason required the author's use of imagination not to subvert reality. The change in the concept of fiction, as illustrated by Horace Walpole in his *Preface* to the second edition of *The Castle of Otranto* (1764), is based on the distinction between the ancient, unrealistic kind of romance and the modern one founded on plausibility.

> In the former, all was imagination and improbability: in the latter, nature is always intended to be, and sometimes has been, copied with success. Invention has not been wanting; but the great resources of fancy have been dammed up, by a strict adherence to common life.[5]

In 18th-century romance the powers of fancy and invention were moulded to represent extraordinary events as credible and explainable. Myth, prejudice, and the irrational were re-introduced with the revaluation of tradition which the Romantics opposed to the Enlightenment's belief in freedom from superstition. As Nicola Bown argues:

> The Enlightenment's declaration of the autonomy of reason is the precondition and ground of the 'counter-Enlightenment's' rediscovery of the irrational. In this sense, it was because men were already in possession of reason, were already sovereign subjects, that they could turn to the 'dark side' of Enlightenment: to myth, unreason, tradition, superstition and emotion.[6]

The late 18th-century anxiety about the effects of unrestrained imagination reveals how problematic the coexistence of Enlightenment and counter-Enlightenment was. As Bown points out, the coalescence of Neo-classical and Romantic aesthetics is exemplified by Fuseli's belief that the supernatural can coexist with the human within the same representational space only if it acquires an allegorical value, i.e. that fairy creatures allegorise the degraded condition of modern humanity.[7]

The systematisation of fairy lore in the British Isles, Europe and beyond, which began during the first decades of the 19th century, avoided the oblivion fostered by the Enlightenment of fairy beliefs, popular customs and stories handed down from generation to generation. Thomas Keightley's *The Fairy Mythology*[8] (1826), Thomas Crofton Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*[9] (1825), Anna Eliza Stothard's *Traditions, Legends, Superstitions and Sketches of Devonshire*[10] (1838) prevented old traditions from being forgotten; representations of the fairy world disregarded evolutionary theories, the advancement of technology, materialism and subverted scientific and physical laws.

Early documents concerning the fairy mythology of Great Britain and related to Shakespearean plays, such as those collected in *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1844) and *Memoranda on Shakespeare's Tempest*[11] (1880), both presented by J.O. Halliwell, *Shakespeare's Puck and his Folks-lore*[12] (1852-64) edited by William Bell and *Shaksperian Parallelisms, Chiefly Illustrative of The Tempest and A Midsummer Night's*

Dream[13] (1865), edited by E.M. West, demonstrated that the category of the supernatural is intrinsically British. The retrieval of the popular traditions which had inspired Shakespeare allowed folklorists to ascertain the existence of a British cultural matrix as well as assess appropriations by Shakespeare. Comparative studies of fairy lore and literary representations of faeries based on Shakespeare led them to enunciate theories about cultural borrowings and cross-fertilizations of popular and mythological sources. By connecting Shakespeare's account of the fairy world to the folk belief of his day and the romance literature of the previous four centuries, Alfred Nutt demonstrated that 16th-century folk-belief and medieval fairy romance originated from one set of beliefs constituting Great Britain's cultural identity and nurtured Shakespeare's conception of the supernatural.

> The peasant [...] was scarce so enamoured with the little he knew of kings and queens that he must feign the existence of an invisible realm; nor would the contrast [...] between minute size and superhuman power appeal to him. The peasant had far other cause to fear and reverence the fairy world. In his daily struggle with nature he could count upon fairy aid if he performed with due ceremony the ancient ritual handed down to him by his forefathers [...].
> [...] accidental and secondary characteristics of the fairy world [...] are emphasized by [Shakespeare], who is solely concerned with what may heighten the beauty or enliven the humour of his picture. But with his unerring instinct for what is vital and permanent in that older world of legend and fancy [...] he has yet retained enough to enable us to detect the essence of the fairy conception, in which we must needs recognize a series of peasant beliefs and rites of a singularly archaic character.
> [...] Shakespeare derived both the idea of a fairy realm reproducing the external aspect of a medieval court, and also the name of his fairy king from medieval romance, that is, from the Arthurian cycle, from those secondary works of the Charlemagne cycle, which were modelled upon the Arthur romances, and from the still later purely literary imitations alike of the Arthur and the Charlemagne stories. What has hitherto been [...] insufficiently noted is the standing association of the fairy world of medieval romantic literature with Arthur. [...] the Arthurian romance is the Norman-French and the Anglo-Norman re-telling of a mass of Celtic fairy tales, partly mythic, partly heroic [...] which reached the French-speaking world alike from Brittany and from Wales in the course of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.[14]

The share of Shakespeare's fairies in the benevolent or malevolent manifestations of nature testifies to his exploitation of autochthonous sources in the construction of the aesthetic category of the super-natural.

3. *Victorian illustrated Shakespeare*

The revival of fairy lore involved the taming of the horrific aspect of the supernatural. Far from transferring to the fairies the faults of humankind, Victorian artists conjured up an image of fairyland as an ideal world existing somewhere in the British countryside. Malignant, threatening, disquieting aspects of the other-world were to be expunged during the process of familiarisation. Idealisation tinged with sentimentality resulted from the democratisation of the fantastic in line with the values of the new industrial middle class. British fairy painting appealed to the not-so-cultivated bourgeoisie and depicted the fairy lifestyle as a celebration of homely virtues. Shakespeare's fairy lore became the privileged subject of paintings for middleclass patrons, who had a preference for fairy paintings inspired by national literature. While portraits of renowned Shakespearean actors were much sought after until the 1820s, the Victorian age marks the rise of paintings of Shakespeare's plays, which spread along with print reproductions made largely accessible by new technologies. Illustrated books circulated not only as the *objets d'art* treasured by the bibliophile, but also as domestic objects shared during the middleclass rite of family readings.[15] Thus, Shakespeare's super-natural familiarised in fairy painting contributed to constructing the cultural identity and taste of the Victorian middle class.

A Midsummer Night's Dream and *The Tempest* claim attention as favourite Victorian plays at home and at the theatre. The potentialities of spectacularisation of the supernatural were exploited in magnificent theatrical productions such as Charles Kean's 1856 *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, which kept audiences spellbound with impressive stage effects.

> No matter when performed, or by whom, or with what text, *A Midsummer Night's Dream* was a favourite vehicle for spectacular staging, especially the last act, which was treated much like a

> pantomime transformation scene. Both this play and *The Tempest* were the chief Shakespearean beneficiaries, if that is the right word, of the rage for fairies on the stage and in art which was one of the more picturesque phenomena of popular culture in the 1840s. [...] Most *Midsummer Night's Dream* pictures therefore were realizations in paint of the play's poetic imagery, its fairy and comic characters, and its never-never-land setting in a moonlit glade [...] they were compounds of all that went to make up the early Victorian notion of the fanciful – lush arboreal landscape, moonlight, fireflies, the flora and fauna of the woods from a rich variety of flowers to capacious toadstools, assorted hovering or revealing fairies and elves.[16]

The spectacular fairyland aspect of both *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest* not only captivated the Victorian spectators, especially during the 1840s, but also prompted painters and illustrators to visualise it on canvas or on page. Folklorists welcomed the reappearance of fairies by highlighting their presence in Shakespeare's plays and artists gave impetus to the revival of folklore by endlessly representing Shakespeare's other-worldly. However, painters and illustrators who responded to the Victorian re-shaping of the fantastic and to the fairy cult by drawing on *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest* also gave vent to crucial aesthetic issues. Taking up the challenge of visualising the invisible, the fantastic and the supernatural enabled them to explore connections between realism and fantasy, history painting and fairy painting. Even more importantly, during the last decades of the 19th century the romantic dream, sublime and horrific, turned into symbolist oneiric experience aroused by the subconscious. The search for techniques suited to visualising the fantastic and the supernatural coexisted with the rise of non representational views of art. The metamorphoses of the two plays into paintings and illustrations originate from the interplay of late Romanticism and Realism and the opening up of an aesthetic, symbolic dimension.

Mid-Victorian fairy artists were mostly concerned about the interaction between familiarity and estrangement, realistic objects and fictitious creatures, offsprings of the imaginary. Up to the first half of the century painstaking realism aimed at conjuring up a supernatural that conveyed sensorial credibility to the observer. In *The Disenchantment of Bottom* (1832) by Daniel Maclise the gaping

mouth of the awakening Bottom is an emblematic expression of realism that borders on caricature. Between the 1870s and the end of the century depictions of fairies gave evidence to re-conceptual-isations of vision and representation. Hyper-realistic details came gradually to be associated with altered states of perception, even hallucinations, which disfigured objects and produced surreal visions. Renderings of the fairies' other-worldly nature are interlaced with mutations in the concepts of representation and representability during the second half of the 19th century.

4. *The otherworldly nature of the fairies*

Overt eroticism permeates most 19th-century fairy paintings, which provide an acceptable outlet for repressed Victorian sexuality. Reminiscences of Diana and Venus, shown by Titania in *A Mid-summer Night's Dream*, are emphasised by painters who, while portraying fairies in classical poses reproduced from antiquity, paint nudity and avoid censorship. The butterfly wings and classical postures shown by the naked fairy and her ethereal train in *Titania* (date unknown) by William Etty provides the model for the hybridi-sation of classical figurative art and the fairyland. John Simmons suggests that the female figure in *Titania* (1866) is a fairy by visualising her diminutive height, a fairy trait in many European traditions since the Middle Ages, by means of the surrounding gigantic plants and flowers. Not only do the veil of dew drops and the minutely painted butterfly wings signify her fairy nature, they also function as visual devices for allowing Simmons to expose Titania's body and depict her as a sensuously appealing naked woman.

Victorian representations of Titania's and Bottom's intercourse show the contrast between the familiarisation of and morbid attraction to monstrosity. The unease aroused by Bottom's meta-morphosis is counterbalanced by the painters' sympathetic attitude towards his animal state. Edwin Landseer's *Scene from A Mid-summer Night's Dream. Titania and Bottom* (1848-51) provides a sentimental version of the embrace between the beastly creature and the fairy. The donkey in human clothes and the rabbits with fairy

riders on their backs look like the humanised animals in Landseer's genre paintings, such as the two dogs in *Dignity and Impudence* (1839) and the deer in *The Monarch of the Glen* (1851). The union between the monstrous and the ethereal is deprived of its repulsive impact also in Rackham's 1908 illustration to 'Sleep thou, and I will wind thee in my arms', where tenderness removes any erotic tension between Bottom's animal shape and Titania's body enveloped in a richly draped dress.

The ambivalent attitude towards a tamed supernatural which still retains disquieting features is most evident in figurations of Puck and Ariel, whose nature and appearance the Victorians assimilate to that of mischievous children. Traits of naïveté and malignity characterise baby *Puck* by Richard Dadd (1841) and the urchin in 'Lord, What Fools these mortals be!' from Rackham's 1908 *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. The child-like physiognomy that was absent in Shakespeare's Puck originates from the rage for children's illustrated books developing from the 1870s well into the next century.

Ariel's etherealness was a major challenge for Victorian painters and illustrators. In Daniel Maclise's *Miss Priscilla Horton as Ariel* (1838) Shakespeare's spirit takes the too human shape of a famous Victorian actress in fairy dress. *Ariel* [Plate 23] by John Anster Fitzgerald, dating to the late 1850s, is instead a de-contextualised representation of a weird androgynous creature lying on a branch in full bloom. The wide smiling mouth, staring eyes, and open arms convey the impression that the Fitzgerald's Ariel is the offspring of altered states of perception which stimulate his artistic creativity. In *Ferdinand Lured by Ariel* [Plate 24] (1849-50) by John Everett Millais the Pre-Raphaelite 'truth to nature', achieved through the striking botanical precision of the landscape, contrasts with the green colour of Ariel and the spirits, which broke the convention of fairy pigmentation. The commissioner's dislike for the weird quality of the colour and rejection of the painting further testifies to the Victorian reception of the fairies in domesticated, humanised shapes.

5. *Glimpses of the Fairyland*

The setting of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* acted as a powerful source of inspiration for fantastic interpretations of the Romantic landscape tradition, which gave rise to exact depictions of the natural world charged with symbolic values. The confrontation between Oberon and Titania allowed painters to freely envision the setting, for which Shakespeare's text offers no clues:

> *Enter Oberon, the King of the Fairies, at one door, with his train; and Titania, the Queen, at another with hers* (II.i.57)

The lack of details enabled painters to expand on stage directions of the text: the entrance of Oberon and Titania from opposite stage doors is visually rendered through opposite positions on the canvas. Both in *Scene from A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1832) [Plate 25] by Francis Danby and in *Contradiction. Oberon and Titania* (1854-58) [Plate 26] by Richard Dadd the spears held by Oberon and Titania signal animosity as well as trace out space limits. Danby's supernatural moonlit world featuring opalescent bushes and Dadd's overwhelmingly detailed fairyland show how the Victorian construction of the concept of fantasy involved the appropriation of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*: the realm of the fairies takes the shape of a luxuriant woodland, flora and fauna populated by nocturnal aerial beings, fairies and elves.

The quarrelsome encounter between Oberon and Titania testifies to Shakespeare's appropriation of the popular belief that the fairies can provoke turbulent manifestations of nature. The fairies' existence is dependant on their King and Queen, the seasons and the four elements are strongly affected by them: they are personifications of nature, and their mood affects natural events.

> PUCK   And now they never meet in grove or green
> By fountain clear, or spangled starlight sheen,
> But they do square – that all their elves, for fear,
> Creep into acorn cups and hide them there. (II.i.28-31)
>
> TITANIA   The seasons alter: hoary-headed frosts
> Far in the fresh lap of the crimson rose,
> And on old Hiems' thin and icy crown
> An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds

> Is, as in mockery, set: the spring, the summer,
> The childing autumn, angry winter, change
> Their wonted liveries, and the mazed world,
> By their increase, now knows not which is which:
> And this same progeny of evils comes
> From our debate, from our dissension;
> We are their parents and original. (II.i.81-117)

Among the plates painted by Arthur Rackham for the 1908 illustrated edition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, the illustrations to 'And now they never meet in grove or green/ By fountain clear, or spangled starlight sheen,/ But they do square' [Plate 27] and to 'Fairies, away!/ We shall chide downright, if I longer stay' [Plate 28] focus on the wind as the visual sign of the fairies' link with the natural elements. While the storm that shakes the trees and blows in Oberon's and Titania's mantles symbolises their emotional turbulence, Titania's scorn for Oberon's request is displayed by her aerial ascension.

> OBERON   Give me that boy and I will go with thee.
> TITANIA   Not for thy fairy kingdom! Fairies, away
> We shall chide downright, if I longer stay.
> *Exit Titania with her train* (II.i.143-145)

Rackham elaborates on the text's stage direction in order to render aerial movement. Both figurations of supernatural forces show his ability to overcome the flatness of the bi-dimensional space of representation, which marks an innovation in early twentieth-century painting.

The identical setting of *Titania Sleeping* (1841) [Plate 29] and *Come unto These Yellow Sands* (1842) [Plate 30] by Richard Dadd show the merging of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*, which become indistinguishable in the orgiastic dance of naked spirits. The supernatural in ancient nursery rhymes and songs, emphasised by Shakespeare's representation of Titania's fairies and Ariel as singers who enchant and lure, is visually translated into a ritual dance which features alike in two paintings inspired by *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest*.

Early 20th-century editions of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, such as the ones illustrated by Charles Ricketts[17] in 1901, Arthur Rackham[18]

in 1908 and William Heath Robinson[19] in 1914 reveal how illustrators renegotiate the relationships between mimesis and abstraction, didacticism and symbolism. Against banal reality, the fantastic and the horrific allowed Aesthetes and Symbolists to gain access to other dimensions and paranormal phenomena.[20] *The Tempest* illustrated by Rackham[21] in 1926 offers numerous encounters with weird inhabitants of oneiric landscapes, like the ones conjured up in 'Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises, Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not' (III.ii.139-153) [Plate 31] and 'Go bring the rabble, O'er whom I give thee power, here to this place' (IV.i.42-43).

The Victorian fairy cult intersected occultism, magic and the exploration of the human subconscious. *The Artist's Dream* (1857) [Plate 32] and *The Stuff that Dreams are Made Of* (1858) by John Anster Fitzgerald transfer the fairyland into the interior of the human psyche, accessible primarily through drugs. In the dream-world conjured up in Fitzgerald's twin paintings space and time vanish and the dreamer is a wanderer driven by fantasies and desires as well as by disquieting mental projections. In Robert Huskisson's *The Mid-summer Night's Fairies* (1847) [Plate 33] Titania sleeping, guarded and watched by Oberon, symbolises the dreamer turned into a passive object of voyeuristic contemplation and desire. As John Christian points out, the painted arch and the sculptured characters who sleep below reproduce a typical Victorian stage and emphasise the hybridisation between theatre and painting.[22] The representation of a transformation scene, where changes take place on stage, exemplifies how the theatrical devices used to arouse the spectator's wonder affected the painters' visual imagery.

The picture of fairies and spirits on the canvas gradually expressed a more problematic idea of composition, constructed on the dialectics between absence of weight and laws of gravity, hyper-realism and detachment from reality. The search for verbal/visual interactions reveals that each expressive code responds to specific aesthetic issues and produces autonomous signification. Shakespeare's representations of the supernatural raise questions on what is said in the text and represented on the stage. What can be imagined diverges from what can be seen:

> That the fairies cannot be [...] represented on the stage is not merely obvious; it is also a point of some importance in the

scheme of the play. Shakespeare seems deliberately to draw attention to the discrepancies between what we see and what is described. Here the audience is required to use its imagination in order to make the play possible.[23]

The use of imagination during the Victorian age presupposes a conflict between objective and subjective paradigms of perceptions. Realistic modes of representation culminating in photography developed along with a concept of vision filtered by the percipient subject.[24] In the last decades of the century fairy painting had to come to terms with the rise of spirit photography in the 1870s, which seemed to provide real proof of a separate, spiritual realm. While the vogue for realistic paintings of the fantastic declined with avant-garde artistic movements, exploration of the dream and subconscious in Symbolism and Surrealism still encompassed the fairies. Before the fairies became symbolist and surrealistic, however, folklorists had expanded on the 18th-century conception that Shakespeare had magnified the culture-bound categories of the supernatural and the fantastic. In Victorian illustrations and paintings of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *The Tempest* the British attitude to figuring the otherworldly reached its imaginative climax by offering diverse responses to the challenge of creating aesthetically autonomous visual poetics while adhering to Shakespeare's texts.

NOTES

[1] James Orchard Halliwell (ed.), *Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of A Midsummer Night's Dream*, London, Frederick Soberl Jr., Printed for the Shakespeare Society, 1845. The development of interdisciplinary research opened up by Victorian folklorists can be retraced in the bibliography by W. Jaggard appended to Margaret Lucy's *Shakespeare and the Supernatural: a Brief Study of Folklore, Superstition, and Witchcraft, in 'Macbeth,' 'Midsummer Night's Dream' and 'The Tempest'*, Liverpool, Jaggard & Co., 1906. See also: John Paul Stewart Riddell Gibson's *Shakespeare's Use of the Supernatural*, Cambridge, Deighton, Bell & Co., 1908, Helen Hinton Stewart's *The Supernatural in Shakespeare*, London, John Ouseley, 1908, and Cumberland Clark's *Shakespeare and the*

Supernatural, London, Williams & Norgate, 1931. In more recent years Katharine Mary Briggs has extensively investigated fairy lore in and after Shakespeare in *The Anatomy of Puck: An Examination of Fairy Beliefs among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and Successors*, London, Routledge & Kegan, 1959; *Pale Hecate's Team: an Examination of the Beliefs on Witchcraft and Magic among Shakespeare's Contemporaries and his Immediate Successors*, London, Routledge & Kegan, 1962; *The Fairies in Tradition and Literature*, London, Routledge & Kegan, 1967; *An Encyclopedia of Fairies*, New York, Pantheon Books, 1976.

[2] See: *Shakespeare in Art, Paintings, Drawings and Engravings devoted to Shakespearian Subjects*, London, Arts Council, 1964; *Shakespeare in Art*, London, Merrell, 2003.

[3] In Victorian illustrations the purpose of clarification and comment was more and more rivalled by that of ornamentation, as exemplified by Walter Crane in *Of the Decorative Illustration of Books Old and New*, London, Bell & Sons, 1896, p. 17: 'In a journey through a book it is pleasant to reach the oasis of a picture or an ornament, to sit awhile under the palms, to let our thoughts unburdened stray, to drink of other intellectual waters, and to see the ideas we have been pursuing, perchance, reflected in them'.

[4] Joseph Addison, *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, No. 419, Tuesday, July 1, 1712, in Gregory Smith (ed.), Addison & Steele and Others, *The Spectator* in Four Volumes, Introduction by Peter Smithers, London, Dent & Sons Ltd., 1945 (1907), vol. III, pp. 299-301.

[5] Horace Walpole, *Preface* to *The Castle of Otranto* (1765) in *Three Gothic Novels*, London, Penguin Books, 1968, p. 43.

[6] Nicola Bown, *Fairies in Nineteenth-century Art and Literature*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 2001, p. 17.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 28-31.

[8] S.l., Bell, 1889.

[9] London, John Murray, 1825. Among the numerous re-editions, the one published in London in 1882 by W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. was illustrated by Daniel Maclise.

[10] *Traditions, Legends, Superstitions, and Sketches of Devonshire on the borders of the Tamar and the Tavy, illustrative of its manners, customs, history, antiquities, scenery, and natural history*, in a series of letters to Robert Southey, Esq., London, John Murray, 1838.

[11] *Memoranda on Shakespeare's Tempest*, chiefly with reference to the probable date of the composition of that ... drama, Brighton, Bishop, 1880.

[12] *Shakespeare's Puck and his Folkslore* [sic], *illustrated from the Superstitions of All Nations, but More Especially from the Earliest Religion and Rites of Northern Europe and the Wends*, 3 vols, London, 1852[-64].

[13] *Shaksperian* [sic] *Parallelisms, chiefly illustrative of The Tempest and A Midsummer Night's Dream*, collected from Sir Philip Sydney's *Arcadia*, by Eliza M. West, London, printed for the editor by Whittingham & Wilkins, 1865.

[14] Alfred Nutt, *The Fairy Mythology of Shakespeare*, in Popular Studies in Mythology, no. 6, London, David Nutt, 1900.

[15] For the evolution of book illustration in the Victorian age see: Gleeson White, *English Illustration: The Sixties*, London, Constable, 1897; Forrest Reid, *Illustrators of the Eighteen Sixties. An Illustrated Survey of the Work of 58 British Artists*, New York, Dover Publications, 1975, facsimile reprint of *Illustrators of the Sixties*, London, Faber & Gwyer Ltd., 1928; Edmund J. Sullivan, *The Art of Illustration*, London, Chapman and Hall Ltd., 1921; David Bland, *The Illustration of Books*, London, Faber & Faber, 1950.

[16] Richard Altick, *Paintings from Books*, Columbus, Ohio State UP, 1985, p. 264. See also: Martin Meisel, *Realizations: Narrative, Pictorial, and Theatrical Arts in Nineteenth-century England*, Princeton, N.J., Princeton UP, 1983; Richard Foulkes (ed.), *Shakespeare and the Victorian Stage*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1986; Michael R. Booth, *Victorian Spectacular Theatre 1850-1910*, Boston, Mass., London, Routledge & Kegan, 1981, and *Theatre in the Victorian Age*, Cambridge, Cambridge UP, 1991.

[17] William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Decorated by Charles de Sousy Ricketts, In *The Vale Shakespeare*, London, 39 vols, London, Hacon & Ricketts, 1900-03.

[18] William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, with Illustrations by Arthur Rackham, London, William Heinemann, 1908.

[19] *Shakespeare's Comedy of a Midsummer-Night's Dream*, with Illustrations by William Heath Robinson, London, Constable & Co., 1914.

[20] See: Julian Wolfreys, *Victorian Hauntings: Spectrality, Gothic, the Uncanny and Literature*, New York, Palgrave, 2002.

[21] William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, Illustrated by Arthur Rackham, London, William Heinemann - New York, Doubleday, Page & Co., 1926.

[22] John Christian, *Shakespeare in Victorian Art*, in *Shakespeare in Art*, London, Merrell, 2003, pp. 217-244.

[23] Stanley Wells, *Introduction*, in *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1967, p. 19.

[24] See: Carol T. Christ and John O. Jordan (eds), *Introduction*, in *Victorian Literature and the Victorian Visual Imagination*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London, The U of California P, 1995, pp. xxi, xxiii.
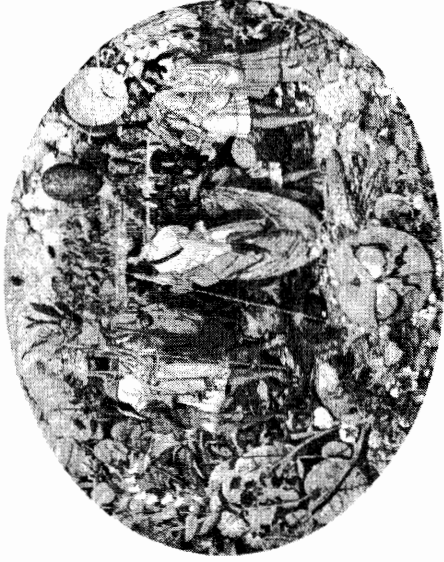
23. John Anster Fitzgerald, *Ariel* (ca. 1858), location unknown.

24. John Everett Millais, *Ferdinand Lured by Ariel* (1849-50), Makins Collection.

26. Richard Dadd, *Contradiction. Oberon and Titania* (1854-58), private collection.
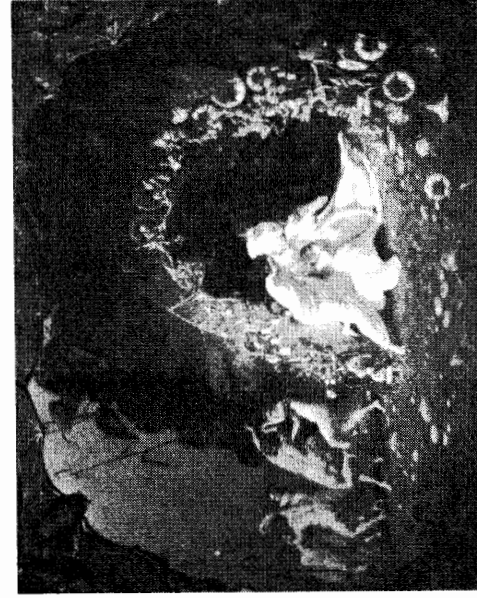

25. Francis Danby, *Scene from A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1832), Oldham, Oldham Art Gallery.

27. "and now they never meet in grove or green By fountain clear, or spangled starlight sheen, But they do square", from William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Illustrated by Arthur Rackham, London, Heinemann, 1908.
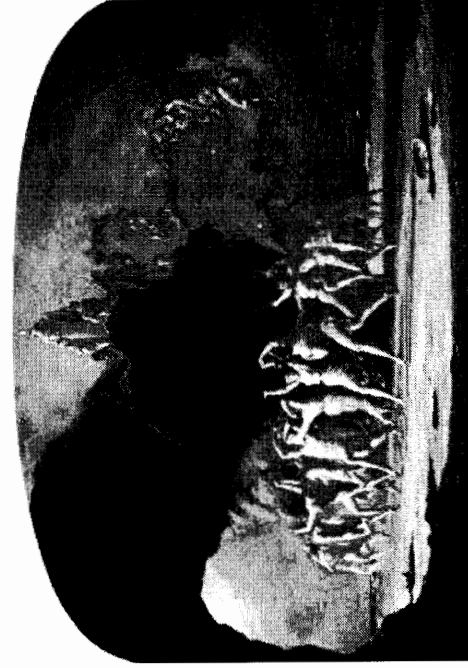
28. "Fairies, away! We shall chide downright, if I longer stay", from William Shakespeare, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, Illustrated by Arthur Rackham, London, Heinemann, 1908.

30. Richard Dadd, *Come Unto These Yellow Sands* (1842). Collection of John Rickett.

29. Richard Dadd. *Titania Sleeping* (1841). Collection of Ms. V.R. Levine.

31. "Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises, Sounds and sweet airs, that give delight and hurt not", from William Shakespeare, *The Tempest*, Illustrated by Arthur Rackham, London, Heinemann, 1926.

32. John Anster Fitzgerald, *The Artist's Dream* (1857), private collection.

33. Robert
Huskisson, *The
Midsummer
Night's Fairies*
(1847),
London, Tate
Gallery.